

DISSERTATION

Titel der Dissertation

The Perception of Culture through Subtitles

An Empirical Study as Seen in TV Material in Croatia

Verfasser

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angestrebter akademischer Grad

Doktor der Philosophie (Dr.phil.)

Wien, im November 2011

Studienkennzahl it. Studienblatt: A 092 324

Dissertationsgebiet it. Studienblatt: Übersetzerausbildung

Betreuerin: Univ.-Prof. Dr. Mary Snell-Hornby

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To my father

Preface and acknowledgements

The idea for this research came about in 2006, right after I had decided to start working on my doctoral thesis at the University of Vienna. The idea of questioning what goes on with subtitles once they are broadcast on the TV screen had intrigued me for some time, especially since I thought that subtitles had quite a cultural impact on the viewers. I didn't know what to begin with and after consultations with my doctoral thesis supervisor, Professor Mary Snell-Hornby, I decided to first turn to a statistician. Since I live and work in Zagreb, the most reasonable move was to try and find a local expert with experience in the field. I decided to contact Professor Benjamin Čulig, an expert in statistics. He offered to assist me with great enthusiasm.

The people who contributed to the creation of this doctoral thesis will be listed in alphabetical order. Without these people, this thesis would have never existed. My friend Anja Jović, a doctoral student at Brown University, helped me with useful advice. Professor Benjamin Čulig's role was very important since the thesis is based on empirical research and to conduct such a research would have been impossible without the help of an expert in statistics. Izvor Rukavina, Professor Čulig's assistant, was the technical brain behind the empirical part of this project. Jelena Mihaljević Đigunović is a professor of teaching methodology at the Department of English, Filozofski fakultet, University of Zagreb and she not only gave me advice on how to test participants' level of English, but also very useful advice on working on a thesis in general. Mandana Taban has been my Viennese landlord so to speak and without that logistical support the creation of this thesis would have been very difficult. Professor Mary Snell-Hornby's accepting me as her doctoral student meant great responsibility on my part and her openness to new ideas was very motivating. Professor Milena Žic-Fuchs was the Chair of English Language at the Department of English at Filozofski fakultet and her encouragement and support was also very important for the creation of this thesis. Mira Kadrić Scheiber is a professor at the Zentrum für Translationsswissenschaft and it was to her suggestion that I started thinking about writing a thesis at the University of Vienna. I am most grateful to her for that initial motivation and future encouragement. I must thank my colleagues, subtitlers and university lecturers: Zvonimir Novoselec and Aleksandra Ščukanec for their assistance in the empirical part of my research. There is one person I would like to single out in the end and that is Aleksandar Šarac, without whose support I would have most probably given up working on this thesis a long time ago.

In Zagreb, November 2011

Abstract

The main assumption of this thesis, on which **hypotheses** were formulated, is that Croatian TV-viewers receive most information about British and American culture through subtitles, since most foreign-language programmes are subtitled and since watching TV, i.e. reading subtitles, is more widespread than reading books and other forms of written word.

The aim of the thesis is to elicit the relevance of subtitles for the perception of culture. The thesis will first give an overview of theoretical research in the field of AVT (audiovisual translation) and it will explore the main paradigms applied in the field of Translation Studies and their possible application in the study of interlingual subtitling. The thesis will then explore strategies used in subtitling which may influence perception and technical procedures used in subtitling, such as the use of templates, as well as the identity of Croatian as a language used in subtitling. The second part of the thesis is focused on the study of the perception of subtitles tested through the **method** of empirical research conducted on a sample of viewers of television programmes in Croatia. The survey includes an original questionnaire and watching of a set of video clips. The questionnaire is made of two parts with the aim of establishing the link between previous knowledge and the relevance of various other elements of a moving picture, such as acting and context, for the understanding of a subtitled content. The purpose of the thesis is also to explore the degree of relevance of subtitles on the perception of culture as opposed to other elements of a subtitled TV content.

Key words: AVT, subtitling, empirical research, perception, viewers, culture, questionnaire, Croatia, television, Translation Studies.

Zusammenfassung

Die Hauptvoraussetzung dieser Dissertation, aufgrund der die **Hypothesen** formuliert worden sind, ist es, dass die kroatischen Fernsehzuschauer die meisten Informationen über die britische und amerikanische Kultur durch die Untertitel bekommen, da die Mehrheit von fremdsprachlichen Programmen mit Untertiteln gesendet sind, und weil das Fernsehen, bzw. das Lesen von Untertiteln mehr verbreitet ist als Lesen von Büchern und anderen Formen des geschriebenen Wortes.

Diese Dissertation hat zum Ziel, die Relevanz von Untertiteln für die Perzeption der Kultur darzustellen. Im ersten Teil der Arbeit wird die Einsicht in die theoretische Untersuchung im Bereich der AVT (audiovisuelle Übersetzung) sowie die Hauptparadigmen, die im Bereich der Übersetzungsstudien verwendet werden, gegeben. Darüber hinaus wird die Möglichkeit der Anwendung von erwähnten Paradigmen in der Untersuchung der interlingualen Untertitelung erforscht. Danach werden die in der Untertitelung anwendbaren Strategien, die die Perzeption beeinflussen können, und technische Methoden in der Untertitelung, wie z. B. die Anwendung von Dokumentvorlagen, sowie die Identität der kroatischen Sprache, die in der Untertitelung verwendet wird, untersucht. Der zweite Teil der Dissertation ist der Untersuchung der Perzeption von Untertiteln gewidmet. Dazu wird die Methode der empirischen Untersuchung angewandt, indem eine bestimmte Zahl von Fernsehzuschauern befragt wurde. Die Untersuchung umfasst einen originellen Fragebogen und eine Reihe von Videoclips, die sich die Informanten ansehen sollten. Der Fragebogen besteht aus zwei Teilen. Sein Zweck ist es, die Beziehung zwischen der bisherigen Kenntnisse und der Relevanz von unterschiedlichen anderen Elementen eines Films, wie beispielsweise die Schauspielerei oder der Kontext, für das Verständnis des untertitelten Inhalts, festzustellen. Der Zweck der Dissertation ist es auch zu untersuchen, in welchem Ausmaß die Untertitel für die Perzeption der Kultur im Gegensatz zu anderen Elementen von untertitelten TV-Inhalten relevant sind.

Schlüsselwörter: Audiovisuelle Übersetzung, Untertitelung, empirische Untersuchung, Perzeption, Fernsehzuschauer, Kultur, Fragebogen, Kroatien, Fernsehen, Übersetzungswissenschaft.

Sažetak

Glavna pretpostavka na kojoj se temelji ova disertacija, na temelju koje su postavljene **hipoteze**, je da hrvatsko televizijsko gledateljstvo većinu informacija o britanskoj i američkoj kulturi dobiva preko televizijskih titlova ili podslova, budući da je većina stranih televizijskih programa titlana, podslovljena, i budući da je gledanje televizije, odnosno čitanje titlova, raširenije od čitanja knjiga ili drugih oblika pisane riječi.

Cilj je ove disertacije ukazati na relevantnost titlova za percepciju kulture. Disertacija prvo donosi pregled teorijskih istraživanja u području AVT-a (audiovizualnog prevođenja), a potom propituje glavne translatološke paradigme i njihovu moguću primjenu na proučavanje međujezičnog podslovljavanja. Disertacija nakon toga propituje strategije koje se primjenjuju u podslovljavanju, a koje mogu utjecati na percepciju, i tehničke postupke podslovljavanja, poput uporabe predložaka, *templatea*, kao i identitet hrvatskoga jezika kao jezika podslovljavanja. Drugi dio disertacije usredotočen je na proučavanje percepcije podslova koja je testirana **metodom** empirijskoga istraživanja provedenoga na uzorku hrvatskih televizijskih gledatelja. Ovo istraživanje uključuje originalni upitnik i gledanje niza video-isječaka. Upitnik se sastoji od dva dijela, a cilj je utvrđivanje mogućeg suodnosa prijašnjega znanja i relevantnosti pojedinih elemenata pokretne slike, poput glume i konteksta, na razumijevanje podslovljenog sadržaja. Svrha ove disertacije je i istraživanje stupnja relevantnosti podslova za percepciju kulture u odnosu na ostale elemente podslovljenog TV sadržaja.

Ključne riječi: audiovizualno prevođenje, podslovljavanje, empirijsko istraživanje, percepcija, gledatelji, kultura, upitnik, Hrvatska, televizija, translatologija.

Abbreviations

AVT Audiovisual Translation

AV (adj) Audiovisual

DTS Descriptive Translation Studies

EC Element of culture

EL Element of language

HCC High-contexting culture

HRT Croatian Radio and Television, the Croatian public broadcaster

HTV Croatian Television, a part of HRT

LCC Low-contexting culture

SC Source Culture

SL Source Language

ST Source Text

TC Target Culture

TSD Translation and Subtitling Department at HTV

TL Target Language

TT Target Text

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1 Introduction

1.1. Aims and structure

The idea for this empirical research came about in 2006. Because of the nature of this research, it became apparent that cooperation with a statistician would be necessary. However, the first part of the thesis covers the theoretical background. This study is focused on the relationship between culture, or more precisely, on the relationship between the perception of culture and language through television subtitles. Subtitling is worth investigating since its language has a significant influence on its readers (Mattsson 2010:51). The relationship between the study of translation and culture began to be thoroughly investigated after the "cultural turn" was made in Translation Studies in 1980s (Snell-Hornby 2006:69). This study is focused on AVT (audiovisual translation), subtitling in particular. "Initial research publications on AVT date from the mid-fifties and sixties, but a true research and publication boom did not occur until the early 1990s", according to Aline Remael (2010). "Very few studies have dealt with the issue of screen translation, and even fewer have dealt with it empirically, even though we continually make references to readers, viewers, consumers, etc." (Gambier 2003: 184.) The purpose of this study is precisely this: the investigation of viewers, their perception of culture through subtitles conducted through empirical research. Furthermore, the aim is to explore to what degree subtitles influence the perception, as opposed to other elements in an AVT content which can influence understanding: such as the context of the scene, acting (non-verbal aspect for instance), but also previous knowledge of the English language and culture. It is not only because of the lack of research in this particular area of AVT that this study was undertaken, but also because one can very often come across casual comments about subtitlers and subtitling by viewers in Croatia, ranging from overhearing other people's conversations to conversations with friends and colleagues. People often, after just a couple of years of learning of English, claim they don't need subtitles to understand AVT content in English. Assuming this is not so is one thing, and proving is another. In Croatia, one can often come across a comment such as this one as well: "I don't even read subtitles". Or "The subtitles are so bad that I don't even read them, they are appalling". Gambier further suggests that these studies of viewers "might include a range of sociological variables" (Gambier 2003:186). He mentions the level of education as one of them. The empirical study conducted for the purposes of this thesis (see Chapters 4 - 8) includes university students, who, in theory should have a relatively good knowledge of English, meaning that they can at least produce simple sentences in English, written or spoken, write simple compositions and conduct basic conversation. One of the aims of this study is also to establish the connection between the subtitling market in Croatia, rules and regulations under which subtitlers operate and how the readers of subtitles, viewers, perceive the importance of subtitles for their understanding of British and American culture in AVT content, namely whether they think there is any importance that can be attributed to subtitles as regards their perception of these two cultures. AVT scholars do indeed recognize the need of more empirical research of viewers:

"In the media, and especially in the case of TV, interest in audience-related research has typically been motivated by the need to support programme planners and to attract advertisers. But the activity of watching translated films and TV programmes remains largely unresearched, at the same time as groups of viewers are increasingly being differentiated in terms of their perceptual capacities, knowledge, values, etc. Under such conditions, translators can only aim at a potential target audience whose profile they inevitably construct on the basis of their own stereotypes and prejudices; they further have to proceed on the assumption that their own individual social and cognitive environment is also that of the 'average' viewer." (Gambier 2003:186).

Although this quote comes from 2003, not much has changed since then. This study will hopefully be the basis of further analyses of viewers. Subtitlers' prejudices and stereotypes will be called "expectancy" in this study and they will be compared with what viewers know (see section 6.2).

Since Croatia is a subtitling country, this study focuses on subtitles. A subtitling country is the one in which subtitling is the dominant form of AVT, as opposed to dubbing countries. When writers about AVT talk about subtitling and dubbing countries (Ivarsson and Carroll 1998, Gambier 2003), they usually talk about the countries of Western Europe. Dubbing countries are France, Germany, Italy and Spain, indeed. But there are other countries such as Hungary, the Czech Republic and others where dubbing is the dominant form of AVT. Subtitling countries are: the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal etc., but also all countries of the former Yugoslavia, of which Croatia was the first one to introduce public television

and subtitles (see Nikolić 2005 and 2010). There are also voiceover countries such as Poland, in which voiceover is the predominant form of AVT (Szarkowska 2009, Chmiel 2010). Voiceover is "a cost-effective audiovisual translation technique that deafens actors' voices with an emotionless reading by a narrator" (Chmiel 2010:124). Voiceover is not unknown in Croatia as well, but it is applied solely in the translation of documentaries and interviews.

This study focuses on subtitling, although further research is necessary in the field of dubbing as well as regards perception of culture. Subtitlers should not be left to their own resources when they are trying to imagine who the «average» viewer (Gambier 2003) is, and TV stations which base a large proportion of their daily programme output, very often more than half of it, on subtitled content should pay more attention to supporting the research of AVT. For instance, in Croatia, the public broadcaster, HRT, and private channels, NOVA TV and RTL, base a large portion of their programming on subtitled content. Gambier poses another very pertinent question: "However, how can producers and screen translators make the most informed decision when there is so little reliable and available research?» (Gambier 2006:5). This question is a challenge for AVT scholars and directs them into new avenues of research, such as experimental and empirical study of viewers, the path that will be taken in this study.

Since this doctoral thesis is based on empirical research, it indirectly relies on other disciplines such as sociology and psychology as well and in a way includes other "turns" described by Mary Snell-Hornby in her book *Turns of Translation Studies*, like "the interdiscipline" (Snell-Hornby 2006). However, this is not primarily a sociological study, it is a study of the perception of AVT. Sociology is used in this study not as a field from which concepts are borrowed, but as an equal partner, with the attempt at moving Translation Studies from "imperialistic" and "importing" phase towards more "reciprocal" (Kaindl 2004:64-65)¹. In this study of AVT in Croatia, when it comes to theoretical models, the work of AVT practitioners and scholars was very important, especially the seminal books by Ivarsson (1992), Ivarsson and Carroll (1998) as regards the former, and Díaz-Cintas and Remael (2007) and Pedersen (2007) as regards the latter, on journal articles by various authors listed in the References section of the thesis, conversations with

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¹ The terms "imperialistic", "importing" and "reciprocal" were translated from the German by Snell-Hornby (2006:164).

colleagues, participation at international conferences on AVT and on my own insight into AVT: based on thirteen years of a rather intense subtitling experience.

This will hopefully make a contribution to the developments of the study of AVT, since "the 21st century may well see the advent of the 'audiovisual turn' in TS. Initially, TS limited itself to Bible translation and literary translation" (Remael: 2010). This is possible, since more and more Translation Studies scholars are turning to the study of AVT that now follows the development of new technologies, such as Internet and video games. Formerly, various other terms were used in English for audiovisual translations, such as "film translation", "cinema translation" and "screen translation" (Remael 2010), however, today the accepted English term is AVT or audiovisual translation among translation scholars who work in this field. This study relies on many examples from the world of subtitling I collected mostly from my own translations, but also from other colleagues' work. I have felt strongly that most claims I make in this study should be confirmed with practical examples, with examples "from the ground".

This work could become the basis for more extensive research in the field of the perception of culture through subtitled AVT content both in Croatia and overseas and one of the hopes is that it will highlight the importance of subtitles and the implications of it to subtitlers, TV viewers and TV stations without which one couldn't write about subtitling since they are the ones that broadcast subtitled AVT content. One of the reasons for conducting this research is also to clearly illustrate the importance of AVT study to Departments of English (or other modern languages) or translation and the need for the introduction of dedicated courses to students. The hope is that this doctoral thesis will help other AVT scholars in dealing with the transfer of culture and that it will encourage further empirical research of perception, or reception, of subtitles, in particular the perception of culture through subtitles. Hopefully, an AVT scholar, using this thesis as a starting point, will be able to develop and conduct, having found a patron for it, a full-scale study of the perception of culture through subtitles in Croatia as a whole, or overseas, or a comparative study in several countries, since such a study would shed a new light on this topic. This doctoral thesis is also aimed at helping TV broadcasters and AVT agencies to understand the importance of subtitles in bridging cultures and to think twice before they decide to cut subtitling rates again.

It is also aimed at subtitlers, since it may help them see the role that subtitles play in the understanding of culture and language.

The thesis first investigates the theoretical background of AVT and its place within Translation Studies. It aims to explain various models of theoretical research in the field of Translation Studies and their influence on AVT (audiovisual translation) and the studies of it. The aim of this part of the thesis is to investigate which theoretical model suits the study of subtitling, if any.

The thesis will then briefly explore the history of subtitling in Croatia, from its beginnings in 1980s until the present, 2011. The aim is to give an overview of the development of the market, especially its strong growth after the year 2000, when more and more subtitlers started to be employed by specialist agencies. There is no official definition in the Register of Professions for a subtitler in Croatia, even a translator is a relatively new entry to the Register, and since there are more and more people who work as freelance subtitlers and make a living out of it, the aim of this chapter is to see where subtitling is as a profession and what the future may hold.

The thesis then investigates the identity of Croatian as a language in subtitling. Given its rather turbulent history, especially over the last 150 years, the language has been changing and was at some point considered a part of another language, Serbo-Croatian. Since 1990 it has been a language of its own again, but its past left its influence on subtitling, in particular as regards the subtitling for the public broadcaster who has a legal role to protect the language. The aim of this chapter is to investigate the Croatian language as seen through the prism of subtitling.

The thesis investigates the techniques of subtitling, issues related to the question of register, constraints imposed by time and space limitations, which are then examined on concrete examples: on subtitling a British TV-drama, which was taken as an example of a subtitled TV content ridden with many ECs (elements of culture), which are later tested in the empirical part of the thesis, and the subtitling of political TV programmes, as an example of a different kind of TV content which imposes limitations of its own. Some space is devoted to the difficulty of translating a title of a TV series. The intricacies surrounding the translation of a title of a TV series or film are also discussed here, as an example of one of the many challenges a subtitler is faced with. The thesis then investigates the translation of elements of

culture or ECs, as they will be called in this thesis, that are in the focus of interest of the empirical research conducted as a part of this project. This chapter is concluded with the discussion of a new technique used in subtitling: templates, which has changed the way subtitling is done.

The main part of the thesis is the survey. The survey was conducted in January 2011 among the students of *Filozofski fakultet*², University of Zagreb, who participated in the survey as model viewers of Croatian TV-programmes. Since it was impossible, primarily because of financial reasons, to conduct the survey outside the city of Zagreb as well, or across the country, which was the original idea, the survey was conducted only amongst students. This chapter also offers the analysis of the survey and the pilot study, as well as an overview of methodology used for the creation of the two questionnaires used in the survey.

Chapter 5 discusses the sample used and the way the study was conducted after changes had been made following the analysis of the pilot study.

Chapter 6 compares what was expected from the participants of the survey: it offers a comparison of a subtitler's expectancy and statistical findings established in the survey. The items are ordered from the one known to most participants to the one least known to most. The statistical data collected in the first part of the questionnaire is then analysed.

Chapter 7 offers a detailed statistical analysis of the survey results, which is backed by statistical data processing in the SPSS programme for statistical analysis. In order not to burden the text with too much statistics in the form of charts and tables, most of these are placed in the Materials sections with pointers in the text to the respective Material section, which backs the claims made in the text.

Chapter 8 deals with further data analysis and examination of the main hypotheses. Advantages and disadvantages of this kind of research are discussed and suggestions for further research are made. This chapter also contains final conclusions and suggestions for future research of AVT perception.

Apart from the detailed statistical analysis of the survey, the Materials of this thesis also include instructions I wrote for novice subtitlers for one of my clients, which is often referred to throughout the thesis, as well as both questionnaires used in the survey.

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² Filozofski fakultet is the original name for the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, University of Zagreb.

The thesis was produced according to the guidelines of *MLA Handbook for Writers of Research Papers, seventh edition* (1977, 1984, 1988, 1995, 1999, 2003, 2009), including the organization of the references. Most statistical data may be found in the Materials since the goal is to enable researches interested in this topic to read this work without interruptions, with references to the data in the Materials section for those interested in a more detailed study of the data.

1.2. The hypotheses and the research question

The main assumption on which this thesis is based is that Croatian TV-audiences receive most information about British and American cultures, which in most instances means American culture, via subtitles, since most foreign-language programmes are subtitled and watching TV is much more widespread than reading books or other forms of text, such as newspapers. Watching subtitled programmes involves reading, and one could say that subtitling is the most prevalent reading form. Subtitling is not only the most frequent reading form in Croatia, but also in other subtitling countries, such as Scandinavian countries (Pedersen 2007). The same could be said for Croatia as a subtitling country. Although subtitles now have a serious competitor in the Internet as regards the most commonly read medium, they are among the most read media. This hypothesis has therefore been changing with the development of new media, with the development of the Internet. However, the viewers are mostly exposed to British and American culture by means of television. This generates various prejudices, ideas about foreign cultures and stereotypes. As it has already been mentioned in the introduction, the main purpose of the research is to investigate to what degree (see Section 1.1.) subtitles influence the perception of AVT contents, culture in particular, since one of the hypotheses is that viewers read subtitles even when they have passive knowledge of English.

Ian Mason compares a subtitle to a sign and adds: "As signs, then, these entities interact (i) with the moving image, (ii) with the continuous ST soundtrack and (iii) with preceding and following subtitles" (Mason 1989:15). One of the aims of this thesis is also to establish how much subtitles are of importance in this exchange, and whether there are instances in which acting or context play greater importance than it can be assumed.

According to some translation scholars, translation is a "form of writing", for instance for Lawrence Venuti (Schäffner and Kelly-Holmes 1995:41). Venuti claims that "translation is not machine-produced or uniform" (1995:41). If subtitling is seen as a form of writing, the one to which readers, in this case viewers, are exposed the most, one comes to the conclusion that subtitling is indeed a form of text. Another aim of this thesis is also the research into what happens to subtitles once they leave the screen, after they have been processed by the readers, viewers, and how much they shape the perception of British and American cultures in the minds of the viewers.

British and American cultures are in the focus of this research since these two cultures, the latter one in particular, are the two English-speaking cultures to which Croatian TV-viewers are most exposed to. AVT content includes any content, in this case subtitled from English into Croatian, broadcast on television. It can be an interview, film, a TV series, a talk show or any other format such as a reality show. One may speculate about the reasons why this is the case and talk about the influence of the British Empire and the influence of modern United States in the world, but this is taken as a fact on which the research of how subtitles shape the perception of these two cultures is based. Another goal is also to establish the connection between viewers' previous knowledge of English, or their perception of their knowledge of English, and their perception of the importance of subtitles, or the degree of the importance of subtitles for their understanding of AVT content. The main reason for this is a general perception that many people who can produce a sentence or two in English in Croatia will either criticize "poor" translation or say that they don't even have to watch subtitles when watching a programme in English. Henrik Gottlieb, a Danish translation scholar who writes about AVT, claims: "in a country which favours audiovisual media, subtitles in foreign productions constitute an important and effective reading drill" (Gottlieb 2000: 178). This view of the importance of subtitles is rather obvious, however, the aim here is also to discover how much viewers are aware of that and are willing to admit that they read subtitles and how much they think they learn about British and American culture through subtitles. Subtitles can't be seen outside the TV image and sound and it is therefore necessary to view subtitles in a different light, as a part of the TV image. One must mention that subtitles are not only fount on TV, they can be found in the cinema, where they appeared even sooner than on television and

where they are still used in subtitling countries, but also in dubbing countries at times, especially for film festivals. Subtitles, called surtitles, are also used in the opera, in some videogames, on video presentations at museums, etc. However, this study focuses on interlingual television subtitles since these are accessible to most people, at least in Croatia.

Australian culture could also have been included as a subject of this study, or even other cultures of countries which used to be or are still partially governed by the British, but the conclusion was reached that British and American culture is an area vast enough to deserve to be dealt with separately in this research, so the perception of Australian or Canadian cultures will be left for another research or to somebody else. It is also a fact that Croatian television viewers are mostly exposed to British and American cultures, American in particular, if for no other reason, than because of the enormous film and television production that comes from that country. The most important reason of all for writing this thesis is to show how much is being learnt about British and American cultures through subtitles, at least in Croatia, and to elicit the importance subtitlers have in this society as a sort of ambassadors of foreign cultures and languages.

All participants in the main survey (see Chapters 4 - 8) have a relatively good level of English. It would be interesting to see the results of such a survey conducted on a representative sample of the general population of Croatia or some other country, but this will also be left to somebody else or for another occasion when substantial funds and years of research will be at hand.

Based on the assumptions elicited in chapters 1.1. and 1.2., I formulate the following hypothesis:

Hypothesis: Subtitles are important for the perception of culture in AVT content, especially for culture specific items, regardless of the level of English and knowledge of ST culture.

The main **research question**, based on the main hypothesis and the assumptions, is: Are subtitles important for the perception of culture and, if yes, to what degree?

Furthermore, I hypothesize, given the assumptions in 1.1. and 1.2., that the empirical research will show the following:

- Even students of English won't know many of the items used in the empirical research, even those items that will be classified as more common or expected to be known to most.
- Education bears little relevance to whether viewers read subtitles or not and rely on them for the understanding of AVT content.
- Most viewers are not ready to admit that they learn about the unknown elements of British and American culture, or the English language, through subtitles.
- The level of English is not relevant for the reading of subtitles since all viewers rely on subtitles for the understanding of AVT content.
- The participants will, at least to some degree, claim that the most crucial element for the understanding of elements of culture is their knowledge of British and American culture.
- Other elements of AVT content, such as acting or picture, as well as scene and context, significantly contribute to the understanding of culture, especially when viewers don't understand the language used in ST and when subtitles don't offer explanation (in the case of omission for instance).
- Viewers perceive language as a part of culture, and this will be, at least to some degree, reflected in the survey.

1.3. AVT and subtitling

Audiovisual translation is translation for the media, primarily television, cinema, DVD, but also Internet and video games. Jorge Díaz Cintas, Anna Matamala and Josélia Neves claim that:

"In principle, audiovisual translation is innate to humankind: people have been translating the audio/visual world which they live in from time immemorial. Every expression in art is, in its own way, a form of AVT. However, AVT can be connected to the advent of the moving image and of talkies in particular." (Díaz Cintas, Matamala and Neves: 2010:13).

Although AVT has followed the development of the media since its origins, "it has only been since the mid 1990s that audiovisual translation (AVT) has started to be

systematically discussed from a translational point of view" (Díaz Cintas 2005a:5). AVT can also be divided as regards the mode through which it is conveyed, so it can be divided into subtitling, dubbing and voiceover, the most prevalent forms of interlingual AVT. Subtitling, with which this thesis deals, is a part of AVT and it can be divided into interlingual and intralingual subtitling. The following definition of subtitling by Díaz Cintas and Remael in their book *Subtitling* from 2007 gives a concise and thorough insight into the discipline:

"Subtitling can be defined as a translation practice that consists of presenting a written next, generally on the lower part of the screen, that endeavours to recount the original dialogue of speakers, as well as the discursive elements that appear in the image (letters, inserts, graffiti, inscriptions, placards and the like), and the information that is contained on the soundtrack (songs, voices off)." (2007:8)³.

Intralingual subtitling refers to translation for the media within one language and is usually performed for people with hearing problems. This form of AVT, SDH subtitling, subtitling for the deaf and hard-of-hearing, has also been the subject of many important studies, such as Josélia Neves's doctoral thesis from 2005. AVT scholars realized that the study of SDH should be done within the studies of AVT (Díaz Cintas 2005b:4). Interlingual AVT is translation from a source language to target language, mostly from a foreign language to the mother tongue, but not always, translation can also be produced in the opposite direction, for instance if a documentary or film produced in the subtitler's country is being sent to international film festivals. This thesis deals with interlingual subtitling from English into Croatian, among other reasons, since SDH subtitling is almost unknown in Croatia and since interlingual subtitling from English into Croatian is the form of subtitling to which Croatian viewers, who are the subject of this study, are mostly exposed. This study is carried out within the framework of AVT. Source language (SL) discussed in this thesis is English, while the target language is Croatian (TL). Source cultures discussed in this thesis are British and American (SC), while the target culture is Croatian (TC). The term source text (ST) refers to spoken dialogue of a film, TV series or a documentary discussed here, while the

³ For more on their classification of subtitling see section 1.3. of their book.

term target text (TT) refers to subtitles, i.e., Croatian written translation of the dialogue. These abbreviations will be used throughout this thesis.

Subtitling doesn't have to be studied as a special form of translation (Chaume 2002), at least not content-wise, although many papers on subtitling usually start with the following sentence: "Subtitling is a special form of translation" (Chaume 2002:2), and this claim makes sense because of the technical constraints of this form of translation. Subtitling is different than literary translation in several ways: because of the shift from spoken to written language that occurs in subtitling, but also because TV viewers read subtitles while watching the moving image and listening to the original dialogue. In that sense, subtitling is special, although any form of translation poses specific challenges to translators. For instance literary translation may be quite challenging as regards the translation of the author's style, but also dialect. Legal translation demands absolute precision on the part of the translator and that is also specific. The contents of audiovisual translation come from all walks of life and AVT is special only in its form, but not content. In that sense, AVT should not be considered as specialized translation, not in the sense in which legal or business translations are considered to be. Specialized translation may be a part of subtitling, however, for instance the subtitling of a legal drama, such as The Practice (1997-2004) or the subtitling of a sports film, the subtitling of a political interview, etc. Technical aspects of subtitling will be further explained in Chapter 3 (see also Material 1).

It is possible to see subtitles as a sort of addition to the ST (Bogucki 2004). however, it is important to establish the degree to which subtitles add to viewers' understanding of the subtitled material. Subtitles are perceived as a part of the subtitled content, for instance a film, however to view them as an addition presupposes awareness of the degree to which they add and the correlation between subtitles and other elements of the moving picture, which will be discussed in Chapters 4 to 8 of this thesis.

Jan Pedersen calls Scandinavia "a bastion of subtitling" (2007:1), quoting Ivarsson and Carroll (1998:5) in his doctoral thesis entitled *Scandinavian Subtitles:* A Comparative Study of Subtitling Norms in Sweden and Denmark with a Focus on Extralingustic Cultural References. The term "bastion" is justified since Ivarsson's earlier book Subtitling for the Media: A Handbook of an Art from 1992 was used as a handbook and main reference point for the creation of subtitling country norms in

Croatia (see section 3.1.). Pedersen's thesis is important not just for the survey of subtitling norms in Scandinavia, but also for eliciting the importance of the link between culture and translation in audiovisual translation (see section 1.5.), as well as for the study of subtitling norms elsewhere. Croatia could also be seen as a sort of bastion of subtitling since it is a subtitling country as regards the prevalent form of AVT (see Sections 3.1. and 3.4). Ivarsson and Carroll (1998) don't mention Croatia, or other countries of the former Yugoslavia as subtitling countries, although subtitling as an AVT form goes back to the beginnings of cinema and television broadcasting.

1.4. Culture and subtitling

The subtitling of culture is discussed in greater detail in section 3.3. 4, but the link between culture and subtitling should be established. The link between culture and subtitling is rather obvious since, if subtitlers are translators of AVT content that has emerged in, in the case of the topic of this thesis, in the USA or the United Kingdom, subtitles are reflections of these cultures. Judy Giles and Tim Middleton, in their book *Studying Culture – A Practical Introduction*, quote Raymond Williams and say that "culture is one of the two or three most complicated words in the English language" (Giles and Middleton 1999:9). The term culture is not as abstract that it cannot be explained. Snell-Hornby (2006:55) translated Hans Vermeer's definition of culture from German into English. The definition is understandable and not complex. Vermeer says that culture is...

"... the totality of norms, conventions and opinions which determine the behaviour of the members of a society, and all the results of this behaviour (such as architecture, university institutions etc. etc.))". (Vermeer 1989:9).

This definition encompasses laws that define the way people behave and which they go by. For instance, a law that bans giving bribes to state officials or civil servants and prescribes severe punishment if such deeds are discovered. These laws exist in the United Kingdom and the United States, the cultures that are the subject of this study, but also in most other cultures. Such laws exist in Croatia as well. However, although the situation as regards bribing state officials has been changing, there are

conventions which say that for instance if one wishes to compete in a public tender in Croatia, one must have connections or bribe somebody in charge.

Architecture is also a reflection of culture. If one wishes to purchase a "threebedroom flat" in London, to a Croatian, that is a "četverosobni stan" (a four-room apartment). A četverosobni stan in Croatia means a flat with four rooms including a living room. A property advertisement in Croatia would always specify square metres of a flat, and indeed, if one has purchased a new flat, this is one of the first things that one will be asked: "Koliko je velik?" (How big it is?), and reply will include stating the number of square metres and then the number of rooms. In the UK, it is the number of bedrooms that is the starting point of such a conversation. These differences are a part of culture and tradition, and they are reflected in everyday life. It is important that a subtitler is aware of these differences. As regards advertisements, one should also mention job advertisements. An advertisement in a British or American newspaper stating that for a position of a university lecturer the university pays a salary of 40.000 pounds or 60.000 dollars, if the post is at an American university, is rather clear to an American or British scholars who wish to apply for the job. A Croatian may indeed think that lecturers in the UK and the US are paid incredibly well since when one talks about a salary in Croatia, it is in terms of a monthly salary after taxation, or net salary. Again, a subtitler will most certainly be aware of that difference since this awareness may be crucial for the rendering of culture in subtitles. As regards food and eating habits, there are quite a few differences between the British and American culture and the Croatian culture. For instance, there is the American chain of seafood restaurants called Red Lobster⁴. It is a not aimed at the upper end of the market, but it is a sort of a chain that, in theory, should be affordable to everyone. This term appeared in one of the episodes of the world famous Oprah Show⁵ (1986-2011) subtitled in 2003 for the Croatian Radio and Television, the HRT. Oprah Winfrey, the host of the programme, was visiting young American soldiers who were waiting to be dispatched to Iraq. She talked to a young female African-American soldier who told her she had never eaten fish. Oprah asked her back: "Not even a Red Lobster?" The Croatian subtitler could have assumed that she was talking about lobsters as a maritime species, the indefinite article was rather confusing, but in fact Oprah

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⁴ http://www.redlobster.com/. (Date of access: May 11, 2010).

⁵ http://www.oprah.com/index.html. (Date of access: May 11, 2010).

wanted to ask the soldier whether she had at least eaten fish in a relatively cheap, fish chain restaurant. This demonstrates that even, at first glance, simple sentences like "Not even a *Red Lobster*", which hides a cultural concept of a chain fish restaurant, are ridden with elements of culture and pose serious challenges to subtitlers. They also elicit the need for subtitlers' cultural literacy since subtitling and culture are closely connected. In Vermeer's terms, eating at *Red Lobster* would mean "behaviour of the members of a society" (Vermeer 1989a:9 qtd. in Snell-Hornby 2006:55). More concrete examples about the strategies for the subtitling of culture will be provided in Chapter 3 of this study.

Vermeer mentions university institutions in his definition, but there are also other institutions that are culturally specific. The university system in the United States, for instance, is different than the Croatian system of higher education, and the educational system as a whole, from primary school onwards. If students attends Harvard Law School⁶, that means that they are not only students at one of the most prestigious educational institutions in the world, but also that they are students of law. A law school is called *pravni fakultet* in Croatian and if the American term appears in an AVT content subtitled into Croatian, a subtitler must pay special attention to the translation of the term school which in Croatian usually means primary and secondary school. Chapters 4 to 8 of this thesis will show the degree to which subtitles play a role in the understanding of such terms, especially given the fact that the term *Harvard* is not explained in subtitles, because of the special and temporal constraints of subtitling. Even though this term is relatively known to the general public in Croatia, at least to university students, even some of them, with basic knowledge of English, can have problems in the understanding of such terms. If a term that is even less known to the general public appears in AVT content, a TV series for instance, or a term known only to certain specialists, the role of translating culture is rather important. If the TV series contains the following sentence: The Fed is decreasing money supply, which doesn't even have to appear in context because such sentences are usually heard coming from a TV that a character is watching or it only serves as a sort of a background, the role of a subtitler as a translator of culture is crucial. The Fed, or The Federal Reserve System⁷ is the central banking system of the United States, and the Croatian

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⁶ http://www.law.harvard.edu/index.html. (Date of access: May 11, 2010).

⁷ http://www.federalreserve.gov/. (Date of access: May 11, 2010).

equivalent would be *narodna banka* (the central bank). An expert in banking and economics will know what *The Fed* is, a stockbroker for instance, but the general public won't. The strategy that will be applied in translation depends on the subtitler and their assessment of the respective viewers (see Sections 3.3. and 3.7.) since that is usually all subtitlers are left with, their own idea of who their viewers are.

1.4.1 Some other cultural patterns in subtitling

Viewers' complaints to the Croatian Television Translation and Subtitling Department (TSD) are rather numerous. One of the complaints made in 2005 was connected to the term "pub", translated in subtitles as gostionica. According to Hrvatski enciklopedijski rječnik (2001), a gostionica is ugostiteljska radnja u kojoj se za stolovima služe uobičajena domaća jela i pića (2001:396), "a catering establishment in which most common local dishes and drinks are served, at tables" (my translation). According to Collins English Dictionary, a pub is "a building with a bar and one or more rooms licensed for the sale and consumption of alcoholic drink, often also providing light meals" (2011:1310). The function of these two institutions is similar, but both pub and gostionica are embedded into their respective cultures. Associations connected to the word pub are: a fireplace, ordering drinks at the bar, and carpet on the floor. For gostionica the associations are: exclusively for males, full of smoke, at least that used to be the case, usually no food is served. One of the reasons is the fact that traditional gostionicas are not that common any more and the fact that they have been replaced by the term kafić (a coffee-shop), which is a kind of gostionica for both genders, in which coffee is served, but also alcoholic beverages, smoking is allowed only in some of them, in smaller establishments. Culture is fluid as well, as it can be seen in this example, since certain aspects of it may change over time. Up to a point, one can understand the viewers who feel that the term pub is unjustly replaced with gostionica. Whether the term will be replaced or not depends on the subtitler's intuition and associations even, connected to the cultural concept. British and American cultural patterns can further be compared with Croatian cultural patterns.

Edward T. Hall, in his work *Silent Language* (1959, 1981), talks about the "iceberg theory of culture". The concept is used to explain that the most important part of culture is completely hidden, and what can be seen is just a tip of the iceberg.

American management consultants noticed another development of the iceberg theory. They suggest the following division:

"Law, customs, rituals, gestures, ways of dressing, food and drink and methods of greeting, and saying goodbye. These are all part of culture, but they are just the tip of the cultural iceberg. The most powerful elements of culture are those that lie beneath the surface of everyday interaction. We call these value orientations. Value orientations are preferences for certain outcomes over others. "(Brake *et al.* 1995:34-39, qtd. in Katan 2004:43)

Value orientations, according to these writers, include "action, communication, environment, time, space, power, individualism, competitiveness, structure and thinking" (Katan 2004:43). According to Katan, Florence Kluckhohn first coined the term value orientation in 1953 (Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck 1961). These include "actions, communication, environment, time, space, power, individualism, competitiveness, structure and thinking" (Katan 2004:43).

When one tries to analyse some of these orientations among Americans, the British and Croatians, the differences are apparent. The UK, and the USA in particular, are much bigger countries than Croatia, which counts only a little more than four million people⁸. The concept of time is rather different in Croatia and the USA. *Time is Money* didn't mean much in Croatia until the introduction of the market economy. Even after the introduction of the concept, the Croatians still highly value their spare time and time spent with friends. There are noticeable differences between the northern parts and the southern parts of Croatia, since the residents of the southern Croatia are though to be more relaxed, while the residents of the northern parts of the country are considered to me more work-oriented. Katan (2004:245) introduces Edward T. Hall's "Theory of Contexting in communication", and according to Hall, cultures can be divided between "high and low contexting cultures" (250). According to Katan (250), who quotes Victor (1992) and Simmons *et al.* (1993), who produced lists of typical features of these two different

⁸ According to 2001 census, Croatia has 4.437.460 residents: Source: Republic of Croatia - Central Bureau of Statistics, http://www.dzs.hr/default_e.htm. (Date of access: April 8, 2009).The 2011 census is being conducted at the time of writing of this thesis.

orientations, high contexting cultures put emphasis on: context, relationship/feelings, indirectness, flexibility (in meaning), (social/personal) appearance and circumstances. The authors define these cultures as more tightly woven and deep rooted. Low contexting cultures are more loosely knit or shallow rooted. The emphasis is placed on text, facts, directness, consistency, substance and rules. Although this is rather simplified, it does, in many ways, reflect realities on the ground from the Croatian perspective. The Croatian culture is primarily a highcontexting culture (HCC), but there are certain regions, cities, which are perhaps more LCC. As regards the time is money concept, Croatians would take this concept much more loosely than the Americans. The concept is taken more seriously amongst the business community in Croatia whose members know that if they waste time, they won't make a lot of money or may even risk the failure of their company in these financially difficult times. An average Croatian will spend time drinking coffee with friends. For instance, if one compares the Swiss Geneva and Zagreb, one could say that there were almost no coffee shops, or cafes. There are few cafes in Geneva since the residents don't spend their time drinking coffee with friends in the middle of a working day, a sight which can be seen on the streets of the Croatian capital Zagreb, as well as other cities: kava (coffee) is an institution and many tourists who visit the Croatian capital wonder if anybody works at all. Most people do work and take work seriously, but, in general, Croatians value their time spent with friends and will try to find time to see them. Many Croatians who live in Zagreb and other cities will be more familiarized with elements of a low contexting culture (LCC), especially professionals who live by the rule time is money, or those who have adopted "western values" which can be translated as "low contexting culture" values. Although Croatia is an HCC culture, LCC elements also exist.

"Cultures traverse geographical and political borders and are sometimes more usefully categorized ethnically, linguistically and religiously". (Katan 2004:84). This is true in Croatia as well. Northern parts of the country have a more central European look, and the citizens who live in the border areas with Slovenia will better understand their Slovenian neighbours who live just across the border than Croatian citizens who live in Dalmatia. On the other hand, southern Dalmatian towns can hardly be connected with central Europe. Katan compares Italian and Anglo-American culture (2004:84) and most of the claims he makes about the

Italian culture may be applied to the southern Croatian Region of Dalmatia, for instance the laid-back attitude to life.

Although all Croatians share the same language (however, trying to understand residents of the rural areas bordering with Slovenia may be quite an effort and one can imagine that these people will be better understood by their Slovenian neighbours than the residents of the city of Osijek, for instance, in the east of the country) and "high culture" or the tip of the "iceberg" mentioned above, the question is whether what is hidden below is common to all parts of the country, and that is quite important to the subtitler who subtitles for the Croatian market in its entirety. Namely, it is questionable even whether all elements of the "tip" are common to all Croatians.

The laws of the country are, understandably, the same for all Croatian residents, but if one tries to think of rituals and customs, there are variations. Most Croatians celebrate Christmas, but unlike in the USA where turkey is standard dinner at Christmas, in Croatia there is no standard Christmas dinner throughout the country. In Zagreb, it is traditional to prepare dried cod, at the coast as well, which may be seen as strange as well since cod is not so common in the waters of the Croatian Adriatic. On the other hand, people in the east of the country will eat *fiš* (pronounced as "fish" with a long "i"), a sort of a fresh-water fish stew. From the point of view of a subtitler, subtitling an American film for Christmas entertainment in Croatian homes, this can pose serious challenges since the American turkey cannot be easily replaced with an equivalent Croatian cultural concept.

Food and drink are also mentioned among the elements of the "tip". The English will know what English breakfast is and the meal is standard throughout the country, as well as the Americans, who have an American breakfast. However, there is no such thing as a standard Croatian breakfast and the food served in various parts of the country tends to be different, not only for Christmas. Dalmatian food is traditionally lighter, while food in the northwest of Croatia, and especially in the east, is much heavier. A Viennese schnitzel is typical food offered in Zagreb restaurants, for instance, and cakes tend to be more substantial, Central European, while cakes at the coast will be similar, almost the same, to Italian, i. e., Mediterranean. For a subtitler working for the Croatian market it can be a challenge even to translate the words "cake" and "cookie" into Croatian, since these two nouns can mean different things in various parts of the country. There is a typical

American custom with no Croatian equivalent: trick-or-treating⁹. What follows is an example from a film translated for Croatian Television (HTV) in 2009, called *In America*¹⁰: The two main children characters in the film annoy their upstairs neighbour by shouting out *trick or treat* repeatedly. The subtitler decided to leave *trick or treat* in the original and put it in italics. Since there is no Croatian equivalent for *trick or treat*, the reasoning was that not translating this concept would at least not be irritating to those who are familiar with the American Halloween custom practiced by children. Translation strategies in subtitling will be further explained in Chapter 3 of this study.

The first "orientation" (Katan 2004:43) that strikes as culture specific and different in the USA, and which is different in Croatia, is individualism. Individualism is at the core of American culture and thinking. American president Barack Obama devotes a whole chapter of his book *Audacity of Hope* from 2006, to values. In his chapter about the American constitution, explaining that he used to teach at a law school, Obama notes:

"But what I appreciated most about teaching constitutional law, which I wanted my students to appreciate, was just how accessible the relevant documents remain after two centuries. My students may have used me as a guide, but they needed no intermediary, for unlike the books of Timothy and Luke, the founding documents – the Declaration of Independence, the Federalist Papers, and the Constitution – present themselves as the product of men. We have a record of the Founder's intentions; I would tell my students, their arguments and their palace intrigues. If we can't always decide what was is in their hearts, we can at least cut through the mist of time and have some sense of the core ideals that motivated their work ."(Obama 2006:102).

Obama further explains the American concept of individualism, attitude towards property, etc., and all of these concepts are quite different in Croatia. One could say that the Croatian frame of mind is more collectivist than individualist, since we don't have the tradition of individualism. Communism was the ideology that dominated the minds of Croatians for far too long not to have consequences on the present thinking. Croatians tend to rely more on the collective and they turn to government while looking for solutions of their problems. However, the concept of

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⁹ Trick-or-treating is a custom for children on Halloween. Children proceed in costume from house to house, asking for treats such as confectionery, or sometimes money, with the question, "Trick or treat? Source: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Trick-or-treating. (Date of access: January 8, 2010).

¹⁰ Source: http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0298845/. (Date of access: January 8, 2010)

individualism is not prevalent in other European countries as well, even those completely untouched by communism in the past.

Herbert Hoover, a former American president, explains the difference between the concept of individualism in Europe and the USA. In his book *American Individualism*, published in 1922, he writes:

"We in America have had too much experience of life to fool ourselves into pretending that all men are equal in ability, in character, in intelligence, in ambition. That was part of the claptrap of the French Revolution. We have grown to understand that all we can hope to assure to the individual through government is liberty, justice, intellectual welfare, equality of opportunity, and stimulation to service. It is maintenance of a society fluid to these human qualities that our individualism departs from the individualism of Europe. There can be no rise for the individual through the frozen strata of class, or of casts, and no stratification can take place in a mass livened by the free stir of its particles." (Hoover 1922:19-20).

This, although not directly, then refers to the class society of the United Kingdom. One wonders how a Croatian viewer perceives the Royal Wedding, which took place in April 2011 in the UK, and what an average Croatian thinks when they hear that Prince William is marrying "a commoner" since that term, when translated from English as *pučanka* sounds like a word that belongs to the Middle Ages.

Both Obama and Hoover put individualism at the core of American thinking, or "value judgements" if we use Katan's terminology. The Croatian society is not completely different as regards individualism, but given the country's not very distant communist past, one can hardly expect that the society will swiftly move from collectivist to individualistic. These concepts are almost abstract, but when it comes to subtitling, they may influence difficult rendering of British and American culture in Croatian subtitles since some concepts may not exist in the target culture.

Although the communism of the former Yugoslavia was not as radical and repressive as in the countries of the former Warsaw Pact, it is important to note that the former Yugoslavia was not, as it is often falsely believed in Western Europe even twenty years after its break-up, behind the Iron Curtain (which is why Italian and Austrian programmes were re-broadcast in the beginnings of television in Croatia, for more see section 3.1. and Nikolić 2010). However, people were not allowed to express their minds freely, especially not about the regime, it was a one-

party system and the society was far from free. The modern Croatian society is still in transition and a subtitler for any Croatian TV channel must be aware of the fact that they are subtitling for people who, most of them, grew up in the old system and concepts stemming from the American society may be challenging to subtitle.

Transportation forms or habits are different in the UK, US and Croatia. If one compares American pickup trucks with modes of personal vehicle-transportation in Croatia, the difference is immediately noticeable. In Croatian cities such cars are not easy to drive in cities and towns, especially in the cities and towns on the Croatian coast, and this term is culture-specific. The notion of commuting is known to Croatians, but it doesn't usually involve long commutes, anything above one hour would be considered unusual, while a one-hour commute is not that uncommon in the United States. The very fact that there is no Croatian term for "commuting" speaks for itself. It is usually translated descriptively as *putovanje do posla* (travelling to work). Culture specific concepts connected to travel are very common in subtitling and differences between source and target cultures may be challenging to render in subtitles.

There are also examples from the higher echelons of society and culture that are rather culture specific, for instance national songs and anthems, which carry specific meaning and have certain depth in a society. The Croatian national anthem is called *Lijepa naša* (Our beautiful homeland) and the country is often referred to as Lijepa naša, meaning Croatia. The song referred to in one of the items of the questionnaire (see Chapter 4) is called Rule, Britannia, and it is ridden with meaning, since it bears special importance to the United Kingdom. Such instances are numerous and they always pose a challenge for a translator, and even more so for a subtitler because of the temporal and spatial restrictions of subtitles, but also because of the fact that the viewer can hear, and see if it is something tactile, the original (for more on these restrictions see Section 3.3.). This issue is of special concern to subtitlers since it is rather risky to move away from the original too much or resort to substitution with a similar cultural concept. A quick glance at viewers' complaints on internet forums reveals that viewers are not very happy when a subtitler, for instance, resorts to substituting *Lijepa naša* with *God Save the* Queen or Rule, Britannia.

Given the spatial and temporal constraints of subtitling, cultural patterns, or ECs (elements of culture) as they are called in this study (for more see Chapter 4),

are some of the most difficult elements of television subtitling. A subtitler has to make almost an instant decision about how they will approach the translation of an element of culture, since subtitling is almost like "written simultaneous interpreting" (Gambier 2003:178). The difference is however that, especially as regards television subtitling or DVD subtitling, the translation may be seen again and again. Television offers reruns and viewers today, with digital TV platforms, are able to record programmes and watch them when they wish. For these reasons, it is important that subtitlers pay closer attention to the treatment of ECs and the way they approach them, which they can't do properly if they don't know their viewers.

Regardless of all cultural differences, which are difficult to subtitle, subtitling of ECs is not impossible and it is, of course, done. It remains to be seen, from Chapter 4 onwards, what sort of effect it has on viewers, and how they perceive it, in particular how much they rely on subtitles for their understanding of culture.

1.5. The perception of culture in AVT

1.5.1 The definition of perception

For the purposes of this study, it is important to differentiate between *reception* and *perception*. When AVT scholars talk about the need of the study of viewers, they talk about *reception*.

"Originally, the present study intended to apply the results in the form of a *reception* study (emphasis added). The goal of that study was to expose typical viewers from Denmark and Sweden to subtitles that included ECRs (footnote added)¹¹ rendered according to the norms, not of their own, but of their neighbouring country." (Pedersen 2007:273).

There are scholars who differentiate between these two terms and see *perception* and *reception* as two different terms:

"What does 'reception' mean? According to Kovačič (1995:376), reception (for subtitling) can be interpreted in several ways. It can be: "the socio-cultural issue of non-TV context influencing the

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¹¹ For Pedersen, ECR is an abbreviation for extra-linguistic cultural references.

process of receiving subtitles"; "the attitudinal issue of viewers' preference for subtitling over dubbing or vice versa"; "the perceptual issue of subtitle decoding (reading and viewing) strategies"; or "the psychological or cognitive issue of the impact of cognitive environment on understanding subtitles" (*ibid.*). These four aspects (socio-cultural, attitudinal, perceptual and psychological/cognitive) could be used to inform a model for research on subtitle reception. "(Gambier: 2003:185).

According to this definition by Kovačič (1995:376), quoted by Gambier (2003:376), perception is a part of the reception of subtitles, and the latter, according to this view, can be manifold. This study uses the term perception as a slightly wider term than the above-mentioned definition. As it has already been said, one of the aims of this thesis is to establish which of the elements of an AVT content influence the understanding of British and American culture, especially to determine the role subtitles play in it and their interplay with acting, context and previous knowledge of language and culture. Thus, this study is the study of *reception* in the sense that it examines one aspect of it, and that is *perception*. It could be defined as a study of reception in the sense that it encompasses one of the aspects of *reception* mentioned in the above definition. However, the viewers are in the focus of this study, as well as their perception.

The first attempt at developing a theory of pictorial perception of an audiovisual content comes from the 1950s.

"A distinction is possible between what is commonly called experience at first hand and experience at second hand. In the former one becomes aware of something. In the latter one is *made aware* of something. The process by which an individual becomes aware of something is called *perception* (emphasis added), and psychological investigators have been concerned with it for generations." (Gibson, Lumsdaine, and Roshal 1954:3).

1.5.2 The survey of perception in this study

This is the attempt of the present study, to see how viewers perceive AVT content, so the *perception* is in its focus, more precisely: the perception of culture. In the first part of the questionnaire (see Chapter 4 for more), the participants in the survey «become aware» (1954:3) of what they are going to see in the subtitled video-clip that will follow, after which they will answer questions as regards their perception of what influenced understanding the most, they are «made aware» (1954:3) after

they have compared all the elements of the respective AVT content and compared them with their previous knowledge. The methodology and empirical study are further discussed from Chapter 4 onwards. This approach should clarify how viewers perceive culture in a subtitled AVT content.

More recent empirical research by means of eye tracking technology was performed to discover how precisely subtitles are read (see more in Romero Fresco 2010). This particular research is based on the study of reading speeds of respoken subtitles and offers an interesting insight into the study of subtitles from the perspective of the focus of viewers on intralingual subtitles. The aim of this study however, is to see subtitles as a part of an AVT content, since interlingual subtitles, which are the subject of this study, are primarily produced for the viewers who also hear the original sound and see the picture, and to develop conclusions about the overall perception of it based on a detailed statistical analysis.

Why is perception important in the context of the study of audiovisual content? AVT content, which in this case includes subtitles, is made for viewers and they deserve every attention of TV companies, subtitlers and AVT scholars.

2 Theoretical background

The purpose of this chapter is to discuss the similarities between Descriptive Translation Studies (DTS) and functionalist approaches prevalent in the German tradition of Translations Studies, i.e., Vermeer and Reiss's Skopos Theory and the Model of Translatorial Action¹² developed by Justa Holz-Mänttäri, since these approaches are seen as the most relevant for the study of subtitling. However neither of the two paradigms, neither DTS nor functionalist approaches, referred to subtitling, at least not by those "who carry out the program and their work sets the standard by means of which the disciples measure their success" (Radnitzky 1970:9, as qtd. in Snell-Hornby 2006:5). Theorists of AVT later embraced these theories, DTS in particular. Díaz Cintas (2004) and Pedersen (2007), pointed out to the advantages of the application of DTS on the study of AVT. The former sees DTS as an ideal theoretical framework for the study of AVT as a whole, while the latter uses DTS's study of norms and applies it to interlingual subtitling. DTS's

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¹² The English name of this model is taken from Snell-Hornby 2006.

study of norms will be partially used in this study for the explanation of translation strategies used in subtitling. However, shortcomings of placing the study of AVT within the framework of DTS will also be pointed out.

2.1. Descriptive Translations Studies (DTS)

It was Gideon Toury who developed this paradigm for the research of Translation Studies (cf. 1980, 1985 and 1995). "In reaction against source-text linguistics, the front-line brand of descriptivism associated with Gideon Toury insists that the real games are played out on the target-side" (Pym 2001:277). In a way, that is an understandable reaction against traditional approaches to the study of translation since it is impossible to talk about translation only from the point of view of source-text linguistics.

Although DTS is favoured by many AVT scholars, such as Pedersen (2007) and Díaz Cintas (2004), this paradigm has some limitations as regards the AVT, subtitling in particular, which is the subject of this study, but also advantages clearly pointed out by Díaz-Cintas (2004:22). In his review of the application of DTS on AVT, Díaz Cintas concludes that DTS relies on literary translation (2004:22). If the study of AVT wants to be given the status it deserves, "more analyses are needed with a more theoretical and less anecdotal approach" (31) and he believes that DTS offers such a platform. The good point about using DTS for the study of AVT is that it describes the way translation is and not the way it should be, so it's a significant move from purely linguistic theories of translation, which shouldn't be completely overlooked and discarded as well. The key terms that define DTS are "descriptive, target-oriented, functional and systemic" (Snell-Hornby 2006:49). It is useful to describe translation form the descriptive point of view. However, there are some limitations as regards the target-oriented view, especially with applying Toury's opinion that translators operate "first and foremost in the interest of the culture into which they are translating, and not in the interest of the source text, let alone the source culture" (1985:18-19). DTS is primarily focused on literary translation, so it is understandable that not all aspects of it can be applied on AVT and subtitling in particular. DTS can't be fully applied on subtitling since subtitling involves direct exposure of viewers to the ST and source culture (SC). Subtitlers do operate in the interest of the source culture. Subtitlers are ambassadors

of foreign cultures, and fully operate in the interest of the source cultures from which they subtitle into their mother tongue. They enable the reception of these cultures as TT, and their subtitles are accompanied by the original sound and picture. If subtitlers enable the reception of STs by the Croatian audience for instance, it is obvious that they work in the interest of the source culture, as well as in the interest of the target culture. Therefore, interlingual subtitling is neither focused more on the ST, nor on the TT, the focus is placed equally on both the ST and TT.

When Latin American soap operas started to be broadcast on various Croatian TV channels, the interest in the study of Spanish grew enormously. In 2010, commercial TV broadcasters started to broadcast Turkish soap operas and the interest in travel to Turkey has increased considerably and it will presumably be followed by the interest in the study of Turkish. One may hypothesize that the same would happen if a Swedish soap opera started to be broadcast by one of the Croatian broadcasters, or any other. This is all obvious evidence that translators and subtitlers in particular, operate in the interest of the source culture. The interest in the study of English has always been enormous. One can't say that this is so only because of the types of TV programmes viewers are exposed to, but this *is* one of the reasons. However, one can understand Toury since what he had in mind was literary translation and he applied DTS to it. In literary translation, indeed, the ST remains in the shadow of the TT, in a way it may even be said that the TT doesn't exist any more.

The study of norms is also carried out within the framework of DTS and it can be applied to the study of subtitling, especially Chesterman's norms (1997) as shown by Pedersen (2007). DTS is partly used in this thesis to show how viewers perceive subtitles depending on the strategy used in subtitling. The term "expectancy norm" as used by Chesterman (1997:64) should not be mistaken for the term "expectancy" used in this study (as it is used in section 6.2. for instance), where the term refers to the expectations of the subtitler as regards what the participants of the survey know and don't know, i.e., the degree of familiarity of items used in the questionnaire. That will be explained in detail in the second part of the thesis, from Chapter 4 onwards.

2.2. The Skopos Theory

The Skopos Theory, since its focus is not only on literary translation, is more suitable for the application on the study of subtitling. The theory came about with Vermeer's essay "Ein Rahmen für eine allgemeine Translationstheorie" (A framework for a general theory of translation (Vermeer 1978), which, according to Snell-Hornby (2006:51), laid the foundations for the Skopos theory. Snell-Hornby translated Kussmaul's explanation (Kussmaul 2004:223) of Vermeer's idea from the German (Snell Hornby 2006:51). Vermeer wanted to show that "needs and expectations of the reader" (2006:51) in their culture determine the "purpose of the translation" (51). Vermeer called this "faithfulness to the original" (51) the "skopos" (51). What this approach questions, however, is text and translation and the relationship between the two:

This meant, at its simplest, that a translation could be highly effective and could fulfil its original purpose and yet could deviate enormously from the source. We need only think of the translation of legal and technical materials, for example, to see why this should be so. A legal document in one language will be constructed according to the norms governing that type of text in that context; to translate it literally would be foolish, since the norms and conventions of the target context are bound to be different. (Bassnett 2011:105).

This is especially true, as regards legal documents, if there are significant differences between the legal systems. The legal systems of the two countries whose cultures are in the focus of this study are based on the common law and there are many gaps between their legal systems and the legal system of Croatia based on the Roman law. One of the most obvious differences is that there is no jury in the Croatian legal system, the division of courts is quite different, the legal procedure differs, trials are lengthier in Croatia, etc. These are only some differences. The function of translation becomes even more obvious in texts such as tourist brochures or translations of magazines. This is an example from the spring 2011 edition of an in-flight magazine of the Croatian national carrier (Croatia Airlines In-Flight Magazine, spring edition 2011). The company decided to reward its customers by opening a competition for the most innovative photography and it invited, through its in-flight magazine, its customers to send their travel photos and fill in their personal data on a leaflet inserted into the magazine. As this is usually

the case when it comes to in-flight magazines, *Croatia Airlines* in-flight magazine is published both in Croatian and English and it is always very interesting research material for a translation scholar. In the Croatian part of the leaflet, the passengers who wish to send their photos were given the option of choosing whether they are *g.* (Mr.), *gđa.* (Mrs.¹³) and *gđica.* (Miss). This exact translation was used on the other side of the leaflet, in the English part. The translator apparently missed the fact that it has become rather sexist and irrelevant whether a woman is married or not and that some women may be insulted by that, especially in the English speaking world. In Croatia however, the abbreviation *gđica*, although written without a period, is still widely used. The translator might have partly ruined the function of the leaflet by failing to notice that there are cultural differences between Croatia and the English-speaking world in which "Mrs." doesn't exist any more. The aim of the leaflet was inviting people to send their travel photographs, not putting off some of them.

The Skopos theorists' views may be applied on subtitling. The "aim and function of translation" (Hönig and Kussmaul 1982) determine the approach to translation and on subtitling. What follows is an example from subtitling, from an Australian TV-series *Packed to the Rafters* (2008, 2009). The instruction provided by the Croatian Television Subtitling Department was: "The series will be broadcast in the afternoon and subtitlers are instructed to adjust the language to that fact and notify the HRT¹⁴ in case of any obscene language and scenes" (my translation). The programme was broadcast both in early afternoon and at 18:15 from Monday to Friday. There are numerous situations in which language needed to be adjusted, given the above-mentioned instruction, and this primarily refers to expletives. The subtitler is also faced with the fact that ST is always in front of the viewers and it is impossible to completely move away "the reader from the author" in Schleiermacher's sense (Lefevere 1977). Pedersen (2007) says that in "real lifesituations, however, proper translation briefs are depressingly rare". It is in fact rather easy to determine the skopos of translation in subtitling. For instance an overseas TV subtitling company, subtitling for the Croatian TV market, started to produce two translations of the same programme for broadcasters such as cable

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¹³ This abbreviation is written without a period.

¹⁴ Abbreviation for *Hrvatska radio-televizija*, Croatian Radio and Television, of which Croatian Television, *Hrvatska televizija*, is a part.

channels Hallmark and NBC. Because of the variations of the audience, one is broadcast before 8 PM and one after that. The briefs or commissions are given by the broadcasters and are forwarded to subtitlers who perform something called a recut of the full-version programme broadcast after 8 PM and create a new one that will be broadcast before 8 PM. Recut can be complex and simple. A complex recut means that whole scenes are deleted, sometimes even rearranged. What is most common is a simple recut that implies that only scenes of violence, those containing expletives, and scenes of sex, are deleted and translations are adjusted, recut, accordingly. Pedersen (2007) points outs as a great advantage of the Skopos theory the fact that it "seeks to explicate what the skopoi of translations actually are and it emphasizes the role of the translation commission" (2007:22). This is the case in practice and subtitling commissions or as Nord calls them, "briefs" (1997a:59) are extremely important for the way the TT will be like, i.e., for the way subtitles will look like. However, there is another functional approach to translation: the Theory Translatiorial Action defined by Justa Holz-Mänttäri in her book Translatorisches Handeln. Theorie und Methode (1984) that is even more suitable for the explanation of what goes on in subtitling, although Holz-Mänttäri published the book in 1984 and she didn't work as a subtitler.

2.3. The Model of Translatorial Action

Although some translation scholars criticize functionalist approaches (Schäffner 1998a) to translation because they "turn translators into mercenaries" (Pym 1996), perhaps the word mercenaries can even be applied to subtitlers and translators as well. What follows is another example from the HRT Translation and Subtitling Department. According to that instruction, one mustn't specify the episode number in the above-mentioned *Packed to the Rafters* because this is only done for soap operas, according to the Subtitling Department. Although *Packed to the Rafters* can be classified as a soap opera, the subtitler doesn't have a choice but to follow the instruction. This is another example: editors who select and buy foreign TV series to be broadcast on HRT demanded, in 2010, more exposure. They wanted to be credited at the end of each episode. Subtitlers were therefore given orders to credit them as well and the practice has lived on.

The third example is an e-mail received from the HRT's Translation Department in December 2010 which says:

"We were ordered that while subtitling each TV programme, regardless of its type – a TV series, a film, a programme for children or a documentary – that we should insert an "identification" (telop) at the beginning of each programme. A telop includes the translation of title, the translation of the subtitle, the season if it is a TV series, information about sound and duration of the programme. The last two are unknown to subtitlers and a technician will supply them, but all other data must be subtitled in one subtitle before the beginning of the programme. The telop is not something that will be broadcast but it is information about what is on the tape. If the programme doesn't include time code, a subtitler should just create such a subtitle and it will be time-coded, spotted, manually". (HRT, 2010, my translation)

Although most programmes include all the information demanded in this e-mail, this is one of numerous examples of subtitlers being involved in a number of other activities, in working almost like "mercenaries" in Pym's sense of the word, and this clearly shows that Holz-Mänttäri's claim (in Snell-Hornby's translation from the German 2006:57) that "Translatorial action is integrated into a system of other actions and is controlled by factors lying outside it" (Holz-Mänttäri 1984a:177) is true. In theory, a subtitler should have nothing to do with crediting editors or with inserting telops. No translation paradigm before Holz-Mänttäri's included such activities as being part of translation. Schleiermacher and Goethe talk about literary translators as translators, not as printers or assistants for jobs that should be done by somebody else involved in the process of producing copies of translations, books.

Another example will illustrate the importance of translatorial action and it being part of other actions. The translation brief referred to an update of a user manual for air-conditioning systems for farms to be translated for a Danish translation agency into Croatian. That translation agency works for a Danish producer of these systems for animal farms. The update consisted only of two pages and the beginning of it was aimed at guiding the user of the manual, a Croatian user in this case using the manual in Croatian, in the process of changing the default language of the air conditioning system's main computer, which is English, into Croatian, i.e., it contained instructions about how to change producer's settings after the installation of the system and start using Croatian instead of English on the main computer. The instruction said: "when you see *language setting* on the screen, hold

the button and press it twice..." (my translation). Since the aim is to help the Croatian farmer to change the setting of English into Croatian, the expression language setting was left in English since it was quite obvious that what the farmer would see on the screen upon installation is default language, English. This is Vermeer's and Reiss's Skopos theory in action, as well as Holz-Mänttäri's Model of Translatorial Action acting in favour of the consumer. However, after the submission of the translation, the Danish translation agency asked that the *language* setting be translated into Croatian and changed in the document they had received. That was done according to their demand, but the Croatian translator sent an explanation saying that was rather illogical. However, the Danish agency replied back thanking for the remark. They explained that the commissioner, the Danish producer of air-conditioning systems for animal farms, asked that to be done, without any further explanation. Although the topic of this thesis is the investigation of the other part of translatorial action, i. e., the perception part, this is an obvious example of the fact that the one who pays, decides the look of the final product and quality of course. One could only hope that Croatian pig farm owners wouldn't do any damage to their animals and that they would be able to change language into Croatian. The translator presumed that the warning was enough, in accordance with translation ethics, although the translator perhaps acted as a "mercenary" in Pym's sense of the word.

For Holz-Mänttäri translation is just an action and she definitely rejects linguistic approaches to translation still dominant in the early 1980s. Perhaps her belief that translation was not a matter of language at all would make more sense if she said that it was not *just* a matter of language, however, since she was a practicing translator at the time when she produced her book, one can understand what she meant.

Christina Schäffner explained the Model of Translatorial Action in English (1998a) since Holz-Mänttäri wrote her book *Translatorisches Handeln. Theorie und Methode* (1984) in a rather complicated German. Snell-Hornby says that the actual content of Holz-Mänttäri's action theory was "more favourably accepted by practising translators" (Snell-Hornby 2006:59). A practicing subtitler may understand why for Holz-Mänttäri it's the message that is central and not the linguistic items. The subtitler must understand the message of a TT in order to

condense it, given the spatial and temporal limitations of subtitles, and that translation of linguistic items is far less important.

This is another example that elicits the importance of the transfer of the message in subtitling. The example comes from a difficult documentary from the series called *Mega-Movers* (2006), episode 108 subtitled for *Viasat Explorer* in 2010. This episode was about aircrafts used for the transport of parts of space shuttles from assembly plants to launch pads. Failure to concentrate on the message would have resulted in very few people understanding the translation, first and foremost since many of the terms used don't exist in the Croatian language and culture: terms such as *launch pad* for instance. Holz-Mänttäri emphasizes the role of the commission in such a way that subtitlers are responsible for the production of the appropriate text. Whether a commission can be realized, depends on the circumstances of the target culture. The translator is an expert in intercultural communication for her, the same as for Skopos theorists. Holz-Mänttäri mentions fees, deadlines and circumstances in which translations are produced. If one asked a practicing translator what determines the final product, these three would be among the top five or at least ten factors that determine the quality of translation.

Vermeer's concept of moving away from the source text as part of the Skopos theory, the same as Toury's views about the importance of the TT, can not be fully applied to the study of subtitling since the viewer is exposed to both the ST and TT. It was Newmark who criticized the emphasis on the message to the expense of richness of meaning (Newmark 1991:106) and Venuti, on the other hand, argued that "domestication" involves "violence on the source culture" (Venuti 1995), taking up once again Schleiermacher's dichotomy. Venuti and Vermeer drew their theories, as well as Toury, from literary translation and Holz-Mänttäri didn't include subtitling in her theory, which shows that these paradigms are not fully applicable to the study of subtitling because Schleiermacher's dilemma is unnecessary in subtitling, since a subtitler has to do both, at the same time, bring the author closer to the reader and reader closer to the author since both of them interact. Holz-Mänttäri's theory is the best for the study of the subtitling profession and decisions made by subtitlers, perhaps even the study of the perception of subtitles since it is the theory that is the closest to what actually goes on in the process of subtitling. Combined with Andrew Chesterman's "memes" (Chesterman 1997) it provides a possible framework for the study of subtitling. Different approaches should indeed be integrated in Snell-Hornby's sense of the word, at least when the study of subtitling is concerned (Snell-Hornby 1998/1995). Translation doesn't work on the sentence level as linguists believed it does, not to mention subtitling which involves spatial and temporal limitations. It is not a matter of domestication or foreignization. Sometimes domestication takes place and sometimes foreignization occurs in the same subtitling product, depending on the aim, *skopos* or function of the translation, as well as the action of which a subtitler is part. The following view by Roger Hillman offers an interesting glance at issues regarding domestication and foreignization in subtitling:

"Outside our linguistic comfort zones, we are at the mercy of subtitles. Beyond the more standard issues of translation that they raise, their position of power is that of a simultaneous interpreter, their technical strictures more confining, and their responsibility towards both cultures at least equal." (Hillman 2011:393)

The subtitler is indeed responsible to both cultures because of the viewers' exposure to both cultures simultaneously. One can neither domesticate nor foreignize without paying attention to both cultures, and this line of discussion is almost irrelevant in subtitling. This view is restricted to interlingual subtitling, while in dubbing one can talk more about domestication and foreignization since the original sound is removed. Dubbing allows for the study of characterization and voice as well since characters, with the change of voice, can become different, such as the character of Buffy analysed in the French dubbed version of *Buffy the Vampire Slayer* (Bosseaux 2008:343-72). Bosseaux shows that little attention has been devoted to the study of voice in dubbing and with her meticulous analysis of the French dubbed version of *Buffy* she has shown that a voice in dubbing influences the perception of characters. In this instance we can also discuss about what occurs more often, domestication or foreignization.

This brings to the conclusion that, as far as theoretical models for the study of AVT are concerned, it is not practical to apply the same theoretical models for both the study of subtitling and dubbing. Regardless of the possible findings of these studies, the discussion about subtitling vs. dubbing is also irrelevant since some countries embrace dubbing and others subtitling for various reasons, one of them being tradition.

2.4. Which theoretical model to employ in the study of subtitling?

There are worries that objective answers to questions scholars ask themselves in humanities in general are not easy to give, in particular through DTS and functionalist approaches as regards Translation Studies:

"As scholars in the humanities, we have to live with the challenge that the most interesting questions are often also the most difficult ones to answer. In this respect, structuralism, text-linguistics, Descriptive Translation Studies and other functionalist and empirical research traditions have often been over-optimistic regarding the scope of rational science in matters of text analysis." (Delabatista 2008:243).

This shouldn't stop us from the search for answers by means of rational science, in the case of this study through empirical research and statistics, even if answers we get by means of empirical research are not the ones we expected, since we are exploring new realms of AVT.

One of the most important contributions of AVT to Translation Studies in general is that it "reveals the limitations of most traditional dichotomies in traditional thinking about translation" (Zabalbeascoa 2010:37). Zabalbeascoa mentions Even Zohar and Toury and gives them credit for taking social, literary and professional dimensions of translation and adds that although they are not linguistically based, their theory "mainly focuses on the verbal dimension of the text" (Zabalbeascoa 2010:37). In subtitling, it is impossible to concentrate only on the verbal, since a subtitle is an integral part of the picture and viewers may draw meaning from other visual and audio sources, as will be shown in the survey (see Chapter 4). Viewers, who are in the focus of this study, concentrate on other elements and it is therefore important to take various approaches to the study of translation when analysing this matter.

Furthermore, when talking about subtitling, it would be considered old-fashioned to talk about prescriptive translation studies. However, if one takes a look at the example from the Australian TV-series *Packed to the Rafters* used in this chapter, or if one takes a look at Material 1, which is sort of a rule book written for Croatian novice subtitlers, and if one takes a look at Chapter 3 which deals with about subtitling, one may come to the conclusion that subtitling is prescriptive to a

certain point, at least in the sense that it includes many rules which subtitlers need to stick to, or otherwise they risk being labelled as poor subtitlers and they may not be hired again. Authors like Chesterman (1998) would consider these to be "professional norms" (1998:67) and this idea could fall under what he calls "accountability norm" (68). Chesterman explains the accountability norm:

"A translator should act in such a way that the demands of loyalty are appropriately met with regard to the original writer, the commissioner of the translation, the translator or himself, the retrospective readership any other relevant parties," (Chesterman 1998:68).

He calls this "an ethical norm" (1998:68). However, examples mentioned in this thesis regarding the way translators should go about their work are different from Schleiermacher's thoughts about translation as described by Snell-Hornby in her book *Turns of Translation Studies*, in the chapter of the book that deals with "great precursors" (Snell-Hornby 2006:6-19). If a subtitler has a guidebook, like the one in Material 1, there is a substantial degree of prescription in the everyday work of a subtitler, ranging from which register to use to what a subtitle should look like, to be more precise, must look like. Díaz-Cintas also claims that DTS avoids "being prescriptive or normative" (Díaz-Cintas 2004:29) and concludes that in the field of AVT, which is marked by so many constraints, one has to follow certain rules or norms. He points to the exmplae of the *Code of Good Subtitling Practice* (2004:30) publicized by the European Association for Studies in Screen Translation (www.esisit.org), which is a set of rules, or norms subtitlers should follow. "Linguistic and cultural approaches should not be seen as antagonistic paradigms, but rather complementary" (2004:30), according to Díaz Cintas.

Subtitling and research in the field of subtitling as part of AVT, which is a part of Translation Studies, can be done with the application of DTS, the Skopos Theory or Model of Translatorial Action. However, all these models can contribute something to the study of subtitling and we need and should introduce concepts from other disciplines like sociology or psychology to the study of subtitling to elicit the importance it plays in subtitling countries. DTS can contribute with the study of norms, but its focus on the target text imposes limitations on the study of subtitling. Furthermore, this model was developed by scholars like Toury who had the study literary translation in mind. The Skopos Theory didn't encompass the

study of subtitling, but it can be partly applied on the study of it, as well as the Model of Translatorial Action. However, it would be for the best to take those aspects of these theories that can be applied to the study of subtitling, since some can't be applied to it. The goal is not to develop a new theoretical model, but to borrow from these models and use them in the study of the perception of subtitles.

"Some scholars deplore the lack of an encompassing theory of AVT, yet one cannot help wondering if such a theory would even be useful. Although interdisciplinarity increasingly characterizes AVT research today, the frameworks within which much AVT research has been and is being conducted are those of Descriptive Translation Studies, Polysystem Theory, and, more recently, Functionalist Translation Studies..." (Remael 2010).

Views such as this one are quite just. They show that it is not even necessary to develop a special model for the study of AVT and perhaps using tools from other disciplines such as linguistics, psychology, sociology and statistics (the tool used in this study) is enough, depending on the area of AVT that is being studied. The future might include working together with other disciplines, and that wouldn't be a surprise, given the pace at which AVT is developing.

3 Subtitling

3.1. The history of subtitling in Croatia¹⁵ (for more see Nikolić 2005, 2010)

3.1.1 Croatian Radio and Television

HTV¹⁶, the former RTVZ (Radio-Television Zagreb), began broadcasting in 1956. In its beginnings the company rebroadcast Austrian and Italian programmes, and in the 1960s it began producing and broadcasting its own programmes which included broadcasting films and TV series with Croatian subtitles. This was the

¹⁵ Based on an interview with Ms Bojana Zeljko-Lipovšćak, the former Head of HRT's (Croatian Radio and Television, Croatian public television and radio service) Translation and Subtitling Department. Ms Zeljko-Lipovšćak was the Head of the Department for 19 years. For more see Nikolić 2010.

¹⁶ HTV, Hrvatska televizija (Croatian Television), is part of HRT. HRT also includes HR, Hrvatski Radio, (Croatian Radio) with both HTV and HR forming HRT.

beginning of television subtitling in Croatia, which was at the time a part of the former Yugoslavia. Until the 1970s programmes were broadcast live, i.e. subtitlers were present in the studio during broadcasts and they gave commands for time-cues of subtitles (the appearance of subtitles on the TV-screen).

The profession gathered momentum with the establishment of the Translation and Subtitling Department at Croatian Television in 1989, the use of new technology and VHS-tapes that enabled better quality subtitles. The separation of Croatian Television from the network of TV and radio broadcasters of the former Yugoslavia was also positive for the development of the subtitling profession. This enabled the affirmation of the Croatian language (see section 3.5.) and the broadcasting of several times more foreign programmes since it meant that all foreign programmes were broadcast from Zagreb and not by various TV and radio broadcasters from the Yugoslav republics as had previously been the case. Foreign programmes were also used to "fill in the gaps" in domestic programmes, i.e. when there were not enough domestic programmes, foreign ones were broadcast instead. The sheer volume of subtitled programming is illustrated in this statement:

"Prošle godine prevedeno je 496 igranih filmova, više od 40.000 minuta raznih serija i oko 14.000 minuta dokumentarnog programa. U jednom nasumce odabranom tjednu u ožujku 1995. godine Hrvatska televizija emitirala je na svoja tri kanala 226 sati programa, od čeka 81 sat programa bio je inozeman, dakle preveden – 35,84 %, a uz to je emitirano još devet sati raznih emisija u kojima se emtiriaju prevedeni prilozi..." (Zeljko Lipovšćak, 2005:381).

Last year [1994, *information added*], Croatian Television translated 496 films, more than 40.000 minutes of various TV series and 14.000 minutes of documentaries. In a randomly chosen week in March of 1995 Croatian Television broadcast 226 hours of programming on its three channels, and out of that 81 hour was of foreign origin, which means that it was translated, and that makes 35.84%. Apart from that, there were nine programmes produced by HTV in which various translated reports were broadcast... (my translation).

The number of translated films and TV series, which were subtitled, and documentaries, which were voiced and/or subtitled, only continued to grow from that point. Many new subtitlers were needed to meet new demands and many new ones entered the profession (for more see Nikolić 2010).

The Subtitling Department now, in 2011, works with more than 100 freelance subtitlers, of which about 40 produce subtitles for HTV continuously,

each month. One of the aims of Croatian Radio and Television, HRT, is to protect and promote the Croatian language and this is why subtitlers as well are expected to follow certain rules: the avoidance of expletives for instance and the use of standard Croatian whenever possible. This is not very easy, especially if a subtitler works on a film ridden with colloquialisms (Nikolić 2005:34), which results in the creation of a language used in subtitles which could be called subtitlese, something like dubbese, the language used in dubbing, which is "often described as contrived, stilted and, in general, unidiomatic" (Romero Fresco 2006). Expletives are not only avoided or reduced because of their content, but also because the translation of them is influenced "by different sets of translational norms in the target culture" (Mattson 2006:9). These norms are governed by the shift from the spoken to the written language. An expletive is primarily a spoken form, although in Croatia they can often be seen in contemporary prose, and viewers are not so much disturbed when they hear them, but when they read them it leaves a rather different impression. This is why subtitlers, even as a sort of self-control, resort to reducing them in the TT, even up to 37 % (Mattson 2006:5).

This norm can be the norm of the target culture, but TV broadcasters also very often set them, especially if the broadcaster in question is the national broadcaster, such as the Croatian Radio and Television.

3.1.1.1 "The subtitlese"

The same what Fresco (2006) says in the above quote, can be said about the language used in subtitling for the national broadcaster since the language rules imposed, by spatial and temporal restrictions imposed, very often lead to the creation of a language that sometimes reads as rather artificial, and is a sort of a hybrid between the spoken language, the written standard and a very reduced form of the written standard, such as the block language used in newspaper headlines. The subtitlese would also be worth investigating, since this is what the viewers read and often complain about its artificiality. What follows is an illustration of that artificiality.

Example:

ORIGINAL DIALOGUE IN A FILM:

I'm gonna go and then, dunno, per'aps chill out a little bit.

TRANSLATION:

Otići ću i onda ću, ne znam...

Možda ću se malo odmarati.

BACK TRANSLATION:

I will go and then I will, I don't know...

Perhaps I'm going to rest a little bit.

Examples like this one can be found every day on Croatian television, especially on the national broadcaster (HRT), which means that what viewers read in subtitles in a written language created by translation from the spoken language to be read by the viewers.

3.1.2 Going private

The subtitling market in Croatia saw major changes after 2000. These developments are disused here because they were followed by the developments of the subtitling profession.

After 2000 Croatian Radio and Television lost its primate since the opening of private TV stations was allowed by law, which previously wasn't the case. New, privately owned, TV broadcasters came to life: NOVA TV and RTL Hrvatska. This marked another expansion of the subtitling market since, these two TV stations, especially in the beginning, broadcast mostly subtitled, foreign content. A new, local, subtitling company was established. However, this era marked a significant fall in the quality of subtitles, since many new, inexperienced subtitlers, without proper training, university or in-house, entered the market. This change also marked the beginning of a new era very unpopular among subtitlers: the era of decreasing subtitling rates. It became apparent at that time that almost anybody could become a subtitler. The need was high and many entered the world of subtitling, ready to work for low fees since the job seemed interesting or exciting. The appeal of the job to novice subtitlers made life difficult for the experienced ones, and this issue has

remained controversial and unresolved until this day. The introduction of private TV broadcasters also marked a shift in the standards of language. The "language of the street" started to be used in subtitles, i.e., in writing, but also expletives that were forbidden at the national broadcaster.

3.1.3 The digital era

In mid 2000s, overseas subtitling companies started to hire freelance subtitlers in Croatia since digital platforms enabled broadcasting of various TV channels into homes all over the country. Many new TV broadcasters have entered the Croatian market since that time and many new subtitlers were employed, again. Some of the new channels with Croatian subtitles available to the Croatian TV audience are: *Viasat TV1000*; a film channel, *Viasat History*, *Viasat Explorer*, *Hallmark*, *Sony AXN*, *Fox Crime*, *Fox Life*, *and National Geographic*. Subtitling rates have continued to fall. There have been attempts at better organization of subtitlers at an international level, for instance with the finding of the *International League of Subtitlers*¹⁷, now organized through *Facebook*, however, so far no significant change in the profession's status has occurred. On the other hand, the viewers can now choose between numerous subtitled TV channels, which is a positive development.

This era has also brought changes in the daily life of translators and subtitlers. Given the development of the new media such as internet and mobile communications, subtitlers no longer need to be present in the building of a TV broadcaster, which was for instance the case of HRT where subtitlers had to do the spotting in-house, at least until a new software was developed which enabled them to do that at home. Minako O'Hagan calls this new landscape "teletranslation" (2006:2) and adds:

"It entailed translation operation based on a global network linking text and translators, as well as translation tools, on the one hand, and the service to the customer on the other. Such changes were seen as affecting the entire process of translation work in the way the text is processed, stored and transmitted, as well as the way in which knowledge is shared among translators and with customers." (O'Hagan 2006:2)

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 $^{^{17}\} http://www.facebook.com/pages/International-League-of-Subtitlers/353876851180.$

This concept is today the translator's reality, but also the subtitler's reality. Even if a subtitling company is not based overseas, subtitlers can nowadays be based anywhere in the world regardless of their mother tongue, the language into which they are subtitling, which is mostly mother tongue, and the clients they work for. Subtitlers may decide to work on a sparsely populated island, provided they have a laptop and a broadband internet connection which enables quick downloads of videos, dialogue lists and other necessary materials such as glossaries or templates (for more on templates see section 3.4.). However, this new landscape has brought the estrangement of subtitlers from one another, and it has contributed to the fact that subtitling nowadays tends to be a rather lonely job. While some may enjoy the freedom of being wherever they wish to be, other subtitlers may see it as a rather negative aspect (for more see Nikolić 2010). Notwithstanding, new technologies have enabled subtitlers to become more flexible and to works with resources unimaginable only 10 years ago. This new subtitling era deserves a separate study on the psychological effect the new working environment has on subtitlers, since the job has become lonelier: subtitlers usually communicate with their clients only via e-mails and, more rarely, phone-calls. Personal contact has been lost and the subtitler has become invisible. Michael Cronin (2006:141) uses the concept of "weak ties" that comes from "network theory" (Granovetter 1973:1360-80) to explain our ability to communicate with the outside world:

"If translators are deemed to be 'invisible' or their activities are considered peripheral or relatively unimportant, one could argue that they are in effect not considered to be among those 'strong ties' that bind a culture or a community together". (Cronin 2006:41)

Subtitlers sit at home and communicate only with their friends or colleagues, and since this communication occurs mostly by e-mails, they don't have any chance at forming a social group that will fight for better working conditions. The subtitler's isolation is a part of the vicious circle which hinders the fight for better working conditions, such as higher fees or more generous deadlines. The new working conditions have left subtitlers in a kind of a non-negotiation position with their employers.

3.1.3.1 The Wars of the Soaps

The digital era has transformed what once was a simple TV market comprised of only the national broadcaster into a market with many channels, many of them specialized, which have brought diversity to the viewers. This diversity has forced the national broadcaster, HRT, and some others, to introduce more films and in particular TV series in languages other than English. The aim was to give something new that would attract attention of the viewers. The HRT has always broadcast at least a fraction of overseas TV series and films in languages other than English, mostly French and German, but also Spanish (which mostly refers to Latin American soap operas) and Portuguese (Brazilian soap operas), but also Swedish and some other languages. Broadcasting overseas programmes in languages other than English is also a legal obligation the national broadcaster has. Since Croatia is a subtitling country, that has enabled subtitlers from various languages to participate in the subtitling market. Since Latin American soap operas were very popular in the 1990s and since they are still broadcast, this has enabled subtitlers from the Spanish to work exclusively as subtitlers since they have enough work to be able to make a living from subtitling. The other two broadcasters with national coverage (NOVA TV and RTL Hrvatska), established in the early 2000s, started to explore new ways of attracting viewers, which in 2010 included soap operas from Turkey, which have become a hit. This meant that subtitlers from Turkish were hired and they were not difficult to find since Turkish can be studied at Filozofski fakultet, University of Zagreb. Even a Romanian soap opera was broadcast on one of the two private stations, but that was abandoned. The national broadcaster (HRT) decided that they must reply with something different, and they went further to the east, to India. A Bollywood soap opera was introduced in late 2010, which meant work for students of Indology since the soap opera is in Hindi. It would be interesting to investigate how Indian culture in rendered in Croatian subtitles, especially since it is rendered directly. In the beginning, however, since it took time to train subtitlers for Hindi, translations were done through the already existing translations into languages close to Croatian: Bosnian and Serbian, with the help of an advisor, a professor at the Indology Department of Filozofski fakultet. This new development of introducing TV series from more exotic countries was unthinkable ten years ago when Latin American soap operas were dominating the market, or

twenty years ago when American soap operas such as *Dynasty* (1981-1989) and *Dallas* (1979-1991) were the most popular TV series at the time of their broadcasting. These extremely successful American TV series can be seen as a sort of a forerunner of soap opera broadcasting on Croatian TV.

It will be interesting to see whether the future holds more work for subtitlers from other languages, for instance Arabic. These developments may seem unusual and unexpected, but they have marked the opening up of new niches for subtitlers from "more exotic" languages.

3.1.4 The future of the TV market in Croatia

Based on the developments laid out in this section, and given the development of new technologies, of cable television and internet-based television, the conclusion is that the market will continue to grow with any new technological development that will facilitate the distribution of television content. Different habits may bring different expectations of viewers and the study of their habits and expectations will be a vast research area for AVT scholars. It is not certain whether HRT will be perceived as a guarantor of the quality of television programme, as well as of the standard Croatian language, or whether private channels will take over most of the market and the national broadcaster won't play a major role.

3.2. Translation norms in subtitling

There are certain rules or norms that exist in the world of subtitling. In order to determine how viewers perceive subtitles, one must take into consideration both translation and subtitling norms. The differentiation between the two is necessary. Translation norms will be discussed here as seen by translation scholars and subtitling norms imposed by clients and subtitling communities, and even viewers in accordance to Chesterman's expectancy and professional norms (Chesterman 1997). Expectancy norms refer to what the target language community expects a translation to look like, and these norms are important for this study. Professional norms govern the accepted methods and strategies of the translation procedure, and they can be subdivided into three major types: "accountability norms, communication norms and relation norms" (Chesterman 1997:63-85). Norms

function in a community "as standards or models of correct or appropriate behaviour and of correct or appropriate behavioural products" (Schäffner 1999). Toury (1980) distinguishes between "preliminary norms" which influence the general translation strategy and the selection of texts which will be translated, "initial norms" which determine the translator's decision to stick to the source text or the target culture, and "operational norms", which control the actual decisions made in the process of translation. Expectancy norms are established by the expectations of readers, according to Chesterman (1997). In the case of AVT, we can also talk about the viewers; they could also be called "readers of subtitles". Hermans (1991) thinks that readers can have expectations about text-type and discourse conventions, about style and register and so on (for more see Hermans 1991). According to Chesterman (1997), professional norms are subordinate to expectancy norms from the translator's point of view. This last point can be especially applied on subtitling. Who sets the norms in the subtitling community? This study contains examples of how norms are set in Croatia, for instance as regards language rules (for more see Material 1). These norms are set according to certain logic or technical constraints, for instance in Croatia subtitles are placed in the middle, bottom part of the TV screen. This could be classified as a technical norm since subtitling, as it is mentioned in many texts written about subtitling, involves certain technical characteristics specific to this type of translation. The Croatian subtitling community decided that subtitles should be placed in the middle, bottom part of the screen. This is a rule expected to be followed by all subtitlers. Many subtitling companies nowadays issue technical guidelines for subtitlers (see Material 1). The technical norms also include what a subtitle should look like: HRT for instance imposes a rule which says that both lines in a two-lined subtitle should contain approximately the same number of characters and should look like this (the example is taken from Material 1):

Example:

Morao sam ti reći koliko mi je bilo stalo do tebe.

As opposed to:

Morao sam ti reći koliko mi je bilo stalo do tebe.

Or even less appropriate:

Morao sam ti reći koliko mi je bilo stalo do tebe.

The reason why the first subtitle works and the second and third one don't may be found in the fact that the first one is the technical norm that should be followed, while the other two are not, since they are considered to be technically incorrect. However, conventions differ from country to country and for instance in Sweden television subtitles are aligned at a fixed margin (Ivarsson and Carroll, 1998). Ivarsson and Carroll explain why in some countries subtitles on television are still centred, the reason being the history of centring subtitles in the cinema:

"In the early history of the cinema, and in fact even long after the Second World War, the picture was always projected against a flat screen, as a result of which the distance from the projector lens to the edges of the screen was greater than to the centre. Consequently, the picture was always slightly blurred at the edges, particularly the left and the right edges, as the projector was focused on the centre of the screen, normally showing the most important part of the picture. For this reason, the intertitles in silent films and the subtitles for foreign-language films, which also conveyed essential information, were placed in the centre for optimum legibility." (Ivarsson and Carroll, 1998:49)

This shows how some technical norms in subtitling were initially created for practical reasons. Even if Croatian TV subtitles were aligned at a fixed margin, the cinema subtitles would still have to be centred because of the reasons explained by Ivarsson and Carroll in the above quote.

What follows is an example from cinema subtitling in Croatia. The examples come from Croatian translations of two films: *Sex and the City* 2 (2010) and *Cats and Dogs: The Revenge of Kitty Galore* (2010) as subtitler. Television can take up to 39 characters per line in a subtitle, but the cinema does not. The person in charge of the preparation of subtitles for the cinema at the film distribution company in charge of these two films, Danijel Birović, wrote in his instructions to subtitlers and OCers¹⁸:

"My part of the job is very simple, it consists of preparing lists for subtitling in laboratory, and

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¹⁸ A QCer (the word comes from QC, quality control, is a translator in charge of checking the translation produced by the subtitler of the film.

checking the 35 mm copies and making sure everything fits. The reason I'm writing this is to avoid interventions. The maximum number of characters per line of a subtitle should be 35. Of course, this rule is not strict, you can have as much as 36 or 38 characters, but always keep in mind that cinema does not tolerate subtitles which are too long, they are extremely hard to read from front rows and the layout of longer subtitles is of lower quality, because of the old technology that is being used. I don't think I am any authority in this field, but if I could give any advice about the translation of films (in the cinema) that would be: cut, cut and cut again! Yes, you may feel like a butcher, but still, sometimes you manage to produce wonderful translations and you feel like an artist who has made a wonderful sculpture out of meat. Furthermore, how a subtitle looks like is somewhat important. I won't go into giving advice about how to shift text into the second line depending on the sentence, which line should be longer if a subtitle is a two-liner, etc. These things are a matter of a subtitler's sense for what looks good and what doesn't. Let me just share this information with you: the font used is similar to "Ariel", so you can at least see how subtitles will look line on the screen. The duration of subtitles should be 2 and 8 feet, or from 1.3 to 5.3 seconds, which depends on the number of characters in a subtitle. Templates for American films usually reflect these rules, so this shouldn't be a problem." (Birović 2010, my translation)

A norm for the creation of subtitles can be created like that, based on purely technical specifications, even by a lab that burns subtitles onto the copy of a film to be shown in cinemas. These technical specifications influence translations and it is obvious from the letter of this lab technician that all new subtitlers who wish to work for the cinema should follow these rules. And they do since there is no negotiation about these rules.

However, the issue of norms was not first introduced into Translation Studies by Chesterman, although his norms are most applicable on subtitling. One should also note that Chesterman writes about translation norms and doesn't mention subtitling. Other translation scholars discussed norms: many of who wrote much earlier than Chesterman. A linguist Eugenio Coseriu (1970) mentioned translation norms for the first time, although what he had in mind were language norms. Norms were also discussed by scholars like Toury (1995) and Hermans (1999). However, the terminology is not very clear as Snell-Hornby points out (2006) and she calls for more consistency in the use of terminology. Some scholars use different terms for the same thing. Hermans pointed out that his conventions are very much like Nord's norms (Pedersen 2007).

Subtitling norms will be discussed in this study, regardless of fuzzy definitions by translations scholars, from the point of view of expectations subtitlers

impose on themselves because of the norms that exist in the subtitling community or on a TV station they work for. There are rules and regulations imposed by TV broadcasters, but there are also rules created in the subtitling community which can also decide who is and who is not a good or bad subtitler. These can be purely subjective as well. For instance a bad subtitler is the one who is always late. This can be a norm set by the TV broadcaster, but also by the subtitling community since subtitlers sometimes work together on, for instance, the production of a bilingual documentary. If it is a documentary in English with parts in German that have to be translated by another subtitler and if the German subtitler has to wait for the English subtitler until after he was supposed to hand in his work, until the deadline has expired, the German subtitler can complain to either his colleagues or the respective TV station and another such delay on the part of the English subtitler may cost him the label of a "subtitler who is late" if the norm, or rule, or convention o is that a subtitler is not supposed to be late.

Another norm imposed by international subtitling agencies is that subtitlers work or should work as teams, and a subtitler will get e-mails from clients starting with "to our Croatian team". Although companies like to use sports terminology to make their employees feel less miserable or to improve their efficiency, in reality there is no such a thing as a "team" in subtitling. However, there are no teams in the subtitling world whatsoever, at least not from the point of view of subtitlers, regardless of what subtitling agencies say, since subtitling is a solitary job performed by one person only.

Subtitlers may also determine what goes for a good or bad subtitling product. For instance, subtitlers may decide that whoever doesn't obey the rules of the graphic layout of subtitles, i. e., doesn't obey the rule that in the case of a two-liner the lower line one must be longer when the two lines are of unequal length, is a bad subtitler. This is quite in tune with Chesterman's professional norms (Chesterman 1997:66). The subtitling community can also decide that a subtitler is not good enough if their translation is not idiomatic enough, or "brought closer to the reader" in Schleiermacher's sense. Or the opposite, a subtitler may be considered good if their translation *is* brought closer to the reader.

Subtitling can be seen in the light of overall translation norms, but subtitling imposes specific norms that go beyond the issues of domestication or foreignization and should be viewed in the light of the fact that it is a process in which both the

producer of subtitles, the subtitler, and the consumer, the viewer, are faced with both the ST and TT at the same time. Subtitlers can make better choices if they have guidelines which they can follow (see Appendix 1) or if there are certain, at least unofficial, rules they can go by. There are no general rules as to what is considered ethical for instance and various translatorial codes of ethics don't include all aspects of the job which are important to translators (McDonough Dolmaya 2011:45). This goes for subtitlers as well since some TV broadcasters don't have any guidelines for their subtitlers. The guidelines are usually learned by word of mouth from colleagues or by means of in-house training. If every subtitling country had a handbook about subtitling rules and the way subtitlers should deal with clients, negotiate rates etc., the subtitling profession would be in a much better position than it is today.

3.3. The technique of subtitling

3.3.1 The register

A subtitler is faced with a number of challenges when style is in question since subtitling involves constraints of time and space (Pavlović 2004:213-214). Style is important in any form of translation and it is not "secondary to content" (Nida and Taber 1969 and 2003:13). Style is rather important in any form of translation and it is also pertinent in subtitling, given the constraints. The first constraint, in Croatia, is the usage of slang and the problems arising from it. However, that problem is not only obvious in Croatia. The problem of translating dialect has also been spotted in AVT in Italy (Ronzato 2010:109-122). Irene Ronzato explains that by comparing the fact that RP (received pronunciation) is used by a minority of speakers of English, while at the same time the emphasis on teaching it to future translators "does not create the basis for developing sensitivity towards other linguistic variations" (2010:120). There is a change of mode from the spoken language to writing which occurs in subtitling (Mason 1989) and each subtitler has her or his own way of dealing with it. A change of register may occur as well because of the constraints that exist in subtitling (Pettit 2005:62). The change of register occurs primarily because of the shift from spoken to written mode. Offensive language is forbidden on public TV and a subtitler has to be resourceful when working with

such constraints (Nikolić 2005). When translating a "street" film for a public TV, a translator is faced with the danger of using the wrong register. Some subtitlers often disregard the fact that street language is used in a film and the quality of the final product may be ambiguous. Hervey and Higgins introduce an interesting concept of "social register" and define it as a "particular style from which a listener reasonably confidently infers what kind of person is speaking, in the sense of what social stereotype the speaker belongs to" (Hervey and Higgins: 1992:123). Since a viewer recognizes, by the way characters look, if not by the way a character in a film or TV series speaks, the subtitler should use the corresponding social register in their translation. In this shift from the oral to written mode, a subtitler very often has difficulty in dealing with the register since what automatically comes to mind is the use of standard language, which is normally used in writing. Subtitlers normally hold university degrees, and that means that in their long educational process they were writers as well in their mother tongue: from primary school essays to university papers. The language used in these essays in standard, so writing is automatically connected to the use of the standard language. Local idioms are rarely used in writing, but, on the other hand, they are used in the spoken forms. That means that a subtitler has to bridge the gap between the spoken idiom used in the ST (source text) and the written standard in the TT (target text). The register used in the ST, in the case of subtitling, can be the language of the arts, politics or law and the subtitler will try to use the same register in the TT. However things are complicated when the language used in ST is that of a "street" film, with many idiomatic and colloquial expressions and the transfer of it into the written form in TT. The language used in subtitles, the translated, written form in TT, is a language in-between; it is neither standard language, nor the idiom. This language may be called subtitlese (see section 3.1.1.1). Let us illustrate this with an example to make it clear:

Example:

ST (AVT-content):

You think he's right?

¹⁹ A street film is the one ridden with non-standard language.

TT (subtitle)

Misliš li da ima pravo? (Do you think he's right)?

What subtitlers often apply in the shift between the spoken and written mode is the change of register, and the example above shows a very frequently applied method, shifting the non-standard, spoken form, of the ST, into the standard written form of the TT. One of the most common issues a subtitler is faced with is the translation of expletives. A subtitler is faced with dialogues such as this one (these are parts of the dialogue of a film *Thursday* (1998):

Example:

Goddamn. You see the

way that bitch's head exploded?

Who the f*** is this?

This is the motherf****

who killed the ganja man.

I got your sh**, motherf****.

Most dialogues from *Thursday* come in this register. However, there are also issues as regards which regional variations to use. Even when there is no shift between oral and written mode of communication, such as written translation, a simple translation like the one described in the two examples is actually more complex than it seems. Michael Cronin's thinking about culture and translation follows that line:

"As even the most rudimentary translation exercise soon reveals, translation is above all, an initiation into unsuspected complexity. The simplest of texts turns out to be not as straightforward as we thought. Putting what we find in one text into another language and text and culture throws up unsettling questions about our sense of our own language and makes the familiar alien." (Cronin 2010: 315)

Indeed, this simple shift of register can give a new perspective to the viewer, and an actor who utters such a question may be seen in a different light, since *Misliš li da ima pravo* illustrated in the first example will rarely be uttered in an informal conversation among friends, whereas it may be used in formal contexts. The transfer between written and spoken language, given the spatial and temporal constraints of subtitles, often forces subtitler to omit elements, which carry meaning, such as the «discourse particle» *you know* (Mattsson 2010:55). The issue with elements of the spoken language such as discourse particles is that they are not that frequent in writing, especially if a subtitler should follow certain language rules, for instance use the standard language whenever possible. This is one of the reasons why elements of the spoken language are often left out in writing, subtitles included.

The subtitler, however, relies on other elements of the ST. "Audiovisual translation has a semiotic dimension" (Zabalbeascoa, 2010: 34) and subtitlers can rely on the visual as well. It is even not necessary to transfer the idiom in its totality, to use the equivalent idiomatic spoken form in the TT and write it up in the subtitle, since that may seem awkward and viewers can even be distracted with it. The subtitler should therefore balance between the oral and written mode and be aware of the fact that the language of subtitles is between these two modes of communication, sometimes closer to the written form, when standard language is used in ST as well, and sometimes closer to the spoken, oral form, when slang or expletives are used in the ST.

3.3.2 The constraints of subtitling

The time a subtitle is displayed on the screen also depends on the television company one is subtitling for, i.e. on the target viewers (Nikolić 2005). A two-lined subtitle in a soap opera must be displayed on the screen for at least five seconds, preferably six (Pavlović 2004), whereas in a political programme four seconds is enough in most cases, since there is rarely any "movement" on the screen, i.e., a TV interview with a politician often doesn't involve any shot changes, or there are only two or three, one of the politician, another of the interviewing journalist and a third one: the shot of both of them sitting at a table for instance. This means that a viewer

is less concentrated on the picture itself, since the screen is static. A two-lined subtitle consists of two lines of approximately the same length. If one of the lines must be longer, it should be the bottom one and it is not important if a preposition or a modifier, for instance, is in the upper line and a noun takes its place in the bottom line. These rules are explained in detail in Appendix 1.

"With up tempo-speech a subtitler may choose to sacrifice up to 50% of the dialogue" (Gottlieb 2001). However, this doesn't always happen, but sometimes such drastic cutting of the ST is possible. For instance with fast-paced TV series, such as *The West Wing* (1999-2006), a TV series about the American president with extremely quick exchanges of content-ridden dialogue. Nataša Pavlović writes about 30% reduction in her essay on power and solidarity in TV subtitling (Pavlović 2004). Some TV series, for instance *ER* (Pavlović 2004) and *Law and Order* (1990-2010) have wide audience and demand extra attention on the part of the subtitler. Something has to be sacrificed, and what actually is sacrificed depends on the choices made by individual subtitlers which may depend on their education, expectancy of what viewers may know, even prejudice, and this aspect, among others, is examined in the second part of this thesis, from Chapter 4 onwards, as well as in sections that deal with pragmatics and the subtitler's situation (see Sections 3.6. and 3.7.).

Despite its many constraints, subtitling also has many advantages. The most obvious one is that people who don't understand a foreign language well enough or not at all can watch foreign programmes. This fact alone shows that subtitlers should be credited for their work since they are the ones who enable that insight into foreign television programmes and cultures. The aim is not to compare subtitling and dubbing at all, especially not in the sense which one is better for the viewer since it has been established that there are subtitling and dubbing countries and that some countries, for various reasons, have embraced the former, while others have embraced the latter technique of AVT²⁰. However, subtitling enables viewers to hear the original as well, which is a great advantage for many. Viewers who understand the original well enough can, if they wish, disregard subtitles and focus on the language of the original. However, in reality, most viewers in subtitling countries are so much used to subtitles that they read them regardless of

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²⁰ For more on that, see Ivarsson and Carroll 1998.

whether they understand the language of ST or not. New digital technologies enable viewers in dubbing countries to focus on the original as well, by completely removing the dubbed version and watching the original. Subtitling can be used in foreign language learning (Neves 2004, Gottlieb 2005, Sokoli 2006,) and to "boost foreign language skills" (Gottlieb 2005:177). According to Gottlieb, subtitling can also improve reading skills as well (2005). Subtitling also enables viewers with hearing problems to enjoy any foreign programme, if those viewers live in a subtitling country. However, in dubbing countries this issue can be and is resolved through intralingual subtitling of the already dubbed content. The visually impaired cannot enjoy subtitled content if they don't understand the language of the original in a subtitling country, which is not the case in dubbing countries, but this can be resolved through audio description. Audio description (AD) "constitutes a novel dimension in intersemiotic translation, namely a translation of the moving images of a film into words that support the storyline" (Rodríguez Posadas 2010:196).

Despite of all the constraints, it is apparent that subtitles are read and the research of subtitling is purposeful since it may shed a new light on how they are made by the subtitlers or perceived by the viewers.

3.3.3 Political programmes, an example of constraints

Political interviews may at times be easy to subtitle since they mostly involve standard language, but these programmes hide some obstacles typical for subtitling. Since English has already made a huge progress in the direction of becoming "the world standard" (Crystal 2004), most politicians use it in their communication, which may their talks difficult to subtitle. That means that even those viewers who understand standard English will in such instances use subtitles as their main source of information. The language of politics is rather sensitive and using a different adjective may at times change the meaning of the noun it modifies. For instance, in the sentence: We strongly oppose the decision made by the Prime Minister, "strongly" must be translated since this implies that the situation was very difficult, that the opposition party will take some action against the decision, etc. In the diplomatic language the word strongly means something very specific (Nikolić 2005:35). Christina Schäffner talks about "hedges" in political texts (Schäffner 1998c:185) whereby she uses Lakoff's definition of hedges as "words whose job it

is to make things fuzzier or less fuzzy" (Lakoff 1973:471). Schäffner distinguishes between "evidentiality hedges", such as verbs with modal meaning (e.g. think, suggest), adverbs (e.g. just, obviously), downtoners (e.g. some, there is some evidence to suggest...), qualifiers (e.g. kind of, in this respect) and "approximate expressions" (e.g. kind of, in this respect). Schäffner also distinguishes between modifying hedges like "fairly", "too" and "typical" and despecifying (e.g. "kind", "roughly") and defining or specifying hedges (e.g. "real", "genuine", "true", "exactly"). (Schäffner 1998c:191,192).

Subtitlers of political interviews or programmes should be highly aware of the meaning and implications hedges carry in the original text since they can produce wrong meaning if they are left out in translation or if they are mistranslated.

Example:

We *highly* recommend the Croatian government to speed up the reforms.

*Preporučujemo hrvatskoj vladi da ubrza reforme. ("highly" is left out in the translation).

The translation should be: *Snažno* preporučujemo..., for instance.

Although a subtitler might want to cut out the hedge *highly*, the hedge carries meaning here and leaving it out would be wrong. The hedge means that whoever recommends that, although this is most probably used in the context of the EU accession talks, thinks that Croatia is not doing enough to speed up reforms and that a deadline will be missed. The *highly* in this sentence must be visible in subtitles, i.e., it must be translated. The Croatian version of *highly* in this sentence would be *snažno* or *toplo*, although the latter one is more colloquial and would not be used in political jargon very often.

These examples from subtitling politics are used to illustrate some of the challenges subtitlers are faced with on a daily basis. This also elicits the need of a careful study of subtitling strategies and of what is being left out in subtitling, given the fact that something must be left out since the text must be reduced.

A contemporary British TV drama is chosen as an example of the subtitling of British TV culture because this TV genre, even more than film, may be ridden with cultural elements hard to subtitle, to convey to the Croatian audience. These elements of culture will be abbreviated to ECs in the second part of the thesis, from Chapter 4 onwards. Furthermore, this TV genre is rather popular among Croatian TV viewers. British TV dramas, such as *Judge John Deed* (2001-2007) for instance, have always had high ratings.

The following examples come from a British TV drama, with elements of comedy, called *Skins*, which was translated as *Nabrijani* into Croatian. The HRT has broadcast two seasons of this TV series.

3.3.4.1 How to Translate a Title of a TV Series?

Jan Ivarsson and Mary Carroll say that the titles of films and TV programmes should be translated in accordance with the wishes of the importer or producer, even when this is not a title of the original (Ivarsson and Carroll, 1998). This is true indeed, however, the translation of a title becomes more complicated when the importer, producer or the broadcaster wish that the subtitler of a TV series must produce the title before even having seen the whole programme. This is the case with Croatian Radio and Television (HRT). What subtitlers usually get in the beginning, when they are asked to subtitle a TV series, is only a couple of episodes and the script. If a TV series contains about 10 episodes per season and if the deadline for the submission of the title is "yesterday" or as soon as possible, which is very often the case when it comes to broadcast subtitling, it is obvious that subtitlers do not have the time to watch all episodes. Luckily, the development of the Internet has enabled subtitlers to do their research online and come up with a title. The proposed title must be approved by the editor in charge of the TV series at the Foreign Programmes Department at HRT. The task sounds simple, but it is not. The example of *Skins* will be used to explain the creation of a title, i. e. translation of it.

The title of *Skins* wasn't translated at all in many countries in which the series was broadcast. It was left in its original form. The title had been translated into Serbian as *Do kože*, which roughly translates as "Without Limits" and it was

translated as *Mularija* into Slovene, which roughly translates as *Kids*. The noun *skins* means *the paper in which marihuana is wrapped before smoking* and that would translate as *rizle* into Croatian. Although the protagonists smoke marihuana rather frequently, it was decided not to use it since it sends the wrong message, because the programme is not all about them smoking marihuana or using opiates, or addiction for that matter. It is only some characters that practice drug abuse frequently. The programme is about the British youth, the students of a sixth-form college preparing for their A-levels. The title was translated mostly into Slavonic languages: Polish, Russian, Slovene and Serbian, as well as into Brazilian Portuguese as an exception. The reason why it was decided to translate the title is that the original title, *Skins*, means nothing in Croatian and it can be falsely interpreted as having something to do with *skin*.

It was therefore decided to use *Nabrijani*. The adjective *nabrijan* comes from a verb *brijati*, which originally means *to shave*, but it has become one of the most frequently used verbs amongst youngsters in Croatia. Radovan Lučić says:

Glagol "brijati", uz svoje primarno značenje "uklanjati dlake s kože britvom, žiletom ili aparatom", zadobio je u zadnjih dvadesetak godina velik broj različitih značenja i izvedenica. Neke od njih ostale su zarobljene u pojedinim grupama korisnika, a druge su se probile do razine govornog standarda (Lučić 2003:1).

The verb «brijati», alongside its primary meaning "to remove hair form skin with a razor, razor-blade or shaving machine", has taken many different meanings and derivatives over the last 20 years. Some of these have stayed within certain groups of users, while some have made their way to the spoken standard. (my translation).

The early 1990s saw the "polysemic expansion of the verb *brijati* in urban spoken Croatian" (Broz 2002-3:51). The semantic diversity of this relatively unknown verb has become unusually vast in a rather short period of time. Since *brijati* literally means 'to shave', the first image that comes to mind is the everyday habit of men cutting hair from their face, very close to the skin, using a shaver or a razor. This verb has been constantly acquiring new meanings in conversations of younger urban speakers of Croatian. Its usage has reached huge proportions that could be compared to those of the English verb *to get* (Broz 2002-3: 51). Broz singles out the following examples of different meanings of this verb:

Kako smo jučer dobro brijali.

We had such a good time yesterday.

Ma briješ!

You're exaggerating! You're imagining things!

Ma pusti ga, brije.

Don't listen to him, he's talking nonsense. / He is wrong.

Bože, kako ovaj brije.

Good Lord, this guy is crazy.

Kaj <u>briješ</u> stalno jedno te isto?!

Why do you keep doing/saying the same thing?!

Brij, brij!

You just go on! or Have fun! or Keep telling yourself this!

Brijali smo mi i prošlo ljeto tamo.

We <u>hung out</u> there last summer, too. (Broz 2002-3:58)

Broz also explains the meaning of the adjective nabrijati - to improve one or more characteristics, to talk somebody into something, and singles out the following examples.

Nabrijati – to improve one or more characteristics, to talk somebody into something.

Dobar je kompjuter, samo ga treba malo <u>nabrijati</u>.

The computer is good, it just needs some upgrading.

Nabrijo je svog starog da mu kupi Nokiju 8210.

He talked his father into buying him a Nokia 8210.

 $Nabrijati\ se$ - the reflexive form— to get interested into something, to get turned/hooked on something.

Otkad su bili u Španjolskoj, nabrijao se na U2.

Since they came back from Spain, he's <u>become crazy</u> about U2.

nabrijan - the past participle

Atmosfera je bila ful nabrijana.

The atmosphere was quite *euphoric*.

Onda smo upoznali neku <u>nabrijanu</u> ekipu.

Then we met some cool people. (Broz 2002-3:59)

Because of this omnipresence, widespread usage and incredible scope in meaning of this verb and adjective, this verb was used as a template for the creation of the title. The verb and the adjective derived from the verb are used very frequently among youngsters in Croatia and it may in a way define this generation between the age of 16 and 19, which is the age of the main characters in this TV series. Although choosing the title can be interesting, it can also be demanding because subtitlers are rarely too sure that they have chosen the right title. The question is whether this is a good title in Croatian. There is no a simple answer to this question. Up to a degree, a title has to depict the programme in question and at the same time it has to sound good in the target language, it has to attract viewers. This TV series has become rather popular in Croatia, regardless of the fact that it is broadcast usually after midnight on Fridays, primarily because of its language and sometimesvisual obscenity.

It should also be mentioned that some TV companies don't ask their subtitlers to translate titles, this decision is made by the TV company, which sometimes produces dubious results, such as this one:

Original title: Victorian Farm²¹

Croatian title: Farma iz doba Viktorije²².

Victorian Age is translated as Viktorijansko doba into Croatian. "Doba Viktorije" actually means nothing in Croatian. It is called Viktorijansko doba since doba Viktorije is grammatically incorrect: adjectives are formed by adding, in this case, the ending sko in Croatian and the genitive case is not to be used since a noun can't be a modifier in Croatian, only an adjective. There are instances where the genitive can even produce a different meaning, so it is not excluded, but an adjective should be used whenever possible. The adjective *viktorijanski* also means that the age was called after Queen Victoria, while doba Viktorije literally means that it was her age, so there is a different meaning. This title can be misleading to those who know what Viktorijansko doba is and this is just an illustration of how something that may seem insignificant in the world of subtitling, is in reality rather significant.

²¹ "Historical observational documentary series following a team who live the life of Victorian farmers for a year. Wearing period clothes and using only the materials that would have been available in 1885." (Source: BBC. http://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b00gn2bl.) (Date of access, May 2, 2011).

Source: http://mojtv.hr/kanal/tv-program/73/viasat-history/2011-04-23/emisija/19088272/farmaiz-doba-viktorije--bozicno-izdanje.aspx). (Date of access: May 2, 2011).

3.3.4.2 Translation of elements of culture, ECs

Elements of culture will be abbreviated to ECs in this thesis. They are called "extralinguistic cultural references" (Pedersen 2007:91), or ECRs, by Pedersen and are defined as follows:

Extralingustic Cultural Reference (ECR) is defined as reference that is attempted by means of any cultural linguistic expression, which refers to an extralinguistic entity or process. The referent of the said expression may prototypically be assumed to be identifiable to a relevant audience as this referent is within the encyclopaedic knowledge of this audience. (Pedersen 2007:91)

The term EC used in this thesis fits into this definition, however, it is more appropriate since it is easier to distinguish it from EL (element of language). Both terms, EC and EL, are explained in Section 5.4.

Díaz Cintas and Remael propose the following classification when dealing with the translation of culture-bound terms in subtitling; 1) loan, 2) claque, 3) explicitation, 4) substitution, 5) transposition, 6) lexical recreation, 7) compensation and 8) omission (Díaz Cintas and Remael, 2007:202-207). They explain that a loan is a situation when the source text or phrase is incorporated into the target language and text because no translation is possible and both languages use the same word, for instance *muffin* is *muffin* in Croatian as well. Claque is a literal translation, for instance the case of using *državna tajnica* for *The Secretary of State*, a US term that would sound more logical if translated as *ministrica vanjskih poslova* (Foreign Affairs Minister). However the term *državna tajnica* is so common in Croatian that many viewers immediately know that this is a function in the US Government.

In the case of explicitation (Klaudy 1998), the subtitler tries to make the source text more accessible by meeting the target audience half way, either through specification, using a hyponym, or by generalization, using a hypernym or super ordinate. "Cultural explicitation" is frequent in subtitling and "it is triggered by a cultural gap (emphasis removed) between source and target culture, and it is extralinguistic in nature." (Perego 2003:74). This is the case with the name *Betty Ford*, which is explicitated as klinika *Betty Ford* (see section 7.3.25)²³. For instance a *tulip* or *a daisy* might me translated as *cvijet* (flower), *a pick-up truck* as *kamionet* or *kamion*. Substitution is a form of explicitation and is typical for subtitling. It is

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²³ For more on explicitation in subtitling go, see Perego 2003.

used when spatial constraints do not allow for the insertion of a rather long term, even if it exists in the target culture, for instance when one uses *kamion* for *pick-up truck* instead of *kamionet*, which would be, if not the same, then closer to the original meaning, although is longer.

Transposition is a situation when a cultural concept from one culture is replaced by a cultural concept from another. This strategy is resorted to when the target viewers might not understand the source language reference should a loan word or claque be used (for instance transposing *sixth-form college* with *škola* (*school*) in Croatian, described below).

Lexical recreation or the invention of a neologism is used in the target language when the source speaker makes up words as well. For instance translating *absobloodylutely* as *apsototalnolutno* is such an example.

Compensation involves making up for a translational loss in exchange by overtranslating it or adding something to another word. This is rather frequently used when translating humorous films or TV-series, for instance when a character in a British sitcom says something like *once you've tried Marks & Spencer, you never go back to Asda* and if this is used in a situation when it is supposed to be funny, a subtitler can phrase it like this; this is an example from a sitcom broadcast in Croatia in the 90's; *kad kušaš Milku, ne vraćaš se na Zvečevo* (once you've tasted Milka, you never go back to Zvečevo)²⁴.

Omission does not appear like a proper strategy, but it is sometimes unavoidable either because of space-time limitations or because the target language does not have the corresponding term (cf. Díaz Cintas and Remael, 2007:202-207).

Although the characters in the above mentioned TV series *Skins* for instance are between the ages of 16 and 19 and are bothered with the same problems as their Croatian counterparts, perhaps even share the same values, there are quite a few

²⁴ Zvečevo is a Croatian brand of chocolate, which in the 90's still produced chocolate of the same quality it had had in the 70's and 80's, i.e., not very high. On the other hand, the 90' were marked

goods imported from the West to Croatia are often of poor quality and many are aware that the same brand sold at shops in, for instance, France and Croatia do not necessarily have the same quality. Hence this translation, which was rather funny ten or more years ago, is no longer funny at all, or at least not that funny.

with a surge of new shopping centres and imported goods, among other things, the *Milka* chocolate that was of, at least for this particular subtitler, of a better quality. This also has certain sociological connotations; it was believed that anything imported from the West is of better quality. This translation was therefore in the 90's rather funny. However, in the meantime *Zvečevo* has invested a lot in its new production lines and the development of new brands of chocolate, and today the situation is almost the opposite, *Zvečevo* is thought to be much better than *Milka* that has become a cheap imported chocolate not of the best quality. Unlike in the '90s, today many are aware that

cultural elements which are difficult to translate and subtitle, difficult to translate because there are no equivalents in the Croatian language, but which are also difficult to subtitle not only because of the time constraints imposed by subtitles. The fact that viewers are exposed to the programme and the translation simultaneously, may pose additional challenges for the translator. One of such terms appears at the beginning of the first episode of the first season of Skins and that is the word *college*. An inexperienced subtitler or translator can immediately be misled. The noun college has entered Croatian culture form American English and for the target viewers of this programme, secondary school and university students, well acquainted with the American culture via television, the noun primarily bears its American meaning defined in Random House Webster's Unabridged Dictionary as "1. an institution of higher learning esp. one providing general or liberal arts education" (2001:404). However, very few among the target viewers are aware of the fact that there are other meanings. The noun is used in the TV series Skins in the meaning described in the same dictionary, under the same entry, but under number 8., "(in Britain or Canada) a private secondary school. A sixth form college is an educational institution in England, Wales, Northern Ireland, Hong Kong or Malta where students aged 16 to 19 typically study for advanced school-level qualifications, such as A-levels" (2001:404). The noun college, in its American meaning, is simply borrowed into Croatian. However, the same noun should be translated as škola, or school, if the meaning is British Sixth Form College. There is no other choice and the subtitler must know that they may be wrongly accused by the viewers for providing a wrong translation, since viewers of the target age are very often convinced that their knowledge of English is superb, although it is in fact quite limited.

This is an example of the usage and knowledge of a hybrid English, or "McLanguage" (Schäffner 2000:3). A very basic communication is possible on "McLanguage" and there is no deeper knowledge of the English language and of the great variety of cultures of the English-speaking world. However, to translate the noun *college* as *college*, i. e., to borrow it form English as would have been the case if this were an American TV-series, would of course be completely wrong.

What may also be confusing for the viewers of the TV series *Skins* is that main characters take only a couple of courses, which is very different from Croatian

high schools and especially grammar schools²⁵ where students must take up to 17 subjects. However, what helps is that the viewers soon realize the age of the main characters and it is only logical that 17-year-olds can't be university students. The translation is therefore (this is a scene from episode 5 of the first season);

Example:

SID (original)

Why weren't you at college today?

TRANSLATION

Zašto danas nisi bio u školi? (Why weren't you at school today?)

In both seasons 1 and 2 the main characters discuss their studying for A-levels. There is no such thing in the Croatian educational system, but there is something called *matura* which is also a series of tests that mark the end of the secondary education. It does not completely correspond to A-levels, but this is the closest Croatian concept to A-levels. The translation is therefore (this is a scene from episode 9 of the second season);

Example:

COLLEGE DIRECTOR

You're 43 minutes into a two-hour A level

paper and I am pretty sure you haven't written anything.

TRANSLATION:

Već 43 minute si na maturi iz (You're 43 minutes into a matura exam...)

filozofije, a ništa nisi napisala. (...in philosophy, and you haven't written anything).

The A-level paper corresponds to the *matura* exam a student may take in a Croatian secondary school since students do partly choose in which subjects they are going

²⁵ It is "gimnazija" in Croatian or "Gymnasium" in German.

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to take *matura* exams. Such localization is necessary for the translation of these cultural elements.

3.3.4.3 Translation of expletives

This particular TV teen drama is ridden with expletives that cannot be omitted in translation, at least not completely omitted. As it can be seen in Material 1, such strong language usually implies late broadcast times. However, this TV series is not visually vulgar, not as nearly as it is as regards the vocabulary. The number of expletives is sometimes exaggerated, but it is also sometimes used to add comic effect. In the first episode of the first season which introduces one of the main characters, Tony, there is a scene that happens in Tony's house. It is a weekday morning, Tony's sister, who is about 14 or 15, has just secretly sneaked into the house after a night of partying. Tony's mother (Anthea) is a housewife, while his father has a white-collar job in a private company. The father (Jim) is hysterical because he cannot get into the bathroom occupied by Tony, on purpose:

Example:

JIM

For f*** sake... Get out of the

Bathroom. I need a piss...! Tony!

JIM

He won't even answer me...!! I mean

What's he doing up there? Perming his f****

pubes or something?

And he continues with such strong language. Only the word f*** is mentioned 49 times in this 45-minute episode, not to mention other words of this sort. It is rather obvious that translation of these words is a difficult task because of the mode shift, already been said in this thesis. Therefore, what a subtitler needs to keep in mind is that subtitling involves a shift from the spoken language to the written mode and the "f" word sounds even ruder than in its spoken form, as well as other expletives.

Although it is necessary to convey the register used, it is perhaps not necessary to translate every single expletive in every single occurrence. Let us take this example:

Example:

MARK

Up!! You complete and total f*****

Sodding waste of f**** space!!

TRANSLATION

Ustani, ništarijo beskorisna! (Up! You waste of space!)

Not only because of the spatial and temporal limitations of subtitles, but also because of mode shift (Pavlović: 2004:211), from the written to spoken mode, it is not necessary to translate both occurrences of the "f" word in this instance. There is also another reason, expletives look much worse in writing than they sound when spoken, let us say that the spoken language is their "natural habitat". The reason is simple, people are more used to hearing expletives because they are primarily a part of the spoken, everyday language, and not part of the written language, not to mention standard language. Dirk Delabatista talks about the asymmetry of spoken and written language in his paper which discusses translation and masscommunication (Delabatista, 1989:203). A subtitler should be aware of that and perhaps should not censor the original, but they should not translate every single occurrence of an expletive. Aline Remael suggests that a film dialogue differs from daily conversations in that it is meant for a third party (Remael 2001). This is perhaps also something that should influence a subtitler's decision about how much to translate when it comes to expletives, not only the mode shift. Subtitlers are very often not aware of the shift from the spoken to the written mode and some exaggerate with the usage of expletives. On the other hand, complete omission of expletives would not convey the language style to the viewers, this being the other extreme. The subtitler should find a "middle way" and negotiate between the overuse and complete omission of expletives. How many of the spoken, original, expletives will be translated depends on the subtitler's own judgement and other factors discussed in sections 3.6 and 3.7. However, some television broadcasters

pose restrictions on the usage of expletives and limit their usage beforehand. For instance HRT (Croatian Radio and Television) prohibits the usage of expletives in programmes broadcast before 9 PM and subtitlers have to consult the Translation and Subtitling Department (TSD) to discover when the programme in question is being broadcast. In this particular instance, there were no limitations since the TV-series *Skins* is broadcast after 11 PM.

3.3.4.4 The style

A classic British TV Drama, for instance the already mentioned *Judge John Deed* (2001-2007), which is a legal TV drama, would not pose special challenges to a subtitler working for Croatian Television (HRT), especially if they are familiar with the legal register. The language used in the original is standard English and standard Croatian would therefore be used in the translation, the legalese. One of the tasks of HRT (the Croatian public broadcaster) is to pay special attention to standard Croatian. Subtitlers also need to keep that in mind, although it is sometimes difficult to join spoken language of the original with the written standard of Croatian. From that point of view subtitling, *Judge John Deed* is not the most difficult job one can get. Of course, subtitling this TV series may be challenging because of the gaps between the common law practiced in the United Kingdom, and Roman law, on which the Croatian legal system is based.

However, when a TV series like the already mentioned *Skins* is in question, a subtitler must constantly negotiate between the spoken language of British teenagers and the Croatian standard. It is an impossible task to translate the series completely into standard Croatian since the viewers would be devoid of the style of the original. Alexandra Assis Rosa noticed that private TV companies in Portugal might feel less responsible for upholding the standard, hence allowing for a certain degree of "artistic freedom" (Assis Rosa, 2001:219). The same goes for Croatia, but private companies in general don't pay much attention to the quality of translation and the level of target language (Nikolić, 2005:33-36), at least not as much as the public broadcaster, and this kind of artistic freedom can mean poor translation, or at least neglect of several important things. The first one is the already discussed mode shift and the second one is the richness of regional variations in Croatian. Since most subtitlers are Zagreb-based, they tend to use Zagreb slang if slang needs to be used in translation. It is not that the Zagreb slang is utterly incomprehensible in

other parts of the country, but there may be words that are not used at all in other regional variations. Subtitlers tend to standardize the slang as much as possible. In the instance of *Skins*, the subtitler tried to use only those words that are used throughout the country. It would have been rather wrong to use the slang of Zagreb teenagers for the translation of the language of teenagers in Bristol where *Skins* takes place. It would have been more sensible then to use the language of teenagers from Split for instance or another regional centre. However, the artistic freedom Alexandra Assis Rosa writes about was limited since this TV series was broadcast by the public broadcaster. The problem was "only" how to standardize the slang, meet the written and the spoken language, i. e., to take into consideration that what one should strive for in translation is standard Croatian and at the same time convey as much as possible of the style and meaning of the original. Of course, there is the question of expletives that is present in throughout this TV series. The task is not impossible though. Here are several examples of how the issue of using slang was dealt with; this is an example from the ninth episode of the second season of *Skins*:

Example:

TONY

Hey, mate. Do you want some spliff?

TRANSLATION:

Hoćeš trave? (Want some spliff)?

What was used here regarding subtitling strategies proposed by Díaz and Remael is omission (cf. with items are used in the questionnaire in section 5.4). It had to be reduced as much as possible because of the subtitle duration, which is only two seconds. However, what was done here is a combination of standard and spoken language. In the spoken language this sentence would have been phrased like this: 'Oćeš or even 'O'š trave. The full standard form would have been Hoćeš li trave? Or rather: Hoćeš li pušiti marihuanu? (Do you want to smoke marihuana?). What was used is something in between the spoken language of Croatian teenagers and standard Croatian, Hoćeš trave. This is another example form the same episode:

Example:

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CHRIS (commenting on the food Sid has made):

I've gotta tell you, mate. Top, notch... It's mega.

F**** A, Sid! F***** A Plus!

TRANSLATION:

Savršeno, prijatelju. (Perfect, my friend)
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Super je! Jebeno! (It's great! F**** perfect).

Omission is necessary since a lot is spoken out in only four seconds, or even less. *Mega* from the original is completely lost in this translation. The *mate* from the original becomes the standard form *friend* since *a mate* can be *kompić* in Zagreb, *lega* in Osijek, *brale* in Split, to name only some regional variations used among teenagers. The standardization of slang is the best choice here, using *prijatelj* (friend), which is used throughout the country, even in such contexts. A more detailed look at what was used in this particular instance, one could say that perhaps using just *perfect* without the expletive would have been appropriate. However, there are reasons for not doing that which are mostly explained in Sections 3.6. and 3.7. of this thesis.

Choosing certain solutions over other in subtitling is also dictated by the limited time a subtitler has while subtitling. Decisions about what to omit, how to translate, which register to use, etc., must be made in a very short time, especially if a translator wants to make a living with subtitling. A subtitler will usually give herself/himself a day to subtitle an episode of a television series of standard length. Standard length is from 40 to 60 minutes. Subtitling of an episode can take from six hours in the case of a soap opera to as much as 12 hours in the case of a more demanding material that involves more research, such as *The Practice* (1997-2004) for instance. That means that a subtitler does not have much time to think hard about various possible solutions for the translation of challenging words or sentences, for instance those ridden with humour or the culture-bound terms. Subtitling humour is not easy since "apart from attempting to understand what different cultures find humorous and why, we are still unaware of exactly what is understood by the term humour in all cultures" (Chiaro 2006:206). This very important, although very practical, problem, can be easily overlooked by subtitlers,

because the above-mentioned reasons and those explained in Sections 3.6. and 3.7, and the result may be a translation devoid of any lack of humour. Zabalbeascoa classifies jokes into six categories, depending on "translation and the sorts of translation solution-types associated with each of them" (Zabalbeascoa 1996:251): "international joke", "binational joke", "national-culture-and-institutions jokes", "national-sense-of-humour joke", "language dependent joke and visual jokes" (1996:251-253). Although Zabalbeascoa writes about dubbing, this classification may well be applied to subtitling and it illustrates the complexity of translating humour.

The style used in subtitling is one of the things a subtitler who is preoccupied with other things such as timing, line length and the very sentence structure may easily overlook and not pay special attention to. However, the style should be at the centre of subtitler's focus, since it is one of the channels through which the subtitler conveys the message, the meaning of the original. For all these reasons, it is important to explore how subtitles are produced, in the technical sense.

3.4. New techniques in subtitling: templates

The way subtitles are made may also influence the way culture, among other things, is rendered in subtitles. Templates have become a part of the subtitler's everyday routine, unlike only a decade ago when they were not common at all and when subtitlers were responsible for spotting of subtitled audiovisual programmes. The purpose of this section is to discuss the implications of certain professional practices such as using English templates to translate programmes that are in English and using English templates to translate programmes that are not spoken in English, which is known as pivot translation; or using templates in languages other than English in the translation of programmes that are in English.

Subtitlers used to spend a lot of time learning how to spot audiovisual materials and inability to learn this process was usually an eliminating factor for aspiring subtitlers. Some "old-school" subtitlers feel that this part of the subtitling process has been unjustly taken away from them. As a necessary evil, subtitlers have become used to working with templates but very often complain about them

for various reasons: having to use templates in languages other than the language used in the video, the impossibility of changing time codes, and the interference in the target language conventions as subtitling rules used in the template are different than the subtitling country norms among others. And yet, despite these objections from subtitlers to work with templates, the subtitling industry has been introducing them more and more.

What is a template? Díaz Cintas and Remael define templates as "a list of master (sub)titles with the in and out times already spotted." (Díaz Cintas and Remael 2007:253). One utterly unfamiliar with the practice of subtitling may wonder why a subtitler needs such a list and who needs it in the first place.

3.4.1 The language used in a template

A template can be in a language used in the ST, but it may also come in a language different than the one used in the ST. For instance, subtitlers may use a template in English to translate an American film into their mother tongue, or a template in Swedish, Danish, and Romanian, to mention only some of the languages encountered in templates. A subtitler from the Spanish may encounter templates that are in English, for instance for the translation of a Spanish film. In this instance it is the English template that can be used as a pivot translation for the translation into other languages.

3.4.2 Before templates

In the book *Subtitling* (1998), Jan Ivarsson and Marry Carroll don't mention working with templates. The same book contains the *Code of Good Subtitling Practice* attached as an appendix in their book and the *Code* also doesn't mention templates. Díaz Cintas and Remael (2007) give a definition of a template only nine years later. Are subtitlers then in breach of the *Code* if they work with templates? It they were, then many of them would be out of work today if they refused to work without a template. In 1998, the same year when *Subtitling* was published, subtitlers were still in full control of spotting, the process in which in and out times of

subtitles are determined. In 2011 many subtitling jobs in Croatia are performed with templates and I only some clients, such as the Croatian Radio and Television, haven't introduced templates into the process of subtitling, at least not yet. A lot has obviously changed in these 13 years as regards templates.

Before the time of templates, skilful and unskilful subtitlers were, among other criteria, differentiated depending on the quality of spotting. However, to spot well, a subtitler had to learn other subtitling skills, such as reduction of the text, omission of the unnecessary, and all other useful skills described by Ivarsson and Carroll (1998:79-103) in their seminal book.

3.4.3 The introduction of templates

Many Croatian subtitlers first encountered templates in 2006 when they started to work for different clients, overseas international subtitling companies. It should be mentioned that Croatian subtitling refers to interlingual subtitling, subtitling from ST to TT. Interlingual subtitling is subtitling, in the Croatian case, from English into Croatian, or, sometimes, vice versa. Yves Gambier mentions that interlingual subtitling is sometimes also called "open caption" (Gambier, 2003: 172) and that involves a shift from oral to written mode. Díaz Cintas and Remael (2007:17) classify it as subtitling for hearers and say that it is "translation from source to target language", mentioning also Gottlieb's definition of interlingual subtitling who calls it "diagonal subtitling" (Gottlieb 2004). "It (subtitling, *emphasis added*) involves a shift form one language to another along with the change of mode, from oral to written" (Díaz Cintas and Remael 2007:17).

In the meantime, Croatian subtitling companies started to use templates as a standard subtitling tool, while templates were not used in their work in the beginning (Section 3.1. contains more on the history of subtitling in Croatia as well as Nikolić 2010). What that meant for experienced subtitlers, the people who had worked only on the production of what a subtitling company would today call a "first translation"? A "first translation" means "old-school" subtitling product: a subtitler is given a video, a dialogue-list or a film script and in a programme designed for the creation of subtitles they produce while watching the video and reading the dialogue list. When they have created 700 subtitles or so for a an

average film, the duration of an average film is from 90-100 minutes, they would spot the subtitles, i. e., they would determine the in and out times of the subtitles. International subtitling companies still order such work, but after that this first translation is used to produce subtitles in another market, for another language, as a template.

It is important for subtitlers to follow changes in the technology of subtitling, since the changes have been quite intense over the last decade. However, subtitlers are not very keen on changing the way they work. Why? Learning a completely different approach to the work of subtitling takes some time, and as cutting cost for subtitling companies is very important, it is very important to subtitlers to work quickly and efficiently, and, of course, to meet the deadline which is never too far away. In conversations with subtitlers who had to accept the reality of working with templates, it was established that many subtitlers feel as if a part of the subtitling work is taken away from them. Whether it is solely a matter of habit or it is just a matter of having to adjust to this new reality, is not quite clear. Subtitling companies don't pay the same for the production of first translation and for the production of subsequent translations, how some of them call what a subtitler would call "subtitling with a template, and this is one of the reasons why subtitlers are also not too keen on working on subsequent translations, provided they have a choice.

Díaz Cintas and Remael say that "rates vary from country to country, and company to company, and translators ought to inform themselves about the going rates to avoid unfair competition and destroying the market with unnecessarily low rates" (Díaz Cintas and Remael 2007:36). It could also be added that subtitlers are usually presented with the rates on the "no-negotiation" basis, or "take-it-or-leave-it principle". Therefore, some subtitlers see the introduction of templates only as an excuse for cutting rates by subtitling companies. Is this really so?

3.4.4 The advantages of using templates

The subtitling landscape has changed significantly since, at least in Croatia, subtitlers only worked on first translations. Not only did they work on first translations exclusively, but they would also be asked by their only client, the

Croatian Radio and Television (the Croatian public broadcaster), to produce a new translation of a film they subtitled, for instance, more than five years before. In personal communication with the new Head of the Translation and Subtitling Department at Croatian Radio and Television (HRT), Ms. Maja Tančik, one may learn that a TV translation is now considered to be "old" only if it is older than 10 years, and not even then, since the HRT have also realized that they can save on subtitles after being hit with recession.

Subtitlers miss the days when they had the opportunity of loading their existing subtitles into the subtitling programme called PNS used by HRT's subtitlers, re-spotting the subtitles once again²⁶ and having the opportunity of changing or making a facelift to the subtitles and "selling" them once again. One should note that TV broadcasters or subtitling companies don't pay royalties to their subtitlers. Since this is so, working with templates may have its advantages. However, using templates as an advantage implies several prerequisites.

Subtitling companies, not always and not all of them, use templates prepared as first translations. For instance, a subtitling company may use its German first translation for the preparation of subsequent translations for all other markets for which they produce subtitles for a client, a TV broadcaster: a subtitling company x usually has a contract for producing translations for a TV company y for all markets in which the TV company broadcasts its programme, mostly through cable TV, but this also goes for DVD and cinema. However, some subtitling companies hire subtitlers as people who only produce templates (they will be called "template-makers" in this study), usually in the language of the original, and use them for the production of subsequent translations for their other markets. If the first translation is used as a template or if templates, in the original sense of the word, are prepared according to a country's subtitling standards (see Section 3.3. and Material 1), a subsequent subtitler can produce subtitles quicker since there is no spotting involved.

Some subtitling software do not require subtitlers to load the template into it and delete the existing text in the template to be able to insert translation, but they enable loading of the template, either in language of the ST or not, copying of time-codes onto a, so to speak, a blank sheet into which translation is inserted and using

²⁶ Since the time-codes would usually change.

the original template together with the video and the blank template. This means that translations may be produced relatively quickly. This subtitling technique can save up to 30 % of time that would have been spent in the case of first translation, provided that the template is absolutely correct, that one can copy-paste names from it because they are spelled properly and checked by the producer of the template²⁷. That approach to subtitling may enable subtitlers to work quicker and it may make up for the ever-decreasing rates. These instances are not that frequent, but they do happen, and it doesn't even matter if the language of that template is the language of the ST or not, of course it is much quicker if it is, but these templates are mostly first translations produced to be broadcast as such and this is usually the case when subtitling high-quality films or even TV-series.

For instance in the case a very good Swedish template of the film *Robin Hood: Prince of Thieves* (1991), the Croatian subsequent translation was very easy to make: since Croatian country standards as regards subtitling are similar to Swedish, because these standards are based on Jan Ivarsson's books (see Section 3.3. and Nikolić 2010). Since there was not a lot of text or dialogue in the abovementioned film, the subtitler was able to produce a decent translation with the template. Around 30-40 percent of time was saved since spotting was not involved in this project.

Some clients and some TV companies allow their subtitlers to merge and split subtitles, so if the template has two two-liners one after another that appear on the screen for about three seconds, a subtitler can merge these two subtitles and create one subtitler of six seconds or a slightly more than that, keeping in mind that the maximum time allowed for a two-liner is seven seconds, especially in situations when one needs more time and space.

When it comes to subtitling companies and using templates, the benefits are multiple. First, they save a lot of money and time. Subtitling companies save money since subsequent translations are paid less, so for instance if a subtitling company x has a contract with a TV channel y for subtitling their programme for all European markets in which they broadcast their programme, the subtitling company will hire a subtitler (a "template-maker"), who can be skilful or not, and send the template to

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²⁷ Subtitling companies working with templates consider these "template-makers" to be subtitlers. Therefore, this term has different meaning to them, what "old-school" subtitlers think by that term is called "translators" in the terminology system of subtitling companies.

all its European freelancers to translate the programme via the template. Or, the company can hire its, for instance, Estonian subtitler to produce the first translation (to produce an "old-school" subtitling product, with a subtitling software, a dialogue list and a video, translate the programme into subtitles and then spot it), and send out that first translation in the Estonian language to all of their European freelancers who will then make subsequent translations in Croatian, German, French and other languages. To make such a subsequent translation, with an Estonian template, usually takes more time, but not necessarily, a template in English, if the language of the film, for instance, is English, may take more time if the subtitler who is hired only to make the template makes a poor job, which is, unfortunately, not that infrequent.

Subtitling companies also save through the usage of templates since they don't have to invest time and money into educating all its Croatian, German or French subtitlers to make first translations, i.e., teach them how to spot, they just invest their money and time into educating the Estonian subtitler or their "template-maker" which can be based in India for instance, or another country in which people use English at least as a second language (it is mostly English), and in which people are prepared to work for low wages. This is one of the effects of globalisation and its effects on subtitling about which Díaz Cintas and Remael (2007:37) write about.

There is one more advantage of using templates for subtitling companies: consistency. Provided the template is of good quality, i.e., that it at least follows basic rules of subtitling which are applied in most markets, and that is minimum and maximum duration of subtitles and avoidance of overlapping subtitle duration with scene cuts. It is also important that subtitles reflect the spoken dialogue, i.e., that there are no delays. The subtitling company can be sure that, at least as regards these basic technical requirements, subtitles in all its markets will be at least of satisfactory quality if these basic rules are followed. That enables easier handling of subtitling projects that span many countries. The problem is that "template-makers" don't always obey these basic rules and also that there are more subtitling rules which are not the same in all countries, for instance the preference of one-liners to two-liners, but also other, such as minimum number of frames between subtitles.

The widespread globalisation forces subtitling companies to find ways of saving money and time to be able to compete amongst each other. Unfortunately, one of the ways of doing that is cutting rates and one can only suspect whether there are always grounded reasons for that, but subtitling companies, when they cut rates for their subtitlers, usually say that they must do so because they were forced to do so by broadcasters which hire them. Whether this is really that straightforward or not, should not be a topic of scholarly discourse. However, an AVT scholar and an economics scholar may conduct a joint research and see whether this is really so, or more importantly, if something can be done about the ever-decreasing subtitling rates which leave many subtitlers unhappy and that consequently influences the quality of subtitles.

The issue of subtitling rates is one of the first things subtitlers don't like about using templates since they see it as an excuse for cutting rates by subtitling companies they work for. Furthermore, there are also other problems with using templates.

In order to explore this topic an interview was conducted a Croatian subtitler, Ms. Snježana Perković (personal communication), with 14 years of experience in the profession. Ms. Perković's languages are Spanish, Portuguese and French. She has translated numerous soap operas coming out of Latin America and she has worked both without templates and with them, mostly without templates. She is an "old-school", trained subtitler. The reason why she was chosen, and not a subtitler from the English, was an attempt to move away from English to see whether using templates in languages other than English poses the same challenges as the usage of templates in English.

Ms. Perković, like all the other subtitlers who were consulted about the usage of templates, thinks that working with templates is a sort of a "job not properly done" or that a part of subtitler's work is taken away from them. She admits that one can work quicker with templates, but only if the subtitling company a subtitler works for allows them to change time-codes. However, subtitling companies very often lock the time code.

My first experience with subtitles was rather negative. I was given a film to translate and the film already had 1700 subtitles in the template. One can only assume how much viewers were able rely on subtitles, which is one of the investigation points of this thesis, while watching that film. Viewers can come across such films when they watch films on DVD since those are mostly produced by overseas, international subtitling companies, but also on some TV channels. It was a film of about 100 minutes, so if one had translated it without the template (applying the country standards), one would have come up with 700 to 900 subtitles at most. It was surprising that the person who produced the template put everything that was spoken in the film dialogues into the template (cf. Section 3.3., Material 1, Ivarsson and Carroll 1998, Nikolić 2005, 2010, Díaz Cintas and Remael 2007, Pedersen 2007). The rules about omission and reduction were disregarded in the template, and there were problems with inserting of the translation into such a template with two-liners sometimes lasting only two seconds, when it should have been at least four.

Ms. Perković reached the conclusion that Croatian is "longer" than Spanish, Portuguese and English. Here some examples of words being longer in Croatian than English:

Examples:

English: MP

Croatian: *Zastupnik (u Donjem domu Britanskoga parlamenta)*

English: a fed

Croatian: agent FBI-ja

English: pre-med

Croatian: pripremni studij medicine²⁸

English: Tube

Croatian: *Podzemna (željeznica)* English: American Civil War²⁹

Croatian: Američki građanski rat

English: To arraign

²⁸ This is used as an item in the questionnaire (see chapters 4-8).

²⁹ Used in the questionnaire.

Croatian: Izvesti pred sud zbog saslušanja³⁰

English: Medical School

Croatian: Medicinski fakultet

English: Get ya

Croatian: Kužim te

This issue is also discussed by a well-know Croatian translator of documentaries, Aleksandar Kolka, who thinks that this fact is also a problem in television voiceover of documentaries³¹, as well as in subtitling (Kolka 1995:373).

What subtitling companies disregard when it comes to templates and not allowing the change of time-codes is the fact that some languages have longer words than others and syntax that is more complex or that there are many cultural gaps between languages and cultures, as well as that translation requires modification of proper nouns for instance, or that it requires paraphrase which may take up more space³². This can partially be solved by allowing changes of time-codes in existing templates. Of course, subtitling software has to be user-friendly enough to enable quick merging and splitting of subtitles or changes of time-codes, since otherwise there is no purpose of allowing the change of time-codes. In the end a subtitler may end up working longer with a template than translating and spotting without it.

Ms. Perković sums up her view about working with templates like this: "It feels like working after somebody else, not doing the job properly, or translating a Spanish novel via its French translation" (Perković 2010, my translation). Indeed, using templates may affect the quality of translation. Since subtitlers are constantly under pressure to work quicker (because of the deadlines, but also because of the ever-decreasing rates and non-existence of royalties, the only way to make up for the lost income is to increase output), they use all possible shortcuts to produce translations more quickly. One of them is the very popular "copy-paste method". English templates may be of dubious quality (especially if they are produced by

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³⁰ Used in the questionnaire.

Voiceover is at Croatian Television (HRT) usually combined with subtitling in the translation of documentaries. The voice of the original narrator is usually completely muted and subtitles are used for speakers if there are any. Furthermore, if there are only several speakers, they are usually translated with partial voiceover, whereby viewers can also partially hear the original voices. If there are more than four speakers, the speakers are translated with subtitles.

³² Which is one of the reasons why different strategies were used in translations of ECs used in the survey (see chapters 4-8).

"template-makers"), sometimes not even proper names are properly checked, for instance a John can actually be *Jon*, a subtitler translating by using that template can just copy-paste the name and not even check the dialogue-list at all. It remains unclear whether template-makers have the responsibility of checking proper names and their spellings. Copy-pasting is unprofessional, but subtitlers (as well as the "template makers") and have to make a living. The key to subtitlers' survival in the world of subtitling has become: do it as quickly as you can, deliver it and move to the next translation. The lack of time affects quality and is often disregarded on the part of subtitling companies and even more so, broadcasters. In personal communication An employer of a TV broadcaster in Croatia claims the following: "We (a TV broadcaster in Croatia) prefer "x" (a subtitling company) because they can deliver translations in 48 hours". This illustrates well that quick delivery of subtitles is very important to broadcasters.

When using templates in languages which are closely related, such as Croatian and Slovenian³³, the copy-paste method may also cause problems for the subtitler because of many, sometimes partial, false friends.

Example:

Slovenian: predor (a tunnel)

Croatian: prijedor (a canyon)

Slovenian: slab (bad, poor, for example slab dogovor meaning bad, poor agreement)

Croatian: *slab* (fragile, meaning "physically fragile")

Slovenian: *lahko* (can, may – a modal)

Croatian: lako (easy, as in lak zadatak, an easy task)

Even if a subtitler is aware of the differences and of all the gaps, one can easily slip by using the copy-paste method when subtitling via templates. Another disadvantage is the feeling prevalent among subtitlers who were trained to do the spotting, Ms. Perković has already mentioned that and it is a psychological matter: it's the feeling that working with a template is a job not properly done. Trained subtitlers are used to take spotting as a part of their work. Some subtitlers conveyed,

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³³ For more on false pairs between Croatian and Slovenian, as well as between Croatian and some other Slavic languages, see Opačić 1995.

for instance Snježana Perković, Vlatka Valentić and Anja Jović, that they don't spot the whole film after they have written the subtitles, if it's a film they are working on, but they finish ten to fifteen minutes or so of the film, i.e., they translate it, and then spot it, so spotting serves as a sort of a rest from translating. Some "oldschool" subtitlers even conveyed that they perceive working with templates as just typing.

Using poorly prepared templates, for instance a template of a film with 1700 subtitles mentioned in this chapter, is a disadvantage of working with templates. Software used also plays an important role. Some subtitling companies use software that don't allow the creation of a blank template to be used for translation, but subtitlers who use these software while working with templates have to first delete the text that exists in a template and then insert their translation. One wonders whether this can really save time to the subtitler or, to use company terminology, increase output.

3.4.6 The conclusion about templates

Templates are here to stay since the percentage of subtitles produced via templates has been rising constantly, at least in Croatia. Some subtitling companies resort almost exclusively to templates and don't hire subtitlers to do the job from scratch, i.e., to spot as well.

Subtitling companies, if they have to increase output, are also in a position to help subtitlers to make high-quality subtitles via templates. They can provide software that enables the production of high-quality translations with templates. They can allow subtitlers to change time-codes (which mostly comes down to merging subtitles, but not always). They can also familiarize themselves with variations among languages (with the fact that some languages ask for more space than others, especially in some TV programmes like documentaries). Subtitling companies also shouldn't use templates as an excuse for cutting rates because the time a subtitler saves on not doing the spotting is not always as substantial as subtitling companies think it is or would want it to be.

Cutting costs in film and TV industry, as well as in subtitling which is closely connected to these industries, is a permanent prerogative. "Cost is also a

major market force that shapes the way things are done, and film production tends to be always cash poor" (Georgakopoulou 2006:115). It is interesting to read this about an industry that makes hundreds of millions of dollars and it is apparent that subtitling is a part of that world.

Subtitlers obviously have to accept the reality of working with templates and get used to it, if companies are forced to save. Better communication and understanding among subtitlers, subtitling companies and TV broadcasters would result in better products for those for whom subtitles are made, the viewers. It would be interesting to conduct a survey among viewers by showing them films, for instance, or other subtitled content, with subtitles produced via templates and without them, so that they can compare and say which they like better, and to check whether there are differences in the first place. Both TV and subtitling companies would have a better picture about what their practice of using templates really is like. Such a survey would benefit the subtitlers as well, who would then be able to either accept or reject templates.

This section was introduced with the aim of explaining in detail how subtitles are produced today and it serves as an introduction to what is discussed in Sections 3.6. and 3.7., the everyday life of a subtitler, since this may influence the central topic of this thesis, and that is the perception of subtitles. Before that, another topic needs to be explored, and that is the Croatian language and subtitling, since Croatian is the language of the TTs discussed in this study.

3.5. The Identity of Croatian as a Language in Subtitling

Identity as such is a complex term since it has various forms. There is national identity, which refers to belonging to a nation, subculture identity, for instance football fans have a feeling they belong to a group of supporters of a certain club. There is sexual identity, for instance the identity of belonging to the gay community. Identity is studied by various disciplines, such as sociology, psychology and sociolinguistics and each of these disciplines defines identity in its own way (Ščukanec 2011:82). The purpose of this chapter is to define identity through the prism of subtitling, namely, through subtitling in a language whose identity has shifted from being a part of a language which used to be called "Serbo-

Croatian" to gaining or re-gaining its independence after the break-up of the former Yugoslavia.

"The relationship between language and identity in AVT is yet to be explored" (Gambier 2003: 182). This section is an attempt at clarifying that identity as regards Croatian as a language in subtitling. The aim is to explore the relationship between Croatian and identity through explaining practical implications on subtitling, since there are various theories about the position of Croatian as an independent language. An interesting point comes from an article by Mary Snell-Hornby in which she quotes Najda Grbic. The article is entitled "Globalism, Tribalism and Cultural Identity", published in a volume called *Translation in the Global Village*:

"But with the emergence of new cultural identities after the fall of the Iron Curtain, individual ethnic groups are rediscovering their cultural heritage and with it the significance of their own mother tongue, particularly if they are in conflict with other groups. The most striking example is the emergence of Bosnian, Serbian and Croatian as separate languages (from what was known as Serbo-Croat), despite minimal, often artificially created linguistic differences arising from the implementation of new language policies." (Snell-Hornby 1999:13).

From the perspective of a subtitler and native speaker of the Croatian language, this statement may seem at odds with reality, since the Croatian language is the official language of the Republic of Croatia and the subtitler must accept that as a fact. The differences between Serbian and Croatian come down to differences between languages which are rather similar, as Czech and Slovak or Swedish and Norwegian, but languages which are not the same.

Croatian subtitlers subtitle into Croatian which is the official language in the country. This thought must be explained, especially to non-native speakers of Croatian and to those who don't speak it all, and who on the other hand may think that Serbo-Croatian exists. Croatian is nowadays considered to be a part of a language called BCS³⁴, or Bosnian-Croatian-Serbian. This could be due to economic reasons, to save money on translation, but it mostly has to do with having the power to decide which languages are the same and which are different, partly also with the lack of knowledge about the issue.

³⁴ The term used in German-speaking countries in BKS.

To explain differences between these three languages it was decided that an independent source will first be used, a handbook written by Wayles Browne, a Slavic scholar who teaches at Cornell University in the United States, namely his study of the three languages *A Handbook of Bosnian, Serbian and Croatian*. In the introduction to the study Browne says:

"Bosnian, Croatian and Serbian are three standardized forms based on very similar linguistic material. For many the term "language" means standardized form of a language, and in this meaning we can speak of a Bosnian language, a Croatian language and a Serbian language. "Language" can also be a system that permits communication, and in this meaning we can consider all three to make up one language. Serbo-Croatian was the traditional term³⁵ (footnote added). The non-native learner will usually want to choose to concentrate on Bosnian or Croatian or Serbian, but learning any of these actively plus some knowledge of the differences will permit the learner to take part in the communication system throughout the whole area³⁶ (footnote added). This description will use the term BCS to denote what the three standards have in common. The differences in grammar are not very numerous³⁷ (footnote added). The differences in vocabulary are more numerous; some will be pointed out in the vocabulary section." (Browne 2004:7).

Browne goes on to explain the whole history of these three languages and makes a differential analysis of grammar and vocabulary. According to him, differences are most obvious in vocabulary. He does make an important point by saying that standard Bosnian, Croatian and Serbian are three languages and this is important in AVT since subtitlers primarily used the standardized form of a language in their translations. His other point, that anyone who learns one of the three languages is able to communicate with speakers of the other two, is also true. It may even be said that the so-called BCS may function as International English which is used for basic communication.

However, standard Bosnian, Croatian, and Serbian languages differ in various aspects. The various nuances do not present major obstacles in the communication. However, the focus of this chapter is standards, written form of the language used in subtitling. After the dissolution of Yugoslavia, languages of

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³⁵ The term used in Croatia was Croato-Serbian (*hrvatskosrpski* as opposed to *srpskohrvatski*), but since Serbia was the dominant nation in former Yugoslavia, the term Serbo-Croatian was accepted elsewhere. Croatian was used in Croatia and Serbian in Serbia.

³⁶ The same may be said for other languages: Czech and Slovak for instance, and Swedish, Danish, Norwegian and Icelandic.

³⁷ "Very numerous" is a relative term. Grammatical differences are actually quite substantial.

Croats and Serbs went their own way, after being politically forcefully kept "together" since 1918 according to Croatian sources and views³⁸. In the socialist Yugoslavia, the official policy was oriented toward "equalizing" and "merging"³⁹ Croatian and Serbian, which was the source of discontent among ordinary Croats, writers and poets. However, the language was regarded as one common language with different variants and dialects. The unity of the language was emphasized, making the differences not an indicator of linguistic divisions, but rather factors enriching the common language. In addition, Yugoslavia had two other official languages on the federal level, Slovenian and Macedonian, reflecting Yugoslavia's acceptance of diversity language-wise. No attempts were made to assimilate those languages into the common Serbo-Croatian / Croato-Serbian language. In the socialist Yugoslavia, the official language definition was: in SR (Socialist Republic) Croatia as the "common language of Croats and Serbs"⁴⁰.

With the break-up of the former Yugoslavia, in search of new indicators of independent and specific national identities, language became a sort of an instrument in virtually all new republics. With the rise of neologisms in Croatia, an extra emphasis on turcisms in the Muslim parts of Bosnia and a privileged position of the Cyrillic script in Serb inhabited parts of the new Republics, every new state and entity showed a 'nationalization' of the language.

In that context, the Bosnian language went into its independent development after the independence of Bosnia and Herzegovina was proclaimed in 1992. Independent development of Montenegrin language became a topic among some Montenegrin academics in 1990s. It should be noted that Serbian and Bosnian language standards tend to be "inclusive", i.e. to accept a wider range of idioms and to use loan-words, while Croatian standard is more purist and prefers neologisms instead of loan-words, as well as re-use of neglected older words (Browne 2004). This practice of not using loan-words is also the case in the Slovene lanugage. These approaches are, again, due to different cultural, historical and political development of the three languages and the societies they belong to.

Andrew Chesterman talks about Toury's translation norms in this *Memes of Translation*. Among other things, he says:

³⁸ http://www.ihjj.hr/oHrJeziku-povijest-5.html. (Date of access: October 10, 2009).

³⁹ http://www.ihjj.hr/oHrJeziku-ustav.html. (Date of access: October 10, 2009).

⁴⁰ http://www.ihjj.hr/oHrJeziku-ustav.html. (Date of access: October 10, 2009).

"The target culture designates certain texts as translations largely on the (implicit) say-so of their translators: the relation between the target culture and its translators is one of trust – a culture must trust those who translate into it, and also out of it." (Chesterman 1997: 59)

According to this view, translators also bear responsibility for the status of their mother tongue, and subtitlers as well. TV viewers are often very critical about what they watch on television. Television programme is a frequent topic of daily conversation among people. Since Croatia is a subtitling country, subtitles and language are also part of these conversations. Viewers on various Internet forums discuss subtitlers' work and every subtitler wants to create trust in his viewers. It is important that translators, as well as subtitlers, do what is expected of them, as it may be seen in this view:

"(T)he "correct) translation ... is one that fits the correctness norm prevailing in a particular system, i. e. that adopts the solutions regarded as correct for a given communicative situation, as a result of which it is accepted as correct. In other words: when translators do what is expected of them, they will be seen to have done well." (Hermans 1991:166)

What follows is an example of what happens when those who make decisions about translation don't keep that in mind. Croatian subtitlers are expected to produce subtitles in the Croatian language, and this is an example when one of the parties involved in the process doesn't keep that in mind.

An international subtitling company produces subtitles, among others, for a Swedish TV broadcaster who distributes its programmes via cable TV, so they are visible in many homes in Croatia. They broadcast their programme on several TV channels. When they started broadcasting in Croatia, there were no subtitles, the programmes' contents were mostly in English. Some programmes were originally in Swedish and other European languages, sometimes even non-European, as one of the broadcaster's channels broadcasts world cinema. Since the broadcaster had already been present in Serbia, they had Serbian subtitles available. They then decided to broadcast their programmes in Croatia with Serbian subtitles, offering at least some kind of translation. The viewers complained and they finally started to produce Croatian subtitles. The expectancy norm was here not fulfilled, as these subtitles were not in the language the viewers expected them to be. The same

company provides subtitlers with templates, which is explained in the previous section. Croatian subtitlers were provided with Serbian templates, but there were problems again. In the subtitling software the subtitling company uses there is an option to copy subtitles from the template (a glance at Section 3.4. will give more information about templates). Since there are many similarities between Croatian and Serbian, subtitlers copied subtitles, but failed to correct them thoroughly (for reasons which will be explained in Sections 3.6. and 3.7.), and viewers started to complain again. This policy of using Serbian templates was abandoned in the end because of too many complaints. To illustrate the differences between Serbian and Croatian, here is an example of Serbian and Croatian subtitles of a programme broadcast at one of the Swedish channels mentioned above, called *Blood of the Vikings* (2001), from episode 1. Only the first twenty subtitles were taken from the episode with 500 subtitles. The differences between Croatian and Serbian were pointed out in bold font.

Table 1 – Croatian vs. Serbian

Serbian		Croatian
	U ovoj epizodi proučićemo	U ovoj epizodi proučit
	događaje iz 1066.	ćemo događaje iz 1066.
2		2
	koji su izazvali krvavi kraj	koji su prouzročili
	ere vikinga.	krvavi kraj vikinškoga doba.
3		3
	Da li je ovaj čovek poginuo	Je li ovaj čovjek
	braneći Jork?	poginuo braneći York ⁴³ ?
4		4
	Da li su ovo kosti vojnika	Jesu li ovo kosti ratnika
	poslednje vikinške vojske?	posljednje vikinške vojske?
5		5
	Gde u Britaniji možemo naći	Gdje na Britanskom otočju
	genetsko ⁴¹ nasleđe vikinga?	danas možemo naći vikinške gene?
7		7

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⁴¹ Genetski in Croatian refers to gentetic, the science, while genski refers to genes. In Serbian it refers to both, at least according to this translation.

⁴³ Foreign names, including place names, are used in the original in Croatian. In Serbian they are phonetically transcribed.

U poslednjoj epizodi serije,	U posljednjem nastavku serije
8	8
videćemo rezultate najvećeg	vidjet ćemo rezultate
genetičkog istraživanja	najvećega genskog istraživanja
9	9
sa ciljem da otkrije vikinšku krv	s ciljem otkrivanja vikinške
kod današnjih Britanaca.	krvi kod današnjih Britanaca.
10	10
Ovo je Vest Stouk kod Kembridža.	Ovo je West Stoke kraj Cambridgea .
11	11
Ovde su arhelozi rekonstruisali	Ovdje su arheolozi
anglosaksonsko selo.	rekonstruirali anglosaksonsko selo.
12	12
Uz pomoć genetskih istraživanja	S pomoću genskih istraživanja
vratićemo se 1000 godina u prošlost.	vratit ćemo se 1000 g. u prošlost.
13	13
Želimo da saznamo šta se događalo	Zanima nas što se događalo na ovim
u selima kad su vikinzi stigli.	prostorima kad su stigli Vikinzi.
14	14
Odgovorićemo na pitanja koja	Odgovorit ćemo na pitanja koja
vekovima muče arheologe i istoričare.	zbunjuju arheologe i povjesničare .
15	15
Ima dokaza da se deo osvajača	Dokazi ukazuju na to da su
trajno naselio ovde.	se neki osvajači trajno naselili.
16	16
Želimo da saznamo koliko ih	Želimo saznati koliko ih
je ostalo i gde su se nastanili	je ostalo i gdje su se nastanili.
17	17
Sa mnom su naučnici koji su	Sa mnom su znanstvenici koji
sprovodili genetsko istraživanje.	provode gensko istraživanje.
18	18
Razgovaraću i sa ljudima koji misle	Razgovarat ću i s ljudima koji
da su direktni potomci vikinga.	misle da su izravni potomci Vikinga.
19	19
Ali ⁴² , pre nego što razmotrimo	No prije nego što promotrimo
genetsko nasleđe vikinga	vikinško gensko naslijeđe
20	20
Šta znamo o tome kako se završila	što znamo o kraju vikinške
vikinška era u Britaniji?	vladavine na Britanskom otočju?

⁴² A comma is not used here in Croatian.

Of course, differences occur partly due to the fact that these translations were produced by different subtitlers, but just a mere glance at the above shows that at least half is different, not to mention the fact that subtitles are, traditionally, organized differently in Croatia and viewers are used to it⁴⁴. Some of the differences are explained in the following paragraph. Browne noticed many lexical differences between Croatian, Bosnian and Serbian and the above proves that.

Here are some further explanations of the differences. A historian is "povjesničar" in Croatia and "istoričar" in Serbia. Foreign names, including place names, are written phonetically in Serbian: "Kembridž", while in Croatian originals place names are always used. There are also quite a few grammatical differences. "We will respond" is "Odgovorićemo" in Serbian, one word, and "Odgovorit ćemo" in Croatian, two words. In Serbian the word "epizoda" is used for an episode, and "nastavak" in Croatian. In colloquial Croatian "epizoda" can also be used, but these are standard registers in this particular translation. "What" is "šta" in Serbian and "što" in Croatian.

Most speakers of Croatian and Serbian will understand one another, but does it mean that this is one and the same language, as some think? Henrik Goettlieb form the University of Copenhagen said in his lecture given at MuTra conference in Saarbrücken in Germany in 2005. "Everybody knows this is one and the same language", meaning Croatian and Serbian. It was surprising to hear that because he didn't give any examples to prove his point. That statement was even more surprising because that came from a translation scholar, i.e., a scholar who studies language among other things. Croatian Television uses one and the same subtitler for both Norwegian and Swedish, the subtitler studied Swedish, and as far as one can see these languages are just as similar or just as different as Croatian and Serbian are. Moreover, the speakers of these languages wouldn't be very happy if one thought or said that they speak "one and the same language". That also shows that language is one of the defining elements of a national identity.

⁴⁴ The bottom line of a two-liner is always longer in Croatia.

Language is a part of national identity, a part of national heritage, and in the "Brave New McWorld" (Snell-Hornby 1999:13) even more so. If language is a "system that permits communication" (Browne 2004:7) and if speakers of Serbian and Croatian understand one other, or Norwegian and Swedish, in theory, there shouldn't be any problems. However, communication is not the only purpose or function of a language. Language is also a treasure, one of the elements that define a nation and most nations want to keep it that way, especially since International English has become so dominant.

One could imagine that the European Union would be much more content if it didn't have to spend millions on translation and interpretation, but one of the mottos of the EU is "united in diversity" and all EU nations and those who would like to join the Union don't want to question the usage of their own language as official, although there is something called "working or procedural languages", since the Union wouldn't be able to function if all official languages were used as working languages. Does it mean that if speakers of certain languages understand each other, they speak the same language and how different or similar two languages have to be to be considered different or the same? There are differing opinions among linguists as to whether the differences between the Croatian, Bosnian and Serbian languages are substantial to justify their treatment as separate languages. Croatian linguist Miro Kačić gives the following general overview of differences between the Croatian and Serbian languages. These differences are the following:

"At the level of literary language, there are two traditions of writing, which are temporally and spatially separated due to the different historical, cultural and literary development of the two nations. At the level of standard language the two traditions of linguistic codification are completely disparate. The period of Croato-Serbian normative convergence, from the time of Croatian "Vukovians" to the imposed unification of these two languages in the former Yugoslavia, is only an interval in the development of the Croatian linguistic norm. As a turning point, this period was atypical with respect to three centuries of this development. There is the level of genetic relatedness. Croatian is based on three macro dialects, while Serbian is dominated by a single macro dialect. The interference between three Croatian dialects, which provided the basis for Croatian writing and literature, has uninterruptedly existed for centuries as a formative force in the codification of standard Croatian. There is the typological level. Differences exist on all levels of the linguistic system: phonetic/phonological, accentual, morphologic, word-formational, syntactic, semantic-

pragmatic and lexical. Linguistic systems which differ on all these levels cannot be one language." (Kačić 1997, my translation)

During the time of Yugoslavia, "Serbo-Croatian" was an obligatory subject in Slovenian and Macedonian schools. In Slovenia pupils had to take "Serbo-Croatian" for a year. What was effectively taught was either Croatian or, in most cases, Serbian, depending on the resources of a school, teachers namely. If teachers were Serbs, Serbian was taught, if they were Croats, Croatian was taught. This is another demonstration of the fact that Serbo-Croatian never really existed. If one speaks with a Slovenian who took that subject in school (the subject was abolished shortly after Slovenia became an independent country) and they try to speak "Serbo-Croatian", they will in most cases speak Serbian or sometimes a mixture of the two languages. If overseas agencies ask Croatian subtitlers if they can subtitle or translate into Serbian as well, that offer has to be declined since this is not their mother tongue and they don't know how to phrase things in Serbian. Croatian speakers understand the speakers of Serbian, and Bosnian as well, but some can also understand speakers of Slovene and this doesn't mean that Slovene is the same as Croatian. However, translators from Bosnia and Serbia very often claim that they "translate into Croatian" as well. Clients are always too keen to save money, and since those translators usually dump the prices of translation, they are the ones who get many translation jobs distributed online. As a result, there are very many "Croatian translations" of a rather poor quality.

A short while ago two new cable channels started to broadcast their programmes via cable TV with Croatian subtitles. The language in these subtitles is very often anything but Croatian, but so far nobody pays a lot of attention. When law demands translations into Croatian, like in the case of sworn translators, court interpreters or in the case of clinical research when all documents must be in Croatian, clients will always place jobs to Croatian translators and they will ask for proofs of that. Nowadays, many international clients demand that translators and subtitlers are based in Croatia or that they have lived in Croatia for at least five years. Many want a proof of Croatian citizenship. Again, it appears that a lot in translation and subtitling comes down to money.

In the Croatian language months have Slavic names, while Serbian and Bosnian use the same set of international Latin-derived names as English. But Slavic names may also be used in the Bosnian language as well (although, rarely understood). What follows is a table with names of months in three languages.

Table 2 – names of months in Croatian, Serbian and Bosnian

English	Croatian	Serbian	Bosnian	
January	siječanj	januar	januar	
February	veljača	februar	februar	
March	ožujak	mart	mart	
April	travanj	april	april	
May	svibanj	maj	maj	
June	lipanj	jun	juni	
July	srpanj	jul	juli	
August	kolovoz	avgust	august	
September	rujan	septembar	septembar	
October	listopad	oktobar	oktobar	
November	studeni	novembar	novembar	
December	prosinac	decembar	decembar	

These are not the only lexemes that differ in these three languages, of course. The differences can be found on all levels of discourse, from everyday conversation to

legal documents, especially between Croatian and Serbian. Here are some lexical differences between Serbian and Croatian: *ljestve* is *merdevine* in Serbian, which means "ladder". For instance the word *penzija* is *mirovina* in Croatian, while *penzija* is used only in everyday conversation and cannot be used in standard Croatian, the word means *pension* in English. *Poljoprivredno gazdinstvo* is *poljoprivredno gospodarstvo* in Croatian, *a small family farm*. In Serbian the word *bezbednost* is used, while *sigurnost* is used in Croatian, meaning *(public)safety*. The list of differences is rather long, only as regards the differences in lexical variations, not to mention syntactical variations such as sentence structure. Let us single a very basic difference in the formation of questions:

Serbian⁴⁵: Da li je greh biti na Fejzbuku?

Croatian: Je li grijeh biti na Facebooku?

The question word *da li* is not used in Croatian, the questions are formed with the question word *je li*, which is the question form of the verb to be. Again, the noun "Facebook" is written phonetically in the Serbian language.

Dunja Brozović-Rončević, the director of the Institute of Croatian Language and Linguistics⁴⁶ sent a letter to the Croatian News Agency "Hina", and excerpts from that letter were published in the Croatian daily *Vjesnik* on the 19th of February 2011. The headline of the article is rather interesting: "Hrvatski i srpski kao danski i norveški" (Croatian and Serbian as Danish and Norwegian). She points out that Croats have been using their language since the early Middle Ages and that, for centuries, rich and valuable literary tradition has been created in that language. Brozović-Rončević adds:

"Taj jezik hrvatske književnosti nije, naravno, istovjetan današnjemu hrvatskom standardnom jeziku koji je službeni jezik u Republici Hrvatskoj, ali je standardni jezik iz njega izrastao, i to u doba kada gotovo nikakvih formalnih dodira sa srpskim jezikom nije bilo." (Brozović Rončević 2011: 55).

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⁴⁵ http://www.b92.net/tehnopolis/aktuelno.php?nav_id=497901&fs=1. (Date of access: May 1st, 2010).

⁴⁶ http://www.ihjj.hr/. (Date of access: October 10, 2009).

That language of Croatian literature is not, of course, the same as today's standard Croatian which is the official language of the Republic of Croatia, but the standard language grew out of it, in the time when formal contacts with Serbian were non-existent (my translation).

This statement by Brozović Rončević explains the differences between these two languages, which have also been discovered in subtitles (see Table 1). The reason for the publication of this interview and the letter was Brozović Rončević's letter to the Ambassador of the United States to Croatia, James B. Foley, in which she states that a recently published article in a Croatian daily, about a document issued by the US State Department, was entitled: "Bosnian, Croatian and Serbian - dialects of one language". Brozović Rončević suspects that the reason for the publication of such a document is an attempt of the US administration to save on language costs. Brozović Rončević states that many facts in this State Department documents are wrong and she reminds that there were similar attempts in Brussels, to join these languages into one, for the same reasons. However, they failed according to her because EU laws are clear and Brozović Rončević points out that the Constitution of the Republic of Croatia states that the official language in the country is Croatian, while EU laws guarantee that all official languages of EU-member states have the status of official languages in the EU. (Vjesnik 2011:55). Brozović Rončević says (cf. Kačić 1997) that:

"Tvrdnja da su hrvatski, sprski, bošnjački i crnogorski jezik "dijalekti" jednog jezika nije točna, jer hrvatski jezik ima tri narječja, skupine dijalekata (čakavsko, kajkavsko, štokavsko), a samo je štokavsko blisko bošnjačkomu, crnogorskomu, srpskomu, a za problematiku standardnih jezika i njihova statusa organska jezična podloga i nije toliko važna. Službeni je jezik Republike Hrvatske standardni hrvatski jezik, a put njegove standardizacije bitno se razlikuje od puta koji su prošli ostali jezici koji s hrvatskim dijele genetskolingvističko podrijetlo." (Vjesnik 2011:55)

To claim that Croatian, Serbian, Bosnian and Montenegrin are "dialects" of one language is not true, since Croatian has three groups of dialects (chakavian, kajkavian and shtokavian), and it is only shtokavian that is close to Bosnian, Montenegrin and Serbian; and for issues regarding language standards and their status, organic language background is not of utmost importance. The official language of the Republic of Croatia is standard Croatian language, and the path of its standardization is significantly different than the paths taken by other languages with which Croatian shares its genetic-linguistic background.

Both Brozović Rončević and Kačić agree that one can't call two languages one language just because the speakers of these two languages understand each other in basic communication. Brozović Rončević gives an example of Norwegian and Danish speakers who understand one another, as well as speakers of other Scandinavian languages to a degree, but she says that "nitko ni ne pomišlja na jedan općeskandinavski jezik" (nobody even thinks about introducing a unique Scandinavian language, my translation) (Vjesnik 2011:55).

There are different views as well. Some linguists consider that there is still something called "Serbo-Croatian". A Croatian linguist Snježana Kordić, who lives and works in Germany, is against the term *organic* Brozović Rončević uses and she asks whether that means that a standard language is "inorganic" (2009:84). Kordić's views are considered controversial both in Croatia and Serbia, and her book Jezik i nacionalizam (language and nationalism) published in 2010 in Croatia has provoked strong reactions among Croatian linguists since the author claims that Serbian and Croatian are one and the same language and her bibliography includes works about "Serbo-Croatian" published as late as 2009, long after Croatian linguists have established that Croatian is an independent language and that Serbo-Croatian or Croato-Serbian doesn't exist. Kordić's view could be summed up as a worry that language is exploited to stir nationalism in people. Kordić compares the differences between Croatian and Serbian with differences between British and American English which is indeed rather unusual to a subtitler who subtitles from British and American English into Croatian since there are significant grammatical and lexical differences between Serbian and Croatian, more complex and obvious than those between British and American English which are mostly dialectal with few grammatical differences between standard British and American English, especially since it is impossible to produce a subtitling product in "Serbo-Croatian" in the first place, as it has already been established. It is also rather unusual that Kordić quotes, primarily, sources coming outside of Croatia, or Serbia, as if suggesting that foreign authors understand the issue far better than Croatian or Serbian linguists. What is also hard to overlook in this view is that this linguist disregards the fact that when "Serbo-Croatian" was used as an official language, when she went to school in Croatia, she used grammar of Croatian and Croatian *Rechtschreibung*, and her peers in Serbia used Serbian equivalents.

If one takes a look at declarations of various products, one can see that there are different instructions for the Serbian and Croatian markets, which would have been unnecessary if it were one and the same language.

It is interesting to learn that saving on languages, and translation, comes not only from the EU or the State Department, or international subtitling companies, but that it was the reason for the creation of "Serbo-Croatian" in the first place. The idea of the unification comes from Vienna with "Bečki dogovor" (Vienna Agreement) from 1850 (Samardžija 2002). The Habsburg Monarchy needed a unified language to be able to better control different parts of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Despite all attempts at unification in later years, especially during the times of old and new Yugoslavia, "Serbo-Croatian" never existed as one language and all new attempts at unifying Serbian and Croatian will remain fruitless. Subtitling companies have in the meantime become aware of that and native speakers in their respective countries produce subtitles for the Croatian and the Serbian markets respectively. The EU also appreciates the difference in the end, since their condition for future hiring of Croatian translators is that they mother tongue is Croatian.

The future of Croatian, as well as the future of the Croatian language and subtitling, is rather clear. The Croatian language is an independent language and will remain independent. The fact that it is similar or very similar to Serbian or Bosnian does not mean that these languages should be joined together and attempts at that doing that can't be justified by saving language costs.

After the position of Croatian in subtitling has been explored, it is necessary to comment on the practicalities of subtitling in the following two sections since these are often referred to in this thesis and since these are some of the most important factors in the process of subtitling.

3.6. Pragmatics and subtitling

Some attention should be paid to the difference between the mediums in which context (film, TV-series, documentary etc.) and translation are expressed in interlingual subtitling. The context is namely expressed in the oral, spoken, mode backed by the video, while translation is delivered in the written mode. The aim here is not to discuss the shift between the spoken and written language typical for

subtitling. The focus of this section is the context and the ways in which it influences translation.

Sándor G. J. Hervey talks about "illocution", a complete speech act made in a typical utterance, in the case of cross-linguistic translation, or translation proper (Hervey 1998:10). He focuses on the differences between Hungarian, English and German and explains that utterances such as "Hi", "Listen", "Where?", "Please", "Damn!", "Really", and so on, in so far as they have properties of illocutionary function, correspond to sentences (Hervey 1998:13). The question is what happens with these utterances in subtitling, does a context enable the subtitler to better understand the function of these in the source language? What happens to "really" and what does "really" really mean in the source language, or culture, British or American which are mostly dealt with in this thesis, when used as a single utterance or sentence? Collins English Dictionary defines "really", when used as a single utterance, as an interjection, which is used as an exclamation of dismay, disapproval, doubt, surprise etc. (Collins English Dictionary 2003:1350). What follows is an example from a film subtitled into Croatian. The film is called *Nothing* to Lose (1997) and this is a section of a dialogue where "really" is used as an independent sentence, an utterance:

CHARLIE:

Where you from?

ENGLISH DRIVER:

London.

CHARLIE:

Me, too.

ENGLISH DRIVER (off) (overlapping)

Really?

This "really", according to the dictionary definition, has the function of surprise. However, it also has the function of simply making a conversation or expressing interest in what the person one is talking to has to say. What a subtitler of this conversation has to focus on is intonation with which the utterance is being said,

since, according to Hervey, in comparison with German or Latin, English makes a predominant "sentential use of intonation for conveying illocutionary function" (Hervey 1998:16). If the illocutionary function of this "really" is surprise, how should this be translated into Croatian and does the availability of the context, i. e. picture and sound, make any difference to the viewer? In this instance, it was translated as "stvarno", although one could have used "zbilja", a more informal, colloquial equivalents of "really" in Croatian. In theory, this could have been translated as a more formal "zaista" into Croatian, which some subtitlers would have used. However, it is the context that should point to the usage of a more informal equivalent.

In the revision phase of this translation, a subtitler might ask themselves what a speaker of Croatian would use in such a situation, and more ideas may come to mind, such as "ma nemojte", if speakers use a more formal way of address or "ma nemoj" if they address each other more informally. "Zbilja" was used since it is shorter, but the question is whether this bares any significance since the context is available. The context should facilitate the choice of words used in translation and make the choice of words easier. It should also enable viewers to better understand the translation, even if a subtitler uses a more formal "zaista" in this situation. Since subtitlers are forced to sometimes heavily reduce the text because of the lack of space, which is explained in this study, they often rely on the situation or context, on the ability of the viewers to understand from the context that a character is surprised. The degree to which viewers do rely on context is explored in the second, survey part of this thesis.

What is the illocutionary function of "damn"? *Collins* dictionary defines "damn" as an interjection used in slang as an exclamation of annoyance (*Collins English Dictionary* 2003:421). This is another example from "Nothing to Lose".

T. PAUL

(gags) Damn. I swear, white people must got totally different taste buds. (chuckling) Man. Ugh.

NICK GLANCES AT T. PAUL.

NICK

That's a very racist thing to say.

This "damn" could be translated as "kvragu" which is the closest Croatian equivalent of "damn". However, annoyance in this situation is in Croatian best expressed with "čovječe" (man!) or something closer to an expletive. A subtitler needs to decide whether annoyance of the character is visible from the context or whether this "damn" plays an important part of the dialogue, since not every "damn" in important.

The term "equivalent" has been used in the previous chapters and throughout this thesis, without keeping in mind that it used to be one of the central terms, if not the term, in linguistic discussions about translation from late 1950s, in 1960s, as well as in the most of the 1970s. It is therefore necessary to comment on it briefly from the point of view of subtitling. The term "equivalence" denotes the search for TL equivalents as a key point of translation (Catford 1965:21). "Translating consists in reproducing in the receptor language the closest natural equivalent of the source-language message, first in terms of meaning and secondly in terms of style" (Nida and Taber 1969:12). Snell-Hornby criticized the term as unsuitable (1988:22), as well as Nord who discussed its shortcomings (1997b:44-5). The search for TL equivalents is not the central point of subtitling, however, up to a degree, as it has been seen in examples used in this thesis, a subtitler is sometimes trying to find the closest equivalent, even though, in many instances, it is impossible to find equivalents between SL and TL and in that sense the term is obsolete and cannot be the central point of translation, as it has already been established by translation scholars. What is also problematic with the term "equivalence" from the point of view of subtitling is that if a subtitler decides what the equivalent term is, this means that the choice is subjective and that there are in fact more equivalents for, for instance, "damn" used in the previous paragraph, depending on the subtitler. The term "equivalent" is therefore used in this thesis to denote a subjective search for appropriate solutions used in interlingual subtitling.

Illocutionary functions are, in the simplest terms, the things that people *do* in making utterances (Hervey 1998:12) and if this is the case, the context of the audiovisual material should provide pointers to both subtitlers and viewers in better understanding of the message. Where does this come from? How does one know which is the best in a given situation? It depends on presuppositions or presumptions made by the subtitler. Peter Fawcett talks about presuppositions and

says that "when we talk or write, we make a very large number of presuppositions, a state of affairs which is necessary because it allows for the economy of communication" (Fawcett 1998:116). However, these presuppositions depend entirely on the subtitler, on their "micro situation" discussed in the following section, as well as on their general knowledge. It may also depend on prejudice and subtitlers' perception of potential viewers.

It is interesting to examine further how illocution is expressed in Croatian and whether intonation is primarily used as in English. Illocutionary functions in German are expressed by particles and Hervey calls German "a particle-oriented" language (Hervey 1998:16) claiming that Hungarian is a language that can be "categorized as a sequential-focus-oriented language (Hervey 1998:17). The examples form *Nothing to Lose* (1997) shown above might suggest that Croatian is intonation-oriented language like English, but is that the case? This immediately raises doubts since Croatian has a free word-order enabled primarily by inflection. Let us take this example from English:

The president is coming at six, isn't he? or It's a beautiful Sunday, isn't it?

This is a tag question used with a falling intonation because it is not a direct question. We know that it is possible that a positive question is followed by positive tag for even more effect (sarcasm, disbelief, shock, concern etc.) as in: "Oh, you will, will you?" It is again intonation that conveys illocution, but how should this be translated into Croatian in subtitling? If one translates "The president is coming at six, isn't he?" literally as "Predsjednik dolazi u 18 h, zar ne?" one has just copied the English sentence structure into Croatian without thinking whether this is used in Croatian, i.e., whether tags are used in Croatian. This translation might function in very formal Croatian, but in a more colloquial situation a speaker of Croatian would use a question without a tag: "Predsjednik ne dolazi u šest / Ne dolazi li predsjednik u šest"? "Six" is šest in this sentence, not 18 h (which is very formal). This might even be expressed just like a statement: "Predsjednik dolazi u šest". Subtitlers sometimes make mistakes and translate English tag questions with basically non-existent tag questions in colloquial Croatian. The example with "Oh, you will, will

you?" is even more obvious since this is difficult to translate in the tag question form into Croatian. It can be translated with "Ma daj" (Come on) or with an imperative "Daj se saberi" (Come together!). This brings to the conclusion that by manipulating syntax we can convey illocutionary function in Croatian. Subtitlers should therefore pay attention to the illocutionary function of English utterances since they are expressed differently in the Croatian language.

The subtitler may keep in mind the cognitive environment of their audience (Kovačič 1994:245-251) and omit according to that. Kovačić quotes Gutt who says that the translator "does not have direct access to cognitive environment of his audience... all he can have is some assumptions or beliefs about it" (Gutt 1998:46). Ernst-August Gutt analyses translation from the point of view of the relevance theory developed by Sperber and Wilson. From the relevance-theory point of view, translation "falls under the interpretive use of language" (Gutt 1998:46). If this is so, to subtitle then means to interpret not only language, but also context, the picture conveys situation, and some elements of the message as well. Gutt adds:

"Unfortunately, the process of translation often, though not necessarily always, involves translating a text for a target audience with a cultural background other than that envisioned by the original writer, the translator is, in effect, quoting the original author "out of context". (Gutt 1998:49).

"Not necessarily always" (1998:49), may include subtitling among other forms of translation. This is a situation when a translator definitely can't exclude the context since the context is there, the viewer has a picture and sound which is context on its own, not to mention the cultural context. One may imagine the following situation: two detectives in an American TV-series talk about "the Agency" and the Agency's meddling with the police work. To translate outside of context would be to use the first equivalent word that comes to mind in Croatian, "agencija". If this is mentioned for the first time, the Croatian viewer won't understand immediately which Agency is in question, and one should keep in mind that this is not a book in which a reader can go back and re-read passages not entirely clear to them: the episode of a TV series goes on without pause in broadcast television. However, if a subtitler uses "FBI" instead of "Agencija", if this is what is implied here, the Croatian viewer will most probably understand the context: two policemen are talking about agents who come from FBI and who have the authority to take over

investigation, a situation so familiar to the viewers of American, usually detective, TV series. It is obvious that the subtitler has the option here to enable the viewer to complement the context with the information from the subtitle or a subtitler can in a way distort, break the context by providing the correct information, since FBI is "Agencija", but the information is perhaps too vague to produce the same effect that the noun "Agency" will produce in an American viewer. Gutt rightly concludes that:

"Translation itself is primarily a pragmatic notion, used to indicate the kind of communication intended by the communicator. Its communication-facilitating role will depend on how similar the notion of translation held by the translator and the notion held by the audience are to each other. If necessary, the translator may have to consider measures to bring those notions close together." (Gutt 1998:52).

This similarity or difference between the subtitler and the viewer will be compared in the second part of the thesis.

3.7. The subtitler's "situation"

As regards the "measures" Gutt (1998:52) talks about in the above quote, some of the translation strategies have already been discussed in the previous section trying to illustrate what needs to be taken into consideration. However, the question is what one may say about subtitlers and their "situation", which may be crucial for the quality of the product, of the subtitles. One can distinguish between internal and external factors that influence the way a translation (subtitler's work) is made, and the quality of it. Internal factors are factors such as mood, motivation, personal interests and physical shape. External factors are: time available (deadline), conditions in which a subtitler works, physical or environmental conditions and translation fee, sometimes connected to motivation (for more on these factors see Nikolić 2010).

No job is done properly if the person who performs doesn't feel well. In a situation when this is the case, for instance when the plumber has not yet appeared to fix the shower and the subtitler is becoming more and more agitated, the subtitler will pay much less attention to his "communication-facilitation" role mentioned above. Instead, the subtitler will focus on getting the job done as soon as possible

and trying to resolve the practical problem of the household. In situations such as this one, subtitlers would wish they didn't work from home. Motivation and personal interests are intertwined. If the subtitler is subtitling a programme in which he or she is absolutely not interested in, that will influence the final product, again the subtitlers will do their best to get the work done as soon as possible.

Physical shape has to do with whether a subtitler is tired for instance or not. When one is very tired, one will hardly produce a good interpretation of context or if one is ill. Many freelance subtitlers know what it feels like to work with a fever or flu since they couldn't reject the job because of a short deadline or they simply couldn't afford to reject it for financial reasons.

There are external factors that influence translation. Ideally, all subtitles should be checked and double-checked. However, this is sometimes impossible since a subtitler has a deadline. For instance, a subtitler may have a day available to finish an episode of a TV-series, although two would be necessary, for instance because the content demands extra research. The subtitler often can't afford another day because they have another translation to work on since the fees are so low that the subtitler can't afford rejecting the job. This builds pressure, the subtitler works much longer than eight hours, which is also very long, and the final translation product may easily be damaged. Failing to meet a deadline is not an option and the subtitler is therefore left without choice, they often have to work with short deadlines.

Conditions in which the subtitler works are also important. Subtitlers would need peace and quiet for their work, all materials available (video, script, subtitling programme) and all basic resources (a fast broadband internet connection, dictionaries, manuals, etc.). If some of these prerequisites are not available, this may influence a subtitler's work as well.

Physical conditions include factors such as the weather. It is not the same if one works while the heat or cold waves are at their peak and not even air-conditioning and good heating are very helpful, or when the weather is fine. This susceptibility to external conditions, of course, applies to any work. Some people, and some subtitlers included, are susceptible to weather influences, low pressure for instance. Low pressure may cause headaches, and subtitling with a headache influences quality. This may sound trivial indeed, but one has to keep in mind the deadlines, the fees and at the same time the pressure of achieving absolute accuracy

and high quality in subtitling since the world of subtitling is the one in which mistakes are not very likely to be tolerated.

The low fees, or the ever-decreasing fees, are often discussed amongst subtitlers. There is no AVT conference either where this was not discussed. This is an external factor since subtitlers very often work under the principle of "take-it-or-leave-it" and fees are hard to negotiate. This can quickly lead to the lack of enthusiasm and motivation for work and it may hinder the making of a good subtitling product. An ideal situation for a subtitler is to work on a material that is interesting, with a generous deadline and for at least a reasonable fee, with no headaches or fevers, subtitlers should be well rested and work for clients who pay on time and pay reasonable fees, or at least don't cut rates regularly. A subtitler's worst scenario is to work for poor fees, on something that is rather trivial and uninteresting from the subtitler's point of view, for 12 hours a day, for clients who give very short deadlines and don't pay any attention to the subtitler's situation. All these situational factors influence less practical aspects of subtitling such as strategies often discussed by AVT scholars.

After what influences the way subtitles are made has been analysed, the empirical part of the study may be discussed to try and see what happens to subtitles once they leave the television screen.

4 The Survey

4.1. Analysis of methods

The original idea was to conduct a research throughout Croatia and test how people perceive British and American culture through subtitles, not having a very clear idea about how that should be done. It turned out that the realization of such an idea would cost about 15,000 euro. The basic idea was to play video clips from various TV formats (films, TV-series, and documentaries) to audiences throughout Croatia and see their responses, i.e., discover what they learn from watching these programmes and what role TV translations play in viewers' perception of British and American culture. There was also the awareness of the fact that making a questionnaire may sound easy, but that making it statistically valid must involve more work than mere putting a set of questions on a piece of paper. This hidden

danger of working with questionnaires is described in a guidebook for Ph.D. students. At the end of the book, the authors define terms that often appear in the research process:

"Questionnaire: usually refers to a collection of poorly validated questions assembled without much thought about how they will be analysed, and with even less attention to the literature on good practice in data collection and in surveys. Much favoured by those who believe that it is better to collect large amounts of meaningless data than the right amount of meaningful data." (Petre and Rugg 2010:254)

Further analysis of the research process gave new clues: it was agreed that the idea needed to be worked through and that it would take time. The work on the creation of the questionnaire (see Material 2) began in early 2009. What was dismissed at the beginning was the initial idea of conducting research in the whole country on a "representative sample", as it has already been mentioned. The term "representative sample" comes from statistics but it was used rather arbitrarily at the time, meaning the whole population. Between 2006 and 2008 various ways of getting funding for the research were explored, only to realize that getting the funding would be virtually impossible for a doctoral thesis, in Croatia. It was therefore necessary to formulate the study as a preliminary research, which would produce a model for studying culture through subtitling, and enable further research on a representative sample once the funding becomes available. The idea of testing the hypotheses on the students of Filozofski fakultet came to mind, since this appeared to be manageable and could be seen as a representative sample of the population if students are taken as typical viewers. The method of empirical research was chosen as the best way of testing the hypotheses. A similar approach, a perception study, has in the meantime been taken by Condinho Bravo for testing language skills by using AVT translations and applications of the finds on foreign language learning (for more see Bravo 2008, 2010).

4.2. Collecting the videos

The first step in the process of compiling video clips to be played to the participants of the survey was rather challenging since there had to be criteria for the selection

of clips that represent elements of culture in Vermeer's sense. Vermeer described culture as "the totality of norms, conventions and opinions which determine the behaviour of the members of a society, and all the results of this behaviour, such as architecture, university, institutions etc. etc." (Vermeer 1989a:9)⁴⁷. The decision was made that up to 50 elements of culture would have to be tested. However, the question that was looming was how to do that. At that point I had already been working as a subtitler for 11 years and I had collected quite a corpus of my own translations. Around 2005 I gave up keeping record my subtitling work. I had, roughly, translated about 250 films into subtitles, a number of episodes of various TV series, numerous interviews and documentaries. For instance, by 2009 I had translated about 100 interviews with various stars of popular music for Croatian Television's Music Department. When the idea of analysing one's own translations came to mind, again, the question of how to choose the video clips that would be shown to the participants in the survey was still there. The questions were: should one choose more "difficult" elements of culture? Should one choose those culturally specific? Is humour perhaps something one should put the stress on? Perhaps something more "light" such as a soap opera? Should one go for films most of the people had already seen? The possibility of choosing clips from AVT material I would be working one came to mind, namely, the idea of choosing them as I was producing subtitles.

This was an opportunity to take subtitling as my "field of translatorial action" formulated by Holz-Mänttäri (1984). The samples were randomly chosen, however, with a criterion in mind. The conclusion was made that culturally specific items to be tested must be of different complexity, some of them perhaps even quite obvious and some more difficult because the aim was not to make the participants believe that they were being tested in English. Their level of English would be tested, but also their familiarity with British and American culture. However, the participants would be provided with an explanation that the main purpose of the survey was not to test their English, but to see what is crucial for the perception of culture through subtitles.

In Croatia, the same as in some other countries, it is believed that English is easy to learn and people will easily say that they speak English even though they

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⁴⁷ Translated from the German by Snell-Hornby (2006:55).

can produce only a number of sentences, often with many mistakes and with a strong accent. Many viewers of TV programmes in English won't admit that they even read subtitles. The criteria of selection was subjective up to a point, although the aim was to choose various elements of culture, ranging from food, sports and cars to history, geography and high culture, namely to cover all aspects of Vermeer's definition quoted above.

At first the selection process was difficult: many examples taken from the TV series called *The Practice* (1997-2004) were deemed unsuitable. These examples were either too difficult or too trivial. However, further collection work was more fruitful. Most of the elements of culture (ECs) came from films. In that process of selecting samples, skills such as editing, i.e., cutting scenes had to be mastered. The software which proved to be quite useful is called *Video Re Do*, the software is useful for basic editing. Therefore, as I was working on "subtitling orders", as some clients I work for like to call them, or "briefs" (cf. Section 2.2.), I would cut out a rather short scene from the film, and store it into a special folder. The process of the selection of clips lasted for ten months; all items were collected by the end of 2010.

The idea of playing just one film ridden with ECs to the participants of the survey was immediately abandoned since the ECs had to come from different sources, films or documentaries or TV series. The genre was not as important as the variety of sources. Forty four different ECs and ELs contained in 30 different clips were collected. One of the selection criteria was to try to choose clips with more than only one EC since they don't always come alone 48, sometimes a viewer is exposed to more than one EC in a matter of a couple of seconds. The final conclusion was that the number of items should be about 50 for the reasons of statistical analysis, but that proved to be too numerous when those clips were played one after another, it appeared that the survey would be too long and that the participants of the survey won't be willing to sit down for such a lengthy survey, which would jeopardize the entire project.

Another question came up: How to make somebody, even if they were volunteers, students, to sit down and participate in the survey? The collection was comprised of clips that, when played consecutively, lasted for about 15 minutes and

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⁴⁸ It is not unusual that there are more ECs in one subtitle.

there was going to be a questionnaire every participant would have to fill in. Even that looked like hardly manageable. There was another, technical issue: How to play the clips together with subtitles to the participants in the survey? I got the permission from my client, SDI Media, to use their software which is used for subtitling, called GTS, while playing the clips with the subtitles, and that idea was abandoned after being tested in the pilot survey since it was technically too complicated to play 30 clips in that programme. Also, watching clips played from subtitling software wouldn't be authentic to the participants of the survey, that wouldn't reflect the situation of watching television. The issue was that whenever a subtitler delivers subtitles for a film, they have been commissioned, these subtitles are not burnt on the video. Various TV stations use various technologies. Croatian Radio and Television records the subtitles on BETA tapes from which they broadcast the subtitled product. Some TV stations broadcast subtitles and video separately, they are merged during the broadcast. The video clips were therefore with subtitles not merged with them. Subtitling software has the option of preview, so the idea was to use one of these when showing the videos to the participants of the survey since there was no option of recording the subtitles.

4.2.1 The sources

The video clips were taken from the following films: *Ten Things I hate About You, The Baker, Before and After, Money for Nothing, Less than Zero, Quiz Show* and *Rounders.* Two video clips were taken from a documentary *Empire of the Seas* and a TV-series *Sanctuary*⁴⁹. The aim was to investigate the understanding of the elements of culture (ECs), but also some words from the English language (ELs) with which participants in the survey might be more familiar with, since the idea was to include items (ECs and ELs, words from the English language used for the creation of the questionnaire) of various complexity and frequency. It is important to stress again that the idea was not to make participants feel like they were sitting in an English exam.

Since the subject of this study is British and American culture, the idea was to include items from both cultures reflecting the frequency of their occurrence in

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⁴⁹ The details are listed in the References section.

subtitling work. No systematic research about the frequency of American vs. British films, TV-series and documentaries on Croatian television had been conducted, but the ratio is at least 80 percent for the former vs. 20 percent for the latter. My subtitling experience reflects that as well, most of the materials I have subtitled have been of American origin, although I have subtitled some British ones and, as of lately, some Australian as well. The aim was to include that reality into the survey as well. Only one film, *The Baker*, is British and the TV documentary *Empire of the Seas*, all of the other materials used for the selection of items to be used in the questionnaire are of American origin.

4.3. The pilot study

The pilot study of the survey was conducted in December of 2010 at *Filozofski* fakultet among students who volunteered to participate. The students were taking the course Cultures of United Kingdom and the United States given at the undergraduate level for the students of English Language and Literature, in the sixth semester. Since elements of culture were to be tested, many students were interested in the survey. Out of the 50 students who were taking the course, 13 volunteered to participate in the survey that was conducted when one of the rooms was available, i.e., in the evening. A student of Sociology also participated in the pilot study. The participants were first given questions that were connected to ECs and ELs that were going to be seen in the clips they were about to be exposed to. That meant that the questionnaire consisted of two parts. The first part had the purpose of testing the participant's knowledge of certain ECs or ELs. The participants were first given part 1. For instance: the first question participants had to answer looked as the following one:

- 1) In the clip you are about to see, you will hear the term "army brat". Pay attention to it later when watching the clip. Now please answer what does "army brat" mean.
- 1) A child of a member of the US Army
- 2) An illegitimate child of a member of the US Army
- 3) Caucasian child of a member of the US Army
- 4) A discarded child of a member of the US Army
- 5) A child of a member of the US Army who has received a medal of honour (see Material 1)

All 44 questions were multiple-choice with five possible answers and, of course, only one correct answer. The correct one in this case was 1) A child of a member of the US Army. All the others were distracters. The participants in the pilot study answered to all these 44 questions in 15 minutes and part 1 of the questionnaire was then collected. After that, they watched the selected clips and after each clip answered the following: for instance, after clip number 1, they had to answer to the following (see Material 2):

Table 3 – introduction to the questionnaire:

Video clip 1

You have seen the following subtitle:

Devet škola u deset godina. Vojnička obitelj? (Nine schools in ten years. A military family?)

What was, for you personally, the most decisive factor for understanding of the term «army brat» in this clip?

To what degree has <u>each of the following aspects</u> influenced you personal understanding of this term? Please circle the appropriate number.

		DIDN'T INFLUENCE AT ALL	INFLUENCED SLIGHTLY	I CAN'T ASSESS THIS	INFLUENCED	IT INFLUENCED A LOT
1	Translation in the subtitle	1	2	3	4	5
2	2 The context of the scene		2	3	4	5
3	3 Acting		2	3	4	5
4	4 Knowledge of English		2	3	4	5
5	5 Knowledge of British or American Culture		2	3	4	5

Each clip would be played and after that the participants would be given enough time to choose what they felt was the most appropriate answer. Some clips contained more than one EC or EL to be questioned. One of the first problems spotted right at the beginning was that of playing the videos from the subtitling software (see Figure 1) in preview mode. The picture didn't cover the whole screen, and the participants didn't have the viewing experience of a typical TV viewer. The picture looked like this:

Figure 1 – Subtitling software used in the pilot study

Another problem was the loading of each video and the respective subtitles folder. It was taking too much time. As videos were played one after another, the participants were slowly losing their patience and were slightly frustrated towards the end of the pilot survey. These were not the only problems: the survey took about 90 minutes and it was too long since concentration usually falls after 45 minutes. Upon the completion of the pilot survey, an interview was conducted with the participants of the survey. The biggest issue for the participants was the fact that they couldn't remember what they answered in the first part of the questionnaire, so they couldn't say to what degree their previous knowledge of English, for instance, influenced understanding. The first part of the questionnaire was collected after they had answered all the questions. Furthermore, there were a couple of typos in the questionnaire, which were immediately spotted by the participants in the pilot survey. The pilot study pointed out the weaknesses of the software from which the

video clips were played and the questionnaire. Above all, the time necessary for the survey was too lengthy and it needed to be reduced.

4.3.1 Changes after the pilot study

Major issues were of technical nature: loading each video separately, uploading the respective subtitles and playing them one by one with serious time delays was not an option, in particular since the participants in the pilot study pointed that out as one of the biggest issues. A glance at Figure 1 will show that this does not look like a typical TV screen, it is not what a viewer sees when they watch TV. What needed to be found was software for the reproduction of videos that enables merging of a video and the respective subtitles. What emerged as the best solution was the software called GOM. By means of that software, video clips were merged into one single video stream. Breaks between the clips were also inserted, so the participants of the survey would know when one video would end and the following one would begin.

The most challenging part was the synchronisation of videos and subtitles, since the folders with subtitles were exported in an .rtf format with time-codes. However, GOM didn't pick up the time-codes: when the documents with subtitles were recorded as .srt documents, the GOM didn't reproduce the videos with the subtitles. This format is almost standard in *fan subbing* on and is also used by professional subtitling companies since many subtitling software allow for the exportation of the original, usually protected, format into the .srt. A complex mathematic formula for the calculation of the moment when the subtitles begin to be broadcast, i.e., the moment of the first time-code in each video-clip was found. In the end, 30 video-clips were available, ready to be played to the participants without any technical problems. Each clip could be stopped with a single click on the space bar and there were short sequences of "black" between the videos to make them clearly distinguishable.

The videos were played from a laptop and displayed over an LCD beamer. One of the very important elements of this empirical research was the sound of the original, which had to be clearly heard throughout the room in which the survey

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⁵⁰ http://www.podnapisi.net/ - this is an example of a site that enables free download of fan subs. (Date of access: May1st, 2011).

was going to be conducted. It was determined that most rooms in which the survey was going to be conducted were equipped with loudspeakers and in those in which there were no loudspeakers portable ones were used. It was of utmost importance that all technical aspects of this survey: the sound, the videos and the printed-out questionnaires, were up to standard and after the pilot study all details were carefully checked. All groups participating in the survey had to have the same quality of sound and picture in order to obtain relevant results.

4.4. Items used in the questionnaire

The 30 video-clips used in the creation of the questionnaire included 44 items used for the creation of 44 questions in the first part of the questionnaire (see Material 2). The items used were: army brat, chip shop, cod, tea, juvenile detention center⁵¹, to arraign, people, bail, mortgage, criminal guy, grand jury, beat-up, tyre-jack, 94, fatso, founding father, finders-keepers, Federal Reserve, federal offence, M.I.T., fingers to the bone, school, bum, 50 K, "Betty Ford", to order out, to concoct, brain-breaker, Everyman, American Dream, to make getaway, Subway, Union Army, Uncle Tom, The Garden, Honest Abe, Civil War, trust fund, custodian, Cadillac, The Channel, MP, Britannia and pre-med.

The ECs are intertwined with ELs, for instance with phrasal verbs such as "to order out", compound nouns such as "finders-keepers" and colloquial expressions such as "criminal guy", "fatso" and "bum". Some of the items used, if taken out of context, may have multiple meanings such as "94", which is a simple number completely dependent on the context in which it appears in the video-clip, or "Cadillac" which is a car brand and it doesn't have that meaning in the context in which it appears in the survey.

Why these particular terms? When considering what to include in the survey, the first thought that came to mind was to go through a vast number of subtitles created in the past and find "interesting examples" from my own subtitling corpus. However, the conclusion was reached that working on a doctoral thesis parallel with subtitling and teaching doesn't have to be only a hindrance and a serious deficiency that manifests itself in a lack of time for devoting oneself fully to

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⁵¹ American spelling is used since the item comes from an American film.

none of the three very important jobs. I decided to select the items for the questionnaire by putting myself in the role of the viewer while reviewing my subtitled work I was going to send to my clients. Reviewing is a standard procedure in subtitling and it means watching the video parallel with subtitles produced, in the so-called "preview mode", to establish whether time-codes are synchronous with the dialogues because those that go over shot changes "can cause considerable perceptual confusion" (de Linde and Kay 1999:48), and of course to look once more for inconsistencies, as well as to check spelling, grammar or serious translation errors. This review process can be rather painful if a subtitler has just finished subtitling something utterly uninteresting to them, but the review, or preview as it is sometimes called, is an important part of the job. Selecting items for the questionnaire made this step in the subtitling work more interesting during the time of the search for items to be used in the survey.

The time allowed for the selection of items was limited, although in the end it lasted many more months than expected. The aim was to take a reasonable amount of time, and at the same time not to take too much time, since that was the beginning of a long process of the conducting of the survey that was to precede the writing of the thesis. A provisional deadline until which the survey was going to be finished had to be set. The decision to take enough time for the selection of the items was also based on the fact that I was subtitling about 800 minutes of, mostly films, at the time. That divided into films and documentaries meant that within a month I would subtitle eight films, an episode of a TV-series and an episode of a documentary, which multiplied by several months meant that "quality" items would be used in the questionnaire.

4.4.1. The criteria used for the selection of the items:

- that not all items used are strictly elements of culture (ECs), but also ELs
- that they come from various films, TV series or documentaries
- that various strategies are used in their translation, including omission
- that they are of different complexity and frequency

4.4.2. The explanation of the criteria

It was important that the participants didn't feel as if they were being questioned only about American History or popular British culture or vice versa, or sport or another aspect of culture. The aim was to try and make the items as varied as possible, so they ranged from literary characters, such as Uncle Tom, the slang expressions such as "fatso", geographical or cultural landmarks such as "The Garden" which is an abbreviated form for a famous sports arena based in the heart of New York City, *Madison Square Garden*, to legal terms such as "grand jury". The selection of items was random.

By putting oneself in the position of a viewer, one may simulate a situation a viewer is faced with while watching TV at home: viewers are exposed to randomly selected sets of films or TV-series. In particular nowadays when many viewers are subscribed to cable TV operators that enable viewers to take their remote control and flip through as many as a hundred, or more, channels according to their wish. The idea was to collect a set of scenes from several films, TV-series or documentaries and create this situation of flipping through the channels with the remote control of a TV set. When a viewer takes the remote control they can choose among various programmes and in a very short period of time switch from watching a period drama to a sci-fi TV-series and various other programmes many of which specialize in various TV content; such as cooking, sports, news, fashion, home design, animal life and other.

4.5. Methodology

The survey was conducted by means of the method of questionnaire. The sample on which the empirical research was based was a stratified randomised sample. Based on the preliminary research, the survey was conducted on an intentional convenience sample of students of *Filozofski fakultet*, University of Zagreb.

The method of questionnaire was chosen since the intention of this survey was to establish opinions of the participants, of viewers, about visual content. Technically speaking, the survey consisted of a test of knowledge of specific ECs (elements of culture) and ELs (elements of language), which was followed by a multiple assessment of the perception of these elements, and that was carried out in

the second part of the questionnaire. The participants of the survey were asked to assess each of the five aspects (see Table 3 in Section 4.3.) on a classical five-tier scale which is used to measure evaluation of each particular aspect.

It is customary in such studies to test the statistical legitimacy of the distributions of frequencies and to describe each distribution by means of university descriptive indicators: mean (rather than median⁵²), standard deviation and percentages for each category.

In this context, the legitimacy of frequency distribution is considered to be satisfied if the distribution is unimodal. The survey results have shown that it can be applied to most of the variables, since the procedures which enable the testing of the main hypothesis and of derivate hypotheses were chosen.

In the analysis of the results the participants were also grouped as regards whether they answered the questions correctly or not in the first part of the questionnaire. They will be called them the "corrects" and the "incorrects". In order to compare them, a *T-test* was used to be able to establish possible statistically significant differences between these two groups. In instances in which the participants of the survey were grouped into more than one group, ANOVA test (analysis of variance test) was used, which is a sort of an extension of the *T-test*. This procedure was for instance used in the comparison of the results of the three groups into which the participants were grouped (see Section 7.4. for further explanation).

The consistency of all five variables was analysed through the testing of various Pearson's correlation coefficients which are described in detail in Chapters 6 and 7 and which may be studied in Materials 3 to 9 in detail.

such as study group, gender, years of learning of English etc.

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⁵² We had the possibility of using other tests for ordinal variables. For instance, a median test. However, a median test doesn't allow for further analysis. Namely, some of the hypotheses couldn't have been tested, had we used a median test. For instance we wouldn't be able to check correlations among all five variables and simultaneously check correlations as regards relevant characteristics,

5. Conducting the survey

5.1. Major remarks after the pilot study

After the pilot study, the participants remarked that in the beginning they didn't know what they were supposed to do, and that it took them at least two to three video clips to figure out what was expected of them. It was decided that more time must be devoted to explaining to the participants what they should do and to demonstrate them in an example what they should do (see Section 5.2.). The complete questionnaire is attached in Material 2.

5.2. Instructions to the participants of the survey

The remarks were accepted and the above mentioned issues were resolved. On the 1st page of the questionnaire, the participants would see the following explanation about the purpose of the survey:

This survey is a part of the research of perception of British and American cultures through television translation, i.e., subtitles. The survey is being conducted on a representative sample of students of the Faculty of Philosophy, University of Zagreb. The survey results will be used as an empirical support to the preparation and defence of a doctoral thesis with the working title: *The Perception of Culture through Subtitles: A Study of Perception of British and American Culture in a sample of Croatian TV audience*. The questionnaire is anonymous and the results will be used exclusively for research purposes (my translation).

The participants were asked to first put the same number or code name on both parts of the questionnaire, so that these could later be joined while entering data to SPSS, the software used for the statistical analysis of the survey. Further instructions were read, including the information about two parts of the questionnaire. The first part consisted of questions connected to specific terms from the English language and culture, while the second part of the questionnaire was connected to the video clips. Both parts of the questionnaire were to be used simultaneously according to the instructions.

Participants were than given an explanation, which said that they were going to see 30 video clips and that the questionnaire contains 44 questions, connected to

these video clips. After answering these multiple-choice questions, the participants of the survey were supposed to open the respective page in the second part of the questionnaire and answer the questions as regards the degree of influence of certain variables that influenced the understanding of the video clips. These elements were (see example below): translation in the subtitles, the context of the scene, acting (including non-verbal elements), knowledge of English and the last, knowledge of British and American cultures. It was concluded that it was necessary to demonstrate that with an example in order to make sure that the participants of the survey would become clearly acquainted with the principles of answering the questions in the questionnaire, given the remarks after the pilot study.

In the instructions part of the questionnaire the participants were given a question as an example, demonstrating the procedures for answering questions in both parts of the questionnaire. The video clip was taken from the sitcom *Class* already quoted in the thesis. This is a question from the first part of the questionnaire:

In the video clip which you are going to see right after you have answered this question, you will hear the following sentence:

"I think you mentioned you teach first grade at Pennbridge Academy"

"Academy in this context means:

- 1) akademija⁵³
- 2) škola⁵⁴
- 3) koledž⁵⁵
- 4) fakultet⁵⁶
- 5) visoka škola

⁵³ The word "akademija", which is in this case a false friend of the English word "academy" which denotes a private primary school, is used in Croatian primarily to denote institutions such as for instance Academy of Fine Arts or Academy of Drama attached to Universities.

⁵⁴ The word "škola" means "school" in Croatian, but unlike in English where it can be used as a generic term for all types of educational institutions, in Croatian it primarily denotes a primary and secondary school, and only certain types of institutions of higher education, such as "viša škola", which used to be a sort of a Croatian version of a two year college, usually involving specialist education. "Viša škola" literally means "higher school".

⁵⁵ The term "college" can be used in its Croatian form "koledž" since it is one of the words that have been used frequently in Croatian, because of the influence of TV and cinema. In this meaning, the American term has penetrated into Croatian culture.

⁵⁶ The term "fakultet" means a part of a university, and it is often mistranslated into English as "faculty" because where, for instance, the British use "university", Croatians use "faculty" and vice versa. If a mother tells her son: "When you go to university, we'll give you more money", a Croatian mother would say: "Kad budeš na fakultetu, davat ćemo ti više novca". Many of these terms; academy-akademija, school-škola, faculty-fakultet, viša škola-high school are false friends.

The participants of the survey were then asked to choose the appropriate answer. They were then shown the video clip from the TV series *The Class*, the beginning of the fourth episode of the first season. After seeing the short video-clip, the participants were then asked to move on to the next section, which was going to be placed in the second part of the questionnaire and answer the following:

VIDEO CLIP 1

You have seen the following subtitle:

Predaješ u školi Pennbridge Academy? –Da. (Do you teach at the school Pennbridge Academy? –Yes)

What has been, for you personally, the most decisive factor for understanding of the term «Pennbridge academy» in this clip?

To what degree has <u>each of the following aspects</u> influenced you personal understanding of this term? Please circle the appropriate number.

Table 4 – Explanation of the variables

		DIDN'T INFLUENCE AT ALL	INFLUENCED SLIGHTLY	I CAN'T ASSESS THIS	INFLUENCED	IT INFLUENCED A LOT
1	Translation in the subtitle ⁵⁷	1	2	3	4	5
2	2 The context of the scene ⁵⁸		2	3	4	5
3	3 Acting ⁵⁹		2	3	4	5
4	Knowledge of English ⁶⁰		2	3	4	5
5	5 Knowledge of English or American Culture ⁶¹		2	3	4	5

(For the complete questionnaire, see Appendix 2)

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⁵⁷ The aim was to establish the importance of the subtitle for the understanding of the scene, especially as regards the hypotheses explained in Section 1.2.

⁵⁸ The context of the scene refers to other information provided in a scene of a film, such as the physical background, historical if applicable, background music, camera shots... etc., which may influence understanding.

⁵⁹ Acting in terms of verbal, but also non-verbal communication, the ways characters look, the way they are dressed, the pace at which they speak... etc.

⁶⁰ Participants' perceived knowledge of the English language.

⁶¹ Participants' background knowledge of British and American cultures (see 1.4. for definitions of culture).

The participants were given explanations of the categories, the same as those who participated in the pilot study. They were also provided with the correct answer for the respective question from the first part of the questionnaire, which is the second term, "škola", the term explicitly used in the translation with the purpose of clarifying why the husband and wife from the video clip are trying to persuade their friend, a teacher at a private primary school, to try and help them enrol their daughter.

5.2.1 Issues regarding the duration of the survey

The selection of items and their compilation into the questionnaire (see Material 2) lasted relatively long since one of the major concerns was the duration of the survey. Since students were to be tested, it was important to keep in mind the fact that university sessions last for 90 minutes. These 90 minutes therefore had to include an explanation of what the survey is about, as explained in the previous section, setting up of the equipment before that, conducting of the survey and collecting the questionnaires from the students.

The pilot study for instance elicited the need of smooth installation of equipment, i.e., connecting the laptop to an LCD beamer and connecting loudspeakers. This may sound irrelevant, but it is one of the crucial time-consuming points in such a survey, since participants may easily become agitated if time is wasted on fumbling with equipment, as it had been established in the pilot study. Since there were six groups of students (for description of the groups see section 5.3.), that included six installations of equipment while the students were waiting for the questionnaire to start, as well as the pressure since the time was limited. The pilot study was conducted also to see whether the questionnaire was too long. However, it was established that the questionnaire could be conducted within 60–70 minutes, so that erased the concerns regarding the necessary time. There was also a psychological factor involved as regards time: a question of whether the questionnaire was too long to keep the participants interested in the survey. The duration of the survey was one of the key factors that had to be taken into consideration before the survey could be conducted: the questionnaire had to include a sufficient number of items to make it possible to draw conclusions on the one side, to discover whether the hypotheses made beforehand were valid; but also, it had to be short enough so that it could be conducted within 90 minutes and not be too long so that participants of the survey don't uninterested.

5.3. The participants of the survey

The survey was conducted in the last week of the winter semester, in January 2011 at Filozofski fakultet among undergraduate students of the first, second and third year of study. The students were divided into six groups. Two groups consisted of students of English, another two of the students of Sociology, and one group consisted of the students of German and one of Swedish. Moreover, the advantage of Filozofski fakultet is that its various departments enable students various study combinations since many of the undergraduate students who participated in the survey were double-honour students. This resulted in study combinations of the participants of the survey like the expected ones: English-German and English-Croatian, but also in very novel ones such as English-Romanian. The study groups involved were, besides English, German, Swedish and Sociology, 20 others. These study groups were Teaching Methodology, Oriental Studies, Turkish, South Slavic Languages, Dutch, Czech, Information Science, Indology, Linguistics, Croatian, French, Ukrainian, Russian, Italian, Art History, Spanish, History, Romanian and Portuguese. Many of the 98 students who participated in the survey had various educational backgrounds. This might have been relevant for the understanding of some items, for instance a student of History might have known more about the American Civil War, but not necessarily. The research was conducted in six groups. However, it was decided to group them into three major groups in the analysis of the survey: students of English; students of German and Swedish; and students of Sociology. These three groups were of roughly the same size: they consisted of around thirty students totalling in 98 students in all three groups. The students were grouped in these three groups for a better analysis of results, since it was expected that the results would be different: it was necessary to create these three groups to improve the homogeneity of variances and to make distribution unimodal. These were undergraduate students ranging from the first year of study to the third. Students of English were used as a control group. The function of a control group in an experiment such as this one is to establish whether those participants of the

survey for whom it is expected to know more than the others, *do* know more in reality and to see if they show significant differences, in this case in the perception of culture, when compared to other groups.

It was expected that the English students would have the best results since most of them had just finished the course *Cultures of the United Kingdom and United States* and because of their level of English, but whether this is the case will be seen in the analysis of the results. One of the hypotheses is that viewers do rely on translation even if their knowledge of English is high and that remains to be seen. Since sociology is a social science, it was expected that the students of sociology would have a different point of view and different kind of knowledge, and that they will therefore produce different results. The main expectation was that they would rely more on translations in subtitles. Students of German and Swedish were taken as groups "in between", as language and culture students of also Germanic languages, but not English. The aim of grouping students into these three major groups was to show that background knowledge about language and culture bears much relevance for the reading of subtitles in AVT content.

5.4. The classification of items according to expectancy

5.4.1 Groups of items

Before the survey was conducted, the 44 selected items were grouped into three larger groups in terms of the expectancy of the probability that they might be understood without the reading of subtitles. These items are sorted according to their difficulty, but difficulty as regards my own expectations. The aim of this approach was to see to what degree subtitles' expectations coincide with those of the viewers. The items were grouped as follows:

Complex items: army brat, cod, tea, to arraign, grand jury, "94", Federal Reserve, Honest Abe, Britannia, The Garden, to concoct, tyre-jack and pre-med.

Intermediate items: chip shop, juvenile detention center, people, bail, mortgage, founding father, fingers to the bone, school, MP, Union Army, custodian, the Channel, trust fund everyman, Betty Ford, beat-up, federal offence and Uncle Tom.

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Simple items: criminal guy, fatso, M.I.T, bum, 50K, to order out, brain-breaker, American Dream, to make getaway, subway, finders-keepers, Civil War and Cadillac.

These items could further be sorted according to what kind of knowledge is necessary for their understanding. They were grouped in accordance with the anticipation of what the participants would know while answering questions in the first part of the questionnaire (see Material 2), out of context, namely their knowledge about the items before they are placed in the context of videos.

What influenced understanding, and to what degree subtitles influenced understanding, is established in the second part of the questionnaire. An Italian AVT scholar Cristina Valentini discusses various ways of possible queries in her article about the Forlì Corpus of Screen Translation (Valentini 2006). She groups search categories into pragmatic (communicative situations encyclopaedic (cultural, temporal and geographical setting), linguistic-cultural (specific cultural references, names of specific entities) and linguistic varieties (jargon, dialect and register). (Valentini: 2006, cf. Katan in 1.4.1). The aim of this study is to explain the expectations as regards the difficulty of these items and the probability that the participants were going to know them while answering the first part of the questionnaire. Different terminology will be used in this study since all of these items could be grouped under two major categories: ECs, or elements of culture, and ELs, or elements of language. ECs include two of Valentini's categories: encyclopaedic and linguistic-cultural knowledge, while ELs include pragmatic references and linguistic varieties. For the understanding of ECs, one would have to be more proficient in terms of knowledge of history and geography, and culture in all its varieties (see Katan, Chapter 1.4.1), while for the understanding of ELs knowledge of culture is less important or not crucial, for instance for the understanding of the term fatso, one must know more about the meaning of the adjective fat than about culture, not to mention history or geography.

5.4.1.1 Simple items

Given the explanations in the previous section, the simple items are: *criminal guy*, fatso, M.I.T., bum, 50K, to order out, brain-breaker, American Dream, to make getaway, subway, finders-keepers, Civil War and Cadillac.

These items are considered simple because of the high likelihood that the participants were going to know them from various films or TV series. Most of the items in this category, according to Valentini's classification, would fall under the category of linguistic variety, such as criminal guy; a lawyer specialized in criminal law, fatso; a fat man; bum; a despicable person, 50 K, a slang expression for 50,000 US dollars for which it was expected that participants would know from films and TV-series; to order out; a phrasal verb that means to order food into home or office, the meaning of which is rather clear from the phrasal verb itself. The meaning of brain breaker is also clear from the noun and its modifier. Subway is a rather common term used in films and TV series, and it means metro in American English. However, there are some other items⁶² for which a different kind of knowledge is necessary. It was expected that the participants of the survey would know about M.I.T. since this is one of the most prestigious institutions of higher education in the world and it was expected that them, most of whom were very close to finishing their undergraduate studies, would be familiar with this term. As regards M.I.T., it was expected from the students of English, most of whom had just finished their undergraduate course "Cultures of the United Kingdom and the United States", would know about this term. American Dream is often mentioned in the media, and it was expected that most students would know it. Since Croatia has a primary and comprehensive school education system of a rather good quality, it was expected that participants had learned about it in school, and that this term is something they know more about. Cadillac is a car brand, but it has a different meaning in the context mentioned in the scene. It means top, the best of, pinnacle. It was expected that most participants would know that as well.

The items from the "simple" category can be grouped into elements of culture (ECs) and elements of language (ELs), the former would include items such as *M.I.T.* and the latter items such as *to order out*. Here are the definitions o ECs and ELs.

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⁶² The term *item* is used in the sense of *one unit of the questionnaire*, and it includes both ECs and ELs.

ECs are elements of culture; terms whose knowledge is sometimes not even connected with the knowledge of language, although that is not always the case, and they contain information about historical events, places, people, events, buildings... etc. (cf. Pedersen 2007)

ELs are elements of language; terms for which knowledge of the language is necessary and they are, in most instances, not connected with the knowledge of culture. ELs refer to phrasal verbs, idioms, nouns, verbs... etc.

ECs in the category of simple items are: *M.I.T.*, *American Dream*, *Civil War* and *Cadillac*. Elements of language are: *criminal guy*, *fatso*, *bum*, *50K*, *to order out*, *brain-breaker*, *to make getaway*, *subway*, *and finders-keepers*. These two terms, ECs and ELs, will be used for the classification of items throughout this analysis. There are some items which could be sorted under both categories, for instance *subway*, since this item has two meanings depending on whether it is used in American or British English, but terms such as *subway* will be sorted under EC or EL depending for which category they are more characteristic of.

5.4.1.2 Intermediate items

Intermediate items are: chip shop, juvenile detention center, people, bail, mortgage, founding father, fingers to the bone, school, MP, Union Army, custodian, the Channel, trust fund everyman, Betty Ford, beat-up, federal offence, school and Uncle Tom. ECs here would be: chip shop, founding father, Union Army, the Channel, trust fund, Betty Ford, school, federal offence and Uncle Tom.

ELs are: people, juvenile detention center, mortgage, bail, fingers to the bone, MP, custodian, everyman and beat-up. A chip shop is a sort of a fast food, which sells fish and chips, therefore something imbedded into British culture. A founding father is an American revolutionary from the end of the 18th century who paved the way to American independence, such as Benjamin Franklin. Union Army is the army of the American "North" during the Civil War, which lasted from 1861 to 1865. The Channel is a geographic term, an abbreviation for the English Channel for which its French version is used in Croatian: La Manche, because historical ties with France were rather numerous as explained by Sabine Florence Fabijanec (2003). The term has entered into Croatian because of the inspiration of Croatian

writers by French literature after 1848 about which Florence Fabijanec writes in her article. She also claims that French-Croatian relations go as far back as the ninth century (2003). However, this tradition of borrowing from French has continued much longer, for instance the French word is used for AIDS in Croatia, sida. Croatians also call Latvia Letonija, which also comes from French.

A trust fund is used in this context to denote wealth and the practice of having trust funds for children is not known in Croatia, therefore it is something culturally specific. Betty Ford is a centre or clinic for the treatment of alcoholism, but it was supposed that it is a relatively well-known EC films and TV series. It is often referred to in films to denote that someone, usually a star or a rich person, had to undergo treatment from alcoholism. It is used similarly as the Croatian term Vrapče, a psychiatric clinic in the Zagreb neighbourhood of Vrapče. If somebody is referred to as On je za Vrapče (He's for Vrapče), it means that s/he has lost their mind. It is a culture specific item, the same as Betty Ford. The item federal offence is crime considered illegal by the U.S. federal legislation. This term is relatively frequently mentioned in films and TV series, especially legal TV series such as *The* Practice (1997-2004), but it is culture specific since it implies the knowledge about the U.S. legal system and administrative organization of the United States. The term school, which has a direct equivalent in Croatian, škola, means university, the context for which škola is not used in Croatian. The last EC in this group is Uncle Tom. The term comes from the main character of Harriet Beecher Stowe's novel from 1852, Uncle Tom's Cabin. This book was also turned into a film and it was therefore expected that the participants of the survey would know about it, especially students of English. ELs such as people, juvenile detention center, mortgage and bail are also relatively often used in AVT content and they have their direct equivalents in Croatian, with the exception of mortgage, which has a falsefriend in Croatian. The term *mortgage* is used in English as a type of a secure loan for the purchase of property, a loan to buy a house or flat, and it is as such often used in films and TV series. However, the term mortgage has two meanings in Croatian. It means stambeni kredit, which is equivalent to the English meaning, but it also means hipoteka, which is in Croatia used as security for such a loan, therefore hipoteka is just a security element of stambeni kredit and it is because of that difference in meaning that this item is very often mistranslated, i.e., hipoteka is

used in translations of the English term *mortgage* when it actually means *stambeni kredit*. This is why this EL is grouped under the category of intermediate.

The rest of ELs from this category are relatively easily understood or they are relatively frequent: fingers to the bone, MP, custodian, everyman and beat-up. Fingers to the bone (to work one's fingers to the bone, which means to work hard) is not a very frequent expression, but it was expected that many participants would understand it because of the context in which it is used. The term MP is often used in British legal dramas, which are rather popular in Croatia. The term custodian is also relatively well known to a speaker of English who is on the level of the participants of our survey, while everyman and beat-up can be easily understood from the context.

5.4.1.3 Complex items

Complex items are: army brat, cod, tea, to arraign, grand jury, "94", Federal Reserve, Honest Abe, Britannia, The Garden, to concoct, tyre-jack and pre-med. These items are not that easily sorted under ECs and ELs, precisely because of their complexity.

ECs are: army brat, cod, grand jury, Honest Abe, Federal Reserve, "94", pre-med, Britannia and The Garden. ELs are: tea, to arraign and tyre-jack; however some of them could be just as well sorted under ECs. The term army brat refers to children of parents who serve in the American Army. Therefore, it is a culturally specific term, and such term is not known in Croatia. The "brats" existed during the time of Yugoslavia, when army personnel were expected to move often. Since modern Croatian army is professional, even if the service includes relocation, because of the size of the country, very often members of families don't move with the parent who works in the army. Therefore, this term doesn't have a direct cultural equivalent in Croatia, but it can be translated as vojno dijete or vojničko dijete. The noun cod or Gadus morhua in Latin has an equivalent in Croatian and that is bakalar. However, it has different connotations in British and Croatian cuisines and cultures. This term is sorted under complex items not solely because of that, but also because names of species very often have to be looked up in a dictionary, if not always, by most experienced translators and subtitlers, so it is unlikely that most viewers will understand that without translation. While cod is popular food and is an ingredient of fish and chips in the UK, bakalar is usually consumed in Croatia on Christmas Eve and not in all parts of the country, for instance, in the eastern Croatian region of Slavonia bakalar is not consumed on Christmas Eve. Bakalar is usually imported from Norway and is rather expensive. It is important to note that it is bakalar that is used in the translation used in the survey, but it is questionable whether this was a good decision for the reasons that have just been explained. Grand jury is istražni sud in Croatian, but this is a complex legal term and this compound is made up of elements that can be misleading since grand and jury mean different things when used in isolation. Honest Abe refers to Abraham Lincoln, but this nickname used for Abraham Lincoln is unknown to most Croatian viewers. Pre-med is an abbreviation for Premedical, which denotes an undergraduate track of students who wish to study medicine in the United States. This concept doesn't exist in Croatia, since those young people who wish to become medical students do so upon the completion of secondary education, and there is no pre-med, since Croatian secondary education (gimnazija, which has an equivalent in German and not English: Gymnasium, namely, the English equivalent is a false friend) includes obligatory courses in those fields which are the necessary prerequisites for the study of medicine, such as Chemistry and Physics. Since the US secondary education enables high-school students to choose their own subjects, not all students who wish to study medicine have the necessary background knowledge. Furthermore, a medical school in the United States is a graduate school, therefore the existence of Pre-medical. This culturally specific item is unknown to many viewers in Croatia for these reasons. The term *Britannia* originates from the poem "Rule, Britannia" by James Thomson, a Scottish poet and playwright (Encyclopædia Britannica 2011). It is associated with the Royal Navy, but also with the British Army. This term is entirely culturally specific or "monocultural" (Pedersen 2010:72-73)⁶³ and is therefore listed among the most complex ones. The Garden is the abbreviated form for Madison Square Garden, indoor sports arena in New York City. The number "94" denotes a brand of car, a Ford, a pick-up truck, and it was not common in Croatia. The participants of the survey needed knowledge of popular culture for the understanding of that term. The term tea denotes a popular beverage, but also a mid-afternoon meal, which is culturally specific. This term is therefore both an EC and an EL. To

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 $^{^{63}}$ Pedersen distinguishes between moncultural and transcultural ECRs. For more, see Pedersen 2010:67-80.

arraign is a legal term, and it was expected that it wouldn't be well known to most participants of the survey. *Tyre-jack* is a common part of vehicle equipment, but it was classified as a complex lexical item because of its expected frequency.

Having grouped these items according to expectancy, it is possible to proceed to the analysis of the survey results to be able to establish to what degree the subtitler's expectancy matches frequency, the percentage of correct answers in the first part of the questionnaire for each item.

6 Results and Analysis, the first part of the questionnaire

6.1. The percentages of wrong answers

In statistical terms, the probability that the participants might have guessed the answers by accidentally picking the right ones, since the questions asked were multiple-choice, was insignificant. More that 70% of the participants didn't know the term *Grand jury* before they saw the video-clip. More than 60% didn't know the terms *school* and *Britannia*. More than 50% didn't know the terms *army brat*, *Uncle Tom* and *tyre jack*. These items proved therefore to be the most difficult. It is interesting to note that many of these terms fall under the category of ECs.

More than 40% didn't know the items *cod*, *tea*, "94", *Federal Reserve*, *M.I.T.*, *Betty Ford*, *The Garden*, *Custodian* and *pre-med*. More than 30% didn't know the terms *chip shop*, *people*, *criminal guy* and *funding father*. These terms proved to be relatively difficult.

More than 20% of the participants didn't know the terms *juvenile detention* centre, to arraign, mortgage, federal offence, American Dream, Honest Abe and MP. More than 10% of the participants didn't know the items beat-up, fingers to the bone, 50 K, to concoct, brain breaker, Union Army and The Channel. The following items were known to most participants: bail, fatso, finders-keepers, bum, to order out, everyman, to make getaway, subway, Civil War, trust fund and Cadillac. These items proved to be relatively easy for most participants.

6.2. The correct answers and comparison to expectancy: frequency

What follows is the frequency of correct answers and comparison with what was expected as regards the level of complexity. The items are organized from the one that was known to most participants in the survey to the least known.

As regards the results, simple items will be considered those with 66.7 % of correct answers and more, those between 33.4 and 66.6% will be considered intermediate, and those with 33.3 % and less will be considered complex.

6.2.1 Frequencies

6.2.1.1 Finders-keepers

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	incorrect	1	1,0	1,0	1,0
	correct	97	99,0	99,0	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

Table 5

This term was categorized under simple items. It was not expected that the percentage of correct answers would be this high. However, this simple EL can easily be understood from its elements, *to find* and *to keep*, which are very common English verbs, hence the high percentage of correct answers.

6.2.1.2 Subway

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	incorrect	2	2,0	2,0	2,0
	correct	96	98,0	98,0	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

Table 6

This noun falls under the category of simple ELs, since it is very often heard in films and TV series. The high percentage of correct answers is the result of that. Only two participants didn't know the answer in the first part of the questionnaire. The result was expected and subtitler's expectations are justified from the perspective of the results of the survey.

6.2.1.3 Civil War

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	incorrect	2	2,0	2,0	2,0
	correct	96	98,0	98,0	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

Table 7

The reason for such a high percentage of correct answers for this simple EC is in accordance with expectancy. The term Civil War is a rather frequent topic of films and TV series and participants could have heard about it, and known about it, from school as well.

6.2.1.4 Cadillac

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	incorrect	3	3,1	3,1	3,1
	correct	95	96,9	96,9	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

Table 8

It was expected that participants would know about the this simple EC, but it was interesting to learn that they knew the meaning of the phrase "Cadillac of poker" in the context in which Cadillac means pinnacle or top. One can assume that participants applied pure logic while answering this question since this phrase is not that common in English. 96.9 % of the participants knew the meaning of the item, before they saw the respective video clip.

6.2.1.5 Everyman

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	incorrect	3	3,1	3,1	3,1
	correct	95	96,9	96,9	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

Table 9

The item *everyman* was grouped under intermediate ELs. It was interesting to learn that almost all participants knew the term before they saw the video. Subtitler's expectancy doesn't match the actual results. The participants might have known the meaning, or recognized the meaning, because of the constituting elements of this noun, *every* and *man* and applied logic again. On the other hand, this noun is possibly more frequent in the English language than expected.

6.2.1.6 To order out

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	incorrect	4	4,1	4,1	4,1
	correct	94	95,9	95,9	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

Table 10

The knowledge of this phrasal verb was expected, perhaps not in such a high percentage, because of the frequency of this EL in AVT content. The practice of ordering out food is common in British and American culture. It will be interesting to see if the context or acting helped the participants of the survey and to what degree.

6.2.1.7 To make getaway

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	incorrect	5	5,1	5,1	5,1
	correct	93	94,9	94,9	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

Table 11

This item falls under the category of simple ELs as regards the expectancy. The high percentage of correct answers proves that most participants in the survey knew this term before seeing the video clip and subtitler's expectancy did match the actual situation on the ground.

6.2.1.8 Trust fund

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	incorrect	5	5,1	5,1	5,1
	correct	93	94,9	94,9	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

Table 12

This item, according to expectancy, falls under the category of intermediate ECs and it is interesting to note that most participants in the survey knew the meaning of it, although it is not a common term in Croatia in which trust funds don't exist. It is also interesting to note how much the translator's expectancy about viewers' knowledge can deviate from reality. 93 respondents knew the term *trust fund* in the

context in which it denotes a rich child, or a child for which money or property is set aside, usually by their parents, to be used after a certain age, most commonly the age of 18 or 21. This also shows how much a subtitler can underestimate, as well as overestimate, their viewers, since what follows in the video-clip, in the subtitle, is the replacement of the term *trust fund* with a paraphrase and it translates into English as *without a lot of money*.

6.2.1.9 Bum

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	incorrect	6	6,1	6,1	6,1
	correct	92	93,9	93,9	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

Table 13

The item *bum* falls under the category of simple ELs and it was answered correctly by as many as 92 participants. This colloquial expression is relatively frequent in films and TV series. However, the number of correct answer is slightly surprising.

6.2.1.10 Fatso

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	incorrect	7	7,1	7,1	7,1
	correct	91	92,9	92,9	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

Table 14

It was expected that the term *fatso* is a simple EL since the adjective *fat* from which this colloquial expression denoting an overweight person was coined is common; it is an adjective a learner of English learns in the first year of learning. Since all of the participants had at least some knowledge of English, it is interesting to see that seven percent of participants didn't know what it meant.

6.2.1.11 Bail

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	incorrect	9	9,2	9,2	9,2
	correct	89	90,8	90,8	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

Table 15

As an intermediate EL, the item *bail* was not expected to be known by as many as 90 percent of the respondents. It is interesting to see that this term is so well known. Croatian TV viewers are exposed to British and American legal TV dramas rather frequently, as well as, unfortunately, at least at the time of this analysis (the year is 2011), to the media coverage of corruption charges against high-ranking politicians in Croatia and their getting out of custody before trial after a *bail* or, *jamčevina* in Croatian, has been paid. The combination of these two factors means that practically all participants were familiar with the term. This was overlooked when expectancy was assessed and this item was grouped into the intermediate category.

6.2.1.12 Beat-up

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	incorrect	10	10,2	10,2	10,2
	correct	88	89,8	89,8	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

Table 16

The item *beat-up* was classified as an intermediate EL. However, almost 90 percent of the participants answered correctly in the first part of the questionnaire. It was not expected that so many participants would know the meaning of this colloquial modifier, which was used in the context in which it means *an old car* damaged by hard usage since it is not very common. The expectancy as regards previous knowledge was not met, the viewers were underestimated again.

6.2.1.13 The Channel

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	incorrect	10	10,2	10,2	10,2
	correct	88	89,8	89,8	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

Table 17

The item *the Channel* is indeed not something a Croatian viewer wouldn't know about. However, since the term used in Croatia is the French term *La Manche* (see Section 5.4.1.2.), it was not expected that almost 90 percent of the participants of the survey would know the correct answer. This term is sometimes mistranslated as well and ignorant translators may resort to direct translation, Engleski kanal.

Journalists also often translate it themselves and use the term Engleski kanal (which is the literal translation of "The English Channel") and that is the reason why the term *The Channel* is completely unknown.

6.2.1.14 50 K

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	incorrect	11	11,2	11,2	11,2
	correct	87	88,8	88,8	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

Table 18

This colloquial expression, which means 50,000 US dollars, was classified as a simple EL and indeed, it was almost 90 % of the participants who knew the correct answer. Those unfamiliar with American slang didn't know the answer, but it will be interesting to see in the further analysis of the second part of the questionnaire, which followed the watching of the video-clip, the percentage of subjects who understood the meaning from the respective subtitle.

6.2.1.15 Brain-breaker

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	incorrect	13	13,3	13,3	13,3
	correct	85	86,7	86,7	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

Table 19

This item is a simple EL. Although this is a colloquial expression, it was expected that the participants in the survey would grasp the meaning of this noun from its constituent elements: the noun *brain* and the verb *to break*. As many as 86.7 % succeeded in that, and subtitler's expectations matched the knowledge of these viewers.

6.2.1.16 To concoct

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	incorrect	14	14,3	14,3	14,3
	correct	84	85,7	85,7	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

Table 20

As many as 85.7% of the participants knew the meaning of the verb *to concoct*, although it was classified as a complex EL. This is a surprising find since this verb

is not very common in English. However, this item, as well as all the others, was given in the context of a sentence (cf. Material 2). The context for this item was: "T've been assured by our friends at the Encyclopaedia that they've concocted some real brain-breakers." The noun Encyclopaedia enabled the participants to understand the meaning of the sentence even if they didn't know the meaning of the item to concoct. In some situations it is easier to grasp the meaning from the sentence than in others. One of the aims during the collection of items was to include elements such as this one as well, where the meaning was very obvious from the whole sentence since the aim wasn't only to test those items which would have been very complex or unfamiliar and since the results of such a research would have been too predictable and it would be possible to summarize them like this: "The participants have very little knowledge of British and American culture, and language even more so." This is not true, and the aim of this research is by no means to look down upon the viewers. The aim is to assess viewers' perception.

6.2.1.17 Union Army

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	incorrect	16	16,3	16,3	16,3
	correct	82	83,7	83,7	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

Table 21

The item *Union Army*, the army of the American "North" during the Civil War 1861-1865) is classified as an intermediate EC, although 83.7 % of correct answers suggest that the participants were underestimated, since most of them knew the correct answer. This high percentage of correct answers suggests that basic information of American history is something Croatian viewers are familiar with, acquired either through formal education or exposure to media: to film, TV series and documentaries.

6.2.1.18 Fingers to the bone

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	incorrect	18	18,4	18,4	18,4
	correct	80	81,6	81,6	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

Table 22

Fingers to the bone is an idiomatic expression which is not very frequent in AVT content, and such high percentage of correct answers comes as a surprise (81,6%). To work one's fingers to the bone means to work hard. This again points to the difference between subtitler's expectancy of what viewers already know and what most viewers don't know. The expectancy determines the choice of strategy (see Section 3.6.) that will be used in translation. If a subtitler thinks that most viewers don't know the meaning of this idiom, it will be most probably paraphrased or, whenever possible, translated with a similar idiom in the target language.

6.2.1.19 Juvenile detention center

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	incorrect	22	22,4	22,4	22,4
	correct	76	77,6	77,6	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

Table 23

The term *juvenile detention center* is categorized as an intermediate EL, since it has an equivalent in Croatian, *maloljetnički pritvor*. This item is therefore not culturally specific and is considered to be a part of the knowledge of the language. Since as many as 77.6 % of the participants answered correctly, this term didn't meet the expectancy, which is another case of subtitler's underestimation of their audience. However, subtitlers shouldn't be blamed for underestimation or overestimation of the audience, since TV and subtitling companies don't invest money into the study of viewers.

6.2.1.20 Mortgage

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	incorrect	23	23,5	23,5	23,5
	correct	75	76,5	76,5	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

Table 24

Although it was expected that most participants wouldn't know this intermediate EL, its correct meaning (see Section 5.4.1.2), many participants, as many as 76.5%, knew what it meant. It will be interesting to see in the analysis of the second part of the questionnaire to what degree it was the subtitle that influenced the meaning

since this is a possible false pair: *mortgage=hipoteka*; however *hipoteka* is an instrument of insurance of *stambeni kredit* in Croatia, and the term used is *stambeni kredit* (literally, property loan).

6.2.1.21 MP

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	incorrect	24	24,5	24,5	24,5
	correct	74	75,5	75,5	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

Table 25

This item is an intermediate EL, although this is not reflected in the results obtained from the first part of the questionnaire. It is not an element of culture since Croatia also has a parliament called *Sabor* and MPs exist as well (*saborski zastupnici*). This claim brings us to the conclusion that most ECs used in this questionnaire are, at least at first sight, culturally specific. It is rather important that a subtitler knows whether an abbreviation is known to most of the viewers. This is a demonstration of how the Skopos Theory and Model of Translatorial Action (see Sections 2.2. and 2.3.) are rather important for translators' decisions based on who their expected TV viewers are (cf. Section 3.2.).

Given the temporal and spatial constraints of subtitling, it is a challenge to translate an abbreviation. The very fact that an abbreviation is uttered in a source text (ST), means that there is little time and space for it in the subtitle. An MP is *zastupnik* in Croatian, and it already implies that the subtitler will have to "borrow" space somewhere in the subtitle, condense it somewhere else. A subtitler is tempted to leave the abbreviation in its original form or to replace it with an equivalent in the (TT) target text (cf. M.I.T. further down in the text) to save space, but must be careful about what is expected to be known by his viewers and what is not. Many British and American abbreviations are rather well known to the Croatian viewer, such as the BBC from the former, or FBI, from the latter culture. However, there are many which are somewhere in between, for instance IRS (Inland Revenue Service)⁶⁴. There are also some which are unknown to most viewers, such as RSPCA⁶⁵ (Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals), and how these will be dealt with in the TT depends not only on the subtitler's expectancy of their

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⁶⁴ http://www.irs.gov/. (Date of access: April 11, 2011).

⁶⁵ http://www.rspca.org.uk/home. (Date of access: April 11, 2011).

viewer's knowledge, but also on the function of the translation in the TT and the type of programme in which the abbreviation appears. If IRS appears in a business programme on public television, as an abbreviation in the ST, and if there is no space to paraphrase it and translate it as *porezna uprava* for instance, because of the temporal and spatial constraints of subtitling, it is not a big mistake, since viewers of such programmes will know what that means, while if it appears in a soap opera, it should be paraphrased and not left in its original form.

6.2.1.22 Honest Abe

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	incorrect	26	26,5	26,5	26,5
	correct	72	73,5	73,5	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

Table 26

The item Honest Abe was classified under complex ECs. The reality is rather different, since many participants knew whom this nickname stood for: Abraham Lincoln, who became the American president in 1864 and was murdered the following year. The conclusion is that 73.5% of the participants were familiar with this term and had either learned about it in school or by being exposed to audiovisual media. It is indeed difficult for a subtitler to know what their audience does or doesn't know about source culture, but this determines what strategy will be used in translation, as it has already been said. The recommendation to subtitlers would be to try to learn as much as possible about their audience. TV stations shouldn't just open internet forums for the discussions about TV translations (such as HRT for instance⁶⁶), they should order surveys about the needs of their viewers as regards subtitles, as opposed to just registering complaints (see Section 3.4.), which also helps, but not entirely, and forwarding them to subtitlers. It is possible to translate Honest Abe as Pošteni Abe, which is a direct equivalent in Croatian, but it is also possible to translate it as Abraham Lincoln or just Lincoln if a subtitler suspects that most viewers won't be familiar with the meaning of *Pošteni Abe*. Many of these decisions are made instantly, without proper thinking about strategies or viewers, for reasons explained in Sections 3.6. and 3.7.

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⁶⁶ http://forum.hrt.hr/viewforum.php?f=39&sid=a6aad28365ef20b655a4cfc721ea87db

6.2.1.23 To arraign

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	incorrect	28	28,6	28,6	28,6
	correct	70	71,4	71,4	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

Table 27

This item was classified as a complex EL, but the results were different after the analysis of the first part of the questionnaire. For participants, it was an intermediate item. The reasons for as many as 71.4% of correct answers are: the existence of an equivalent in Croatian, the exposure to many legal TV dramas and films, but also the frequent usage of law as one of the topics in films and TV series of other genres and, again unfortunately, high exposure of the participants to legal actions against politicians and businessmen in Croatia; at the time of writing of this chapter, the former prime-minister of the Republic of Croatia is sitting in an Austrian prison waiting to be extradited to Croatia, which is one of the many legal actions which draw the attention of the residents of the country who are readers of subtitles at the same time. This high percentage also shows a discrepancy between what a subtitler expects and what viewers know.

6.2.1.24 Federal offence

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	incorrect	28	28,6	28,6	28,6
	correct	70	71,4	71,4	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

Table 28

The item *federal offence* was grouped under intermediate ECs. 71.4% of the participants of the survey knew the correct answer. Although this *item* is also a legal term as the previous one, this one is a culturally specific EC and the translation as *savezni prekršaj* doesn't mean much to the general public. The term *federal offence* denotes a crime that is made illegal by the US federal legislation. To be able to understand what that fully means, the uniformed viewer would have to know at least some basic facts about the organisation of the United States' legal system, and of the whole country as well. However, that cannot be done in one subtitle of course, hence the expectancy that the term won't be known to most participants, although the exposure to legal AV content contributed to the decent familiarity of

this term.

6.2.1.25 American Dream

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	incorrect	28	28,6	28,6	28,6
	correct	70	71,4	71,4	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

Table 29

This item was classified as a simple EC and it was interesting to see that for the participants of the survey it was closer to an intermediate item, as many as 28 of them didn't know what American dream, or američki san in Croatian, means. It could be summarized as a wish, or striving towards, (for) prosperity and success. There is no equivalent of this term in the Croatian culture, but the term is so often mentioned in American films, TV series and talk shows that it was expected that most participants would know the correct answer. This again points to possible differences between what a subtitler expects and what viewers know. Furthermore, this also shows that what looks like a straightforward translatorial decision, translating this item as američki san, deserves some pause (which, again, highly depends on the factors elicited in Sections 3.6. and 3.7.) and thinking and a possible paraphrase. This term could also be translated as želja/težnja za uspjehom (a wish/desire for success), which is common to humankind, but it is questionable if this would be right since a subtitler then risks being accused of underestimating their audience and moving too far away from the source culture (cf. gostionica in Section 1.4.1).

6.2.1.26 Founding father

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	incorrect	34	34,7	34,7	34,7
	correct	64	65,3	65,3	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

Table 30

Founding father is an intermediate EC by expectation and by the results. It is relatively unknown to viewers, although a viewer with an intermediate level of English may suppose what the term means by dividing it into its constituent elements, into the verb to found and the noun father. It is significant that out of 98

participants of the survey, 34 didn't know what the term meant and 34.7% of wrong answers is relatively high.

6.2.1.27 Chip shop

			Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Ī	Valid	incorrect	35	35,7	35,7	35,7
		correct	63	64,3	64,3	100,0
		Total	98	100,0	100,0	

Table 31

This intermediate EC proved to belong to this category after the statistical analysis. *Fish and chips*, a British dish, which is sold in a fish and chip shop, is a culturally specific dish. Since all participants in the survey had learnt English at least for a couple of years, and since the term *fish and chips* is taught at primary school level of English, this high percentage can be explained. Viewers are more exposed to the American than to British culture, and there is less chance that the item *chip shop* is known to them from the exposure to British popular culture, than because of the English lessons in school.

6.2.1.28 People

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	incorrect	38	38,8	38,8	38,8
	correct	60	61,2	61,2	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

Table 32

It was expected that this item would be an intermediate EL because of the exposure of viewers to American films and TV series, especially those describing legal issues. Many rather popular films bear legal issues as a central topic, such as *Erin Brokovich* (2000) and *A Few Good Men* (1992), and some legal dramas that lasted for several seasons, such as *The Practice* (1997-2004). One of the first legal TV dramas was *L.A. Law* (1986-1994), which was very popular in Croatia. *L.A. Law* couldn't have influenced the participants of the survey, but it could have influenced expectancy. The term people may be translated as *narod*, *tužilaštvo* or *država* and these three terms are equally acceptable. *Narod* literally means *people*. However, *people* are represented by the *state* or *država*, which is represented by *tužilaštvo* or *public prosecutor's* (office). In this particular instance, the correct answer that was offered to the participants was *tužilaštvo* since that one was used in the subtitle,

which followed the first part of the questionnaire.

6.2.1.29 Criminal guy

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	incorrect	38	38,8	38,8	38,8
	correct	60	61,2	61,2	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

Table 33

This item was classified as a simple EL not because the meaning is particularly clear when it stands on its own, but because of the sentence in which it appears in the first part of the questionnaire: "You need an expert, a criminal guy". Otherwise, this item could mean a person who commits crime, a criminal. Still, it is rather surprising that this simple EL proved to be an intermediate one with 38.8% of participants not answering correctly. The reason is that the context was not clear enough and also because this is a colloquial expression, which is not frequent. However, it will be interesting to see to what degree it was the context that influenced understanding of this item in the analysis of the second part of the questionnaire.

6.2.1.30 Betty Ford

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	incorrect	40	40,8	40,8	40,8
	correct	58	59,2	59,2	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

Table 34

The item *Betty Ford* was classified as an intermediate EC, but the percentage of wrong answers of as much as 40.8%, is slightly surprising. If this item is unknown to so many of the participants who have, at least some, knowledge of the American culture, as well as the English language, it should be a signal to a subtitler to pay more attention to how they will approach the translation of this term. What follows in the translation is an explicitation; the term *klinika* (a clinic) is added as a modifier. However, a subtitler might have left the term unexplicitated, supposing that most viewers would know what that meant. Subtitlers are indeed tempted not to modify since modification takes space (cf. Section 3.3.2), but this data is a warning signal to subtitlers about how many viewers with decent knowledge of English and

at least some knowledge of American popular culture don't know about such culture specific items, not to mention those viewers who have little or no knowledge of either of the two.

6.2.1.31 Custodian

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	incorrect	40	40,8	40,8	40,8
	correct	58	59,2	59,2	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

Table 35

The item *custodian* is, as expected, an intermediate EL for our participants. There in an equivalent term in Croatian. However, the number of wrong answers, 40 out of 98, is a surprise. This term is less familiar to the viewers than expected.

6.2.1.32 The Garden

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	incorrect	40	40,8	40,8	40,8
	correct	58	59,2	59,2	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

Table 36

This abbreviated form for Madison Square Garden, an indoor sports arena in New York, one of the landmarks of the city, was grouped under complex items because of the primary meaning of the noun garden and the possibility that participants would perceive it in its original sense, for instance "a garden of a house, or any garden". However, as many as 59.2 % of the participants knew the correct answer, and that shows that this term is rather common. What follows in the second part of the questionnaire, i.e. in the video-clip, is the full form of the name, Madison Square Garden, since the subtitler expected that most viewers wouldn't know the abbreviated form, not even the full form. In such situations there is little space in a subtitle to further explain what the term means and adding explanations means that something else must be left out from the translation, which may be challenging as well. Therefore, the conclusion is that adding more information in such instances depends on the context of the subtitle, the context in which the item appears. If the surrounding information is not that relevant and may be left out, explicitation is possible, while in instances when such a term is surrounded with important information, which cannot be omitted, explicitation is not possible.

6.2.1.33 M. I. T.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	incorrect	42	42,9	42,9	42,9
	correct	56	57,1	57,1	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

Table 37

The item *M.I.T.* was grouped under simple ECs because it was expected that participants in the survey, university students, would know what it meant. However, as many as 42.9% of the participants didn't know the correct answer. This also illustrates the complexity of dealing with the translation of abbreviations (cf. MP in Section 6.2.1.21), but it also points to the difference between subtitler's expectations and viewer's knowledge. In this case, a better strategy would have been the replacement with a generic term *fakultet* (see Section 5.2.), given the high percentage of incorrect answers. This term proved to be an intermediate EC, as regards the frequency of correct answers.

6.2.1.34 Cod

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	incorrect	43	43,9	43,9	43,9
	correct	55	56,1	56,1	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

Table 38

The item *cod* was grouped under complex ECs because of the difference in meaning between the meaning of the item and its Croatian translation: *bakalar*. It was interesting to learn that 56.1% of the participants of the questionnaire knew the correct answer, but the question remains whether this is a good translation given the cultural differences between *cod* and *bakalar*. The subtitler can hope that context will enable viewers to better understand the meaning, although what an unsuspecting Croatian viewer might conclude from this translation is that the British spend a lot of money on food and eat only expensive fish (see 5.4.1.3.). The question is also what a subtitler should do in such a situation. If the term is replaced with a similar concept in Croatian, for instance an inexpensive fish⁶⁷, the subtitler may be accused for being wrong by those viewers who know what *cod* means. In

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⁶⁷ Such a fish in Croatia, at least on the coast, would be *srdela* (pilchard), which is among the most inexpensive fish and is a sort of a staple food on the Croatian coast.

such cases there is no perfect solution; on the contrary, it seems that every solution, strategy, is wrong up to a point.

6.2.1.35 Federal Reserve

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	incorrect	43	43,9	43,9	43,9
	correct	55	56,1	56,1	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

Table 39

The meaning of *Federal Reserve* was known to more than half of the participants in the survey, which comes as a surprise since it was grouped under complex ECs. Another possible translation is *Federalne rezerve*, which is often used by bankers and experts in finances in Croatia, especially stockbrokers. However, since this term appears in a film, that translation would have been inappropriate since a TV film is translated for all viewers, not just those who are experts in finances, and the Croatian equivalent was used, *Narodna banka*. The subtitler must be careful with terms such as this one, which are used in two different translations in TT, and decide which one is appropriate given the target audience. This also demonstrates the importance of the "brief" in translation (cf. Sections 2.2. and 2.3. for the Skopos theory and Model of Translatorial Action).

6.2.1.36 Tea

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	incorrect	45	45,9	45,9	45,9
	correct	53	54,1	54,1	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

Table 40

Tea was classified as a complex EL, since it was expected that most participants wouldn't know that it also means a meal, besides a beverage, the former being the one used in this context. However, the viewers were slightly underestimated here as well. Nevertheless, this item must be translated as *poslijepodnevni ručak* for instance and not as *čaj* (tea, a beverage) since such a translation would have confused the viewers. Unfortunately, it was not once that a subtitler in haste failed to translate the right meaning of a noun with multiple meanings, this practice is rather common for reasons explained in Sections 3.6. and 3.7. The percentage of

45.9 % of incorrect answers is relatively high among English speaking students and this elicits the need of extra attention to details and good concentration in subtitlers.

6.2.1.37 "94"

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	incorrect	46	46,9	46,9	46,9
	correct	52	53,1	53,1	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

Table 41

The item "94" was grouped under complex ECs since it was expected that very few of the participants would know the correct answer. It is surprising that as many 53.1% of the participants of the survey knew the correct answer since this model of *Ford* in not a well-known vehicle model in Croatia. It is the exposure to the American culture through the media that might have contributed to a relatively high percentage of correct answers. The strategy used in translation, 94 was replaced with *Ford*, is justified by the fact that 46.9% of the participants didn't know what the term meant, but this again points to the differences between subtitler's expectations and reality.

6.2.1.38 Pre-med

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	incorrect	48	49,0	49,0	49,0
	correct	50	51,0	51,0	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

Table 42

The term *pre-med* is classified as a complex EC, and almost half of the participants didn't know what it meant because of the differences between Croatian and American education system (see section 5.4.1.3). More than half of the participants knew the answer because of their exposure to American culture, but one also has to keep in mind that the participants were students and that they know more about, or they are more interested in, the topics connected to education than an average viewer. In any case, *pre-med* must either be replaced with a similar term in Croatian, which doesn't exist, or paraphrased, which is the case in the translation used in this survey: *Darrin was pre-med* became *Darrin se pripremao za studij medicine* (Darrin was preparing for the study of medicine), which can be slightly

misleading in Croatian since this sentence can also mean that the character called Darrin went to preparation classes for high-school graduates, usually organized by *Pučko otvoreno učilište* (similar to the British institution called *Open University*) that usually organizes preparatory courses for the university entrance exam that those who wish to study medicine must pass (cf. Section 3.9.).

6.2.1.39 Tyre jack

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	incorrect	51	52,0	52,0	52,0
	correct	47	48,0	48,0	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

Table 43

The item *tyre jack* was grouped under complex ELs because of the expectation that most participants wouldn't know the meaning of this item without translation. Every car must have a *tyre jack* or *dizalica* in Croatian, but it was expected that most participants won't know the meaning of this everyday vehicle item since non-native speakers of English who haven't lived in an English speaking country usually don't know such terms, especially if they are non-drivers. The result doesn't reflect the expectancy entirely, although 52 % of wrong answers is not insignificant.

6.2.1.40 Uncle Tom

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	incorrect	57	58,2	58,2	58,2
	correct	41	41,8	41,8	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

Table 44

Although this item was classified as an intermediate EC, it has proved to be almost a complex one for the participants and it is surprising how many of them, 58.2%, didn't know that Uncle Tom is a character from Harriet Beecher Stowe's novel. This also shows that what a subtitler considers being obvious and known to most, can be unknown to many or most.

6.2.1.41 Army brat

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	incorrect	57	58,2	58,2	58,2
	correct	41	41,8	41,8	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

Table 45

The item *army brat* was classified as a complex EC. The results don't fall far from that since as many as 58.2% of the participants didn't know what army brat was before watching the respective video-clip with subtitles. The term *army brat* is indeed culture specific (see Section 5.4.1.3) and requires deeper knowledge of American culture, or more specifically, the knowledge of the American military culture. Superficial knowledge of the English language doesn't help here and it can even be misleading since *brat* means an illegitimate child.

6.2.1.42 School

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	incorrect	61	62,2	62,2	62,2
	correct	37	37,8	37,8	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

Table 46

The item *school* was classified as an intermediate EC. However, as many as 62.2 % of the participants of the survey failed to recognize the right meaning of this term, *university*, which is used in this context. One of the reasons for that is that not too much if the context is given in the first part of the questionnaire, although it is interesting that so many participants got it wrong. Since there are differences in meaning (cf. Section 5.4.1.2) between the Croatian term *škola* and the English *school*, a subtitler must be very careful when translating such terms, since in English the term school is more generic and it includes primary, secondary and university education, whereas in Croatian the term only refers to primary and secondary education, as it has already been said. Higher forms of education are covered by different terms: *fakultet* (college of faculty), *magisterij* (a master programme) and *doktorat* (a doctorate). However, if the term *škola* is modified by *viša* (higher) and *visoka* (high) it may mean a two-year college or a university respectively.

6.2.1.43 Britannia

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	incorrect	67	68,4	68,4	68,4
	correct	31	31,6	31,6	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

Table 47

This item was classified as a complex EC and the results corresponded to the expectations given the fact that the question in the first part of the questionnaire (see Material 2) was: Britannia really did rule the waves refers to: 1) a famous British film, 2) song, 3) novel, 4) short story and 5) town or city (cf. Section 5.4.1.3). The knowledge of this item requires deeper knowledge of the British culture and history and it poses a significant challenge for a subtitler. The term was replaced with Britanija (Britain) in the translation and the reference to the famous British song was lost, given the expectation that most viewers wouldn't know what Britannia stands for. This also shows that knowing more about the "brief" (see Sections 2.2. and 2.3.) is of utmost importance to a translator and in this case a subtitler. For instance, if the documentary from which this scene is taken, Empire of the Seas, episode 2, "The Golden Ocean" (2010), is translated for educational purposes, to be used in a classroom, for instance in a history class, the term Britannia could be left in the original in the TT. If the documentary is translated for "the general audience".68, the choice depends on the expectations of the subtitler about what a viewer knows. One also has to keep in mind, as regards the brief, the type of viewers who usually watch certain kinds of programmes, and a thorough survey about prospective audience for certain kinds of programmes carried out by TV stations would be useful to subtitlers, as it has already been pointed out this thesis. For instance, it is expected that a TV broadcast of a football match is watched by male viewers with keen interest and knowledge about football, which, of course, can also be just a prejudice which doesn't necessarily always reflect reality. A documentary about the history of the British navy may be watched by anyone, but it is likely that it would be the viewers with interest in the British history and culture. There are other elements of AVT content which are important in such cases. For instance, in this one a subtitler should notice that the song Rule, Britannia, from which the item comes, is heard in the background and that should

⁶⁸ This term is used to denote an average viewer, as expected by the subtitler.

also direct the strategy used in the translation. This shows that "the brief" is important since it can have direct effect on the translation, i.e., on the strategy used to render meaning in subtitles.

6.2.1.44 Grand jury

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	incorrect	78	79,6	79,6	79,6
	correct	20	20,4	20,4	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

Table 48

The item grand jury was classified as a complex EC and it was interesting to see that only 20.4% of the participants knew which Croatian equivalent would fit best to describe this culture specific term. However, one has to keep in mind that the participants were faced with this item in the first part of the questionnaire, prior to watching the video-clip, out of context, since this item will appear slightly out of context in the video as well; it is just an inscription on a building that is usually translated with a capitalized subtitle. It is vital that a subtitler renders the meaning correctly and this poses a challenge when subtitling an element of the legal system of the United States or United Kingdom, based on the common law, into Croatian whose legal system which is based on the Roman law. The term grand jury, which stands for a sort of preliminary jury, which determines whether there is enough evidence for a trial to be conducted, does not exist in Croatian since there is no jury in the Croatian legal system. However, there is istražni sud in Croatia, which determines whether there is enough evidence for a trial to be conducted and this term is used in translation. This strategy could be called cultural substitution based on "cultural equivalence, which gives the reader a concept with which s/he can identify something familiar and appealing". (Baker 1992:31) Whether this strategy is applied also depends on the target audience, on whether a subtitler expects that viewers are unfamiliar with the organization of the US legal system or not. In this case, it was expected that they were not familiar with this term. In such instances, a subtitler should offer something familiar to the viewers, something they can cling on to decipher the meaning.

All the ECs could be further divided into what kind of knowledge is necessary for them, whether it is school knowledge or knowledge about public culture for instance. However, it was decided to take Vermeer's definition of culture (see Section 1.4.) and Katan's classification (see Section 1.4.1.) to include all aspects of culture into the term EC (element of culture). The term EL was used to distinguish those items, which are purely elements of language, such as idioms and phrasal verbs and those ECs which are not culture specific. As it has already been stated, in some instances the borderline between ECs and ELs is not quite clear.

The conclusion of this chapter is that in many instances, regardless of whether one is talking about ECs and ELs, subtitler's expectancy doesn't match viewer's familiarity with these items. It underlines the need for detailed, scholarly study of viewers, not only of their familiarity with certain items, but also of their needs and expectations as regards subtitles, since it is because of them that subtitles are made and too much money, energy and time is invested into subtitling to leave subtitlers in the unknown, with their own assumptions about potential viewers, even to their prejudice about them.

6.3. Further analysis

6.3.1 Preliminary finds

Since the groups were divided into three major groups: students of English, students of Swedish and German, and the third group were students of Sociology, it was presumed that students of English would provide most correct answers in the first part of the questionnaire. The students of German and Swedish were grouped together as students of languages other than English and students of Sociology were differentiated as a third group of students of a social science. The maximum number of correct answers was 44 since there were 44 questions. Comparing the participants as regards the gender, the difference found was not significant which demonstrates that such a survey is not gender-sensitive.

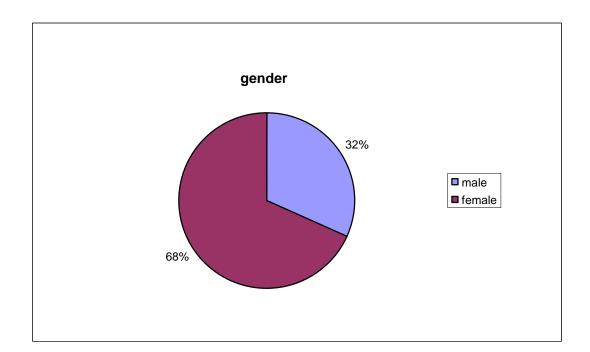
T-test
$$\overline{X}f = 30.7$$

$$\overline{X}m = 30.9$$
(p<.83)

The "p" value shows the probability of establishing a difference in a population sample. The "t" is an indicator of the difference in percentages. "F" stands for *female*, while "m" stands for *male*. The following pie chart shows the participants in the survey divided according to gender:

Figure 2 – Gender distribution

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	male	31	31.6	31,6	31,6
	female	67	68.4	68,4	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	



This result shows that the randomised selection of video-clips has not favoured male or female participants. The find is significant and can be generalized for the population of students of *Filozofski fakultet*. The "p" in the T-test stands for probability, which is statistically significant if it is between .01 and .05. As regards the study group, which is significant for background knowledge, the result found

was a slight surprise, since the English students were significantly⁶⁹ better than students of German and Swedish, as well as sociology, but not as much as it was expected, the gap was expected to be wider. This find is rather important for further comparisons of the test as regards the previous knowledge and the elements which influenced the perception of culture through subtitles. The "F" in the Anova-test below stands for ratio.

Anova-test

Anova-test

$$\overline{X}e=33.5$$
 $\overline{X}gs=28.5$ English > Sociology & German/Swedish $F=12.18$ $p<.01$ $\overline{X}soc=29.5$

The students who were tested were undergraduate students. At the time of testing, undergraduate studies are comprised of three years of study after which students are awarded a bachelor's degree. However, almost all of them continue to study for another two years to be awarded a degree of a Master of Arts. The years of study are marked with numbers from 1 to 3. As regards the year of study, the results were the following:

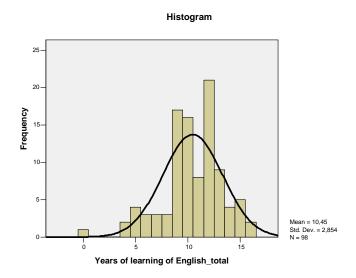
$$\overline{X}1 = 28.97$$
 $\overline{X}2 = 30.93$ $\overline{X}3 > \overline{X}1$ F=3.98 p< .01
 $\overline{X}3 = 32.23$

This result shows a linear increase in the number of correct answers with the number of years of study, which is connected to previous knowledge. This linear increase shows the expected: the more you learn, the more you know, but is a rather important find as regards the "brief" or "skopos" (see Sections 2.2. and 2.3.). The average number of years spent learning English at school and university is 10 years, as it can be seen in the following figure:

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⁶⁹ This term is used here in the meaning "statistically significant".

Figure 3 – Years of learning English



If a subtitler knows more about the level of education of their viewers, they can apply an appropriate strategy in translation. The subtitling of programmes for children, for instance, may involve more explicitation when culture specific elements are concerned, and vice versa, if subtitlers know that they are subtitling a programme about the collapse of financial institutions, which is aimed at experts, they will translate *Federal Reserve* as *Federalne rezerve* (cf. previous section, entry *Federal Reserve*) and not *Narodna banka* (the central bank). Some programmes are directed at certain population, which can also be determined by the hour at which the programme is broadcast, for instance a TV series broadcast in the afternoon as opposed the broadcast in the evening (see Section 2.2.). Some programmes are targeted at certain audience also depending on the type of the broadcaster, a public vs. private broadcaster (cf. Nikolić 2005).

Subtitlers should put themselves in the position of a viewer and to be able to do that, they should know who the viewer is (see Sections 2.2. and 2.3.). Without that, they can't do a god job and translations will be seen as either too simplified or

too complex. Subtitlers, of course, make decisions about what to do with elements of culture (ECs) and other translatorial decisions based on their expectations of what viewers already know. The viewer has "no opportunity of going back and rereading the text" (Pedersen 2010:69) and this is something a subtitler is, sometimes painfully, aware of. The viewer must immediately get the information from the subtitles, or at least during the very short "life" of a subtitle, which is a maximum of seven seconds (cf. Material 1 and Ivarsson and Carroll 1998). Subtitlers are therefore guided by that fact in their decision-making, which also must be quick, when deciding what to do about ECs and ELs. Subtitlers make choices about when and how to intervene in the translation given their assumption about how well the element of a source culture is "well-known" in the target culture (Pedersen 2010:70). However, this research has shown that this guessing game, although unavoidable, is not always correct (see 4.4.1 and 4.4.2), and more thorough research of viewers, of the target audience, would enable subtitlers to do a better job. The conclusion of Pedersen's research into translation of elements of culture (2007, 2010) is that subtitlers make decision based on intuition of what viewers might know and that they sometimes, pressured by deadlines and low fees, "leave viewers in the dark" (Pedersen 2010:78,79) since some elements of culture are left unexplicitated. Viewers are sometimes indeed left in the dark, but not just because of the short deadlines and low fees, since the fees have become so low that viewers would have been left in complete darkness if subtitlers only thought about their fees, but also because subtitlers don't really know what a viewer might be familiar with and this is why this thesis focuses on viewers and what they actually know compared to what a subtitler expects them to know. Pedersen's claim about short deadlines is true and confirms the statements made in Section 3.7. However, even when pressed with a short deadline, no subtitler wants to leave their viewers without the opportunity to understand the material he or she has translated. Subtitlers, at least most of them, want to do a good job, but they are left on their own because their viewers are not studied properly. Subtitlers can't make judgements about how to treat ECs in their translations based on internet forums on subtitling or about what they hear from their friends. For instance, a subtitler may quite safely assume that the term Facebook is now, in 2011, well known to anyone,

and that it doesn't require any intervention⁷⁰, but some more culturally specific items always leave a question mark.

One may conclude that a subtitler is always wrong up to a point, since, as is has been seen in this chapter, not all viewers are familiar with the same item. If only one viewer is familiar with the item, and the rest are not, in case of a paraphrase of the item for instance, that viewer may be frustrated since they may perceive the translation to be inadequate, for instance in the case of translating *pub* as *gostionica*, which has already been explained in this study (see Section 1.4.1). The subtitler will never satisfy needs of all viewers, however, a general picture about the target viewer would help tremendously in the subtitling decision making process. The general conclusion about this issue would be that the more subtitlers know about their viewers, the better the translation.

7 Results and Analysis, the second part of the questionnaire

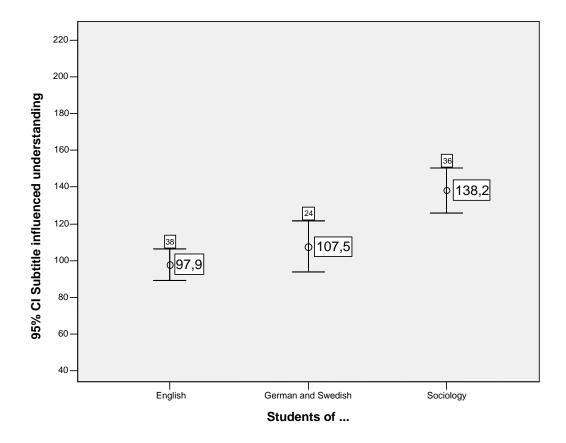
7.1. Descriptives

The descriptive chart of general results can be seen in detail in Material 4. The influence of subtitle on the understanding of the scene was the least important for group 1 (students of English), group 2 (students of German and Swedish) is in the middle, while the students of Sociology (group 3) relied most on the subtitle as it can be seen in the following figure:

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⁷⁰ "Intervention" means a significant move from the original, a paraphrase or cultural substitution which completely "removes" the original from the translation.

Figure 4 – The influence of subtitle on understanding



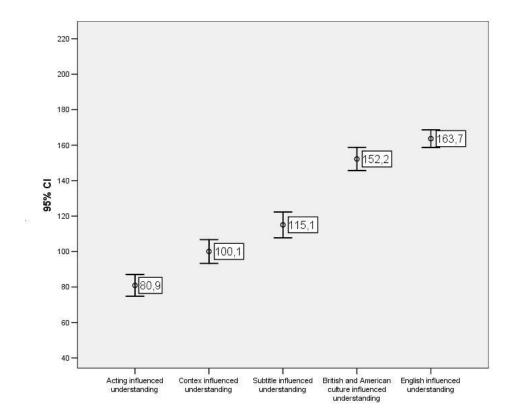
As far as context is concerned, group 3 relied most on it, while for the other two groups, the context of the scene is not very significant. This surely has to do with the way of thinking pertinent for students of Sociology, the way they were taught to think analytically. It also has to do with the level of English, lower level of English means greater reliance on the context and subtitle, since their level of English is lower than that of the students of English. This is a statistical proof for the need for greater duration of subtitles the lower the level of English. Although these participants are rather homogenous as a group, even this difference shows the need for two-liners to last for at least six seconds in the case, for instance, Latin American soap operas, and vice versa, that it is enough to hold a two-liner for four

seconds on the screen when subtitling a programme targeted at an audience with a higher level of English. The influence of the knowledge the English language is what, according to their perception, the participants relied on the most, and all groups claim they relied heavily on their knowledge of language. It will be rather interesting to see the correlations between (in)correct answers in the first part of the questionnaire and each particular answer in which the participants claim they mostly relied on their knowledge of English. It is not only students of English who think that, but also students of German and Swedish, as well as Sociology.

Furthermore, a more detailed analysis of each particular answer will shed a better light on when exactly the participants of the survey relied on their knowledge of English, and in which video-clips the knowledge of English was not of big help. All three groups don't think that acting is very important for the understanding of the scene, and context as well. As regards the general descriptives of what influenced understanding the most, for all three groups, this is the order of relevance, from the most important, to the least important one:

- English
- Culture
- Subtitle
- Context
- Acting

Figure 5 – The order of relevance



The reasons for this order are multiple. Students who believe they have high level of English are likely to say that their knowledge of English has helped them the most. It is rather popular even among those who barely speak any English to put in their resume that they "speak" the language. The most tragic examples can be found among politicians in Croatia who will by default say that they speak at least one language and the reality, sadly, happens to be quite the opposite. The currently extremely unpopular prime minister of the Republic of Croatia, Ms. Jadranka Kosor, was ridiculed on a number of occasions for her poor English, especially after her "action" in the summer of 2010 when she was welcoming tourists arriving in Croatia at a motorway toll near Zagreb. She wanted to welcome a group of Hungarian tourists by saying that she had visited Hungary the day before and what

she said was: "I was there day after yesterday", with a very strong accent. Although many of those who ridiculed her can't produce much better sentences, it was interesting to see how much this lack of knowledge of English was held against her, since English is obviously considered to be almost a part of general literacy and it appears to be rather necessary for a politician to speak it. It is therefore highly unlikely that a student who can speak relatively decent English, especially a student of English, would admit that the knowledge of English didn't help much for the overall understanding.

Another interesting point that arises from this descriptive is that the knowledge of British and American culture immediately follows the knowledge of English as the second most important reason for the understanding of the video. It is apparent that the knowledge of culture is closely connected to the knowledge of language as regards perception, or the way people feel about it. The cultural turn in Translation Studies from the 1980s (Snell-Hornby 2006:47-67) was welcome and necessary, and findings such as this one show that the changes which occurred in that period were justified, namely, translations started to be studied as a part of culture, translation scholars realized that translations are not *only* about the language, but also about culture. It became clear that it is important to study translation as a part of culture, or as rendering of culture. Translation scholars and AVT scholars today are aware of that.

The participants of this survey don't see a great difference between language and culture and this is why the items chosen for examination in this survey were not only ECs (elements of culture, mostly culturally specific), but also elements of language (ELs). It will be interesting to see, in further correlation results, in which particular instances subtitles helped the participants the most, especially when compared with the first part of the questionnaire, in examples in which subtitles don't provide proper translation, such as in the clip in which *M.I.T.* is "translated" only as *M.I.T.*, or when parts of translation were omitted given the temporal and spatial constraints of subtitling.

It is interesting to note that non-verbal communication, acting, and context, didn't play a great role in the general understanding of the videos. It is hard to talk about subtitling without talking about the picture, the sound, non-verbal communication, as well as context. Although, subtitling comes through a "polysemiotic medium" (Pedersen 2010:68), the results of this survey show that not

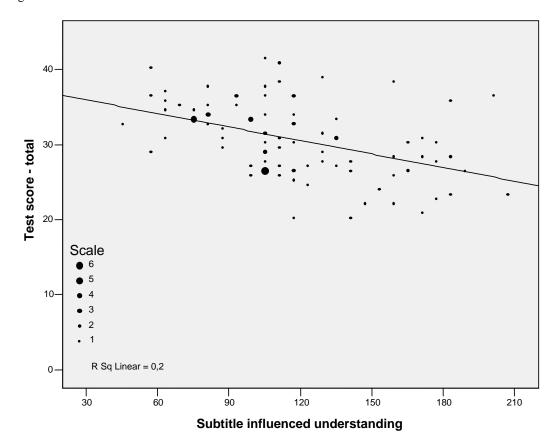
all elements of the medium equally important. Furthermore, AVT scholars point out the fact that the message in subtitling is conveyed through several channels or layers (Gottlieb 2000, Díaz Cintas and Remael 2007), although it is interesting to see that these results show that viewers perceive their knowledge of language and culture, and the meaning rendered in the subtitle, as crucial for understanding. There are several possible reasons for that. The viewer is faced with "polysemiotic" (Pedersen 2010:68) AVT content and their attention is dispersed on these different elements. It is impossible to devote the same amount of attention to all of them and the viewer will concentrate on the elements that are most logical or most apparent to them, or the ones which help the most. One also has to keep in mind that a twoliner appears on the screen for four to six, or at most seven, seconds (see Material 1), and there is no time to devote much attention to other elements of the moving picture. This is why subtitlers should pay special attention to subtitling films, which are very "visual". There is AVT content, in which visuals comes to the fore, in for instance Out of Africa (1985), "Moja Afrika" in Croatian. In that particular film, the visuals are often followed by off-screen narration rendered by Meryl Streep's character and the subtitler should be aware not to "put too much" in a subtitle, while at the same time exposing the beauty of the narration, putting it to the fore. If the subtitler burdens the subtitles with too much text, the viewer doesn't have time to concentrate on the visual. On the other hand, when a film, or very often TV-series, is not very much focused on the visual, when dialogue exchanges are most important, which is often the case in fact-paced legal dramas such as The Practice (1997-2004), "Pravda za sve" in Croatian, the subtitler can "expand" the subtitles so to speak, insert more text.

These descriptives show the general tendency, although it is necessary to see what correlations show as regards each item and compare the first and the second part of the questionnaire.

7.2. Correlation test

The general correlation test that shows which of the five elements influenced understanding the most has shown that the higher the score of the participant, the less they relied on the subtitle, according to the general test (see Material 5 and the following figure).

Figure 6 – The relevance of subtitle



This result shows the perception of the participants as it was expected given the level of the participants' level of English. This general picture elicits the importance of subtitles as a reading form. As regards the subtitle and the general correlation result, it is also important to take into consideration the general perception of speakers of English in Croatia that they don't need subtitles and that subtitles are sometimes of such a poor quality that they can't depend on them. Since the general level of English, not to mention other languages in which subtitled programmes are broadcast on Croatian TV channels, is not very high, the conclusion of this correlation test is that viewers rely on subtitles and that the information they receive through subtitles is rather important for their understanding of foreign cultures, of British and American culture, in this case.

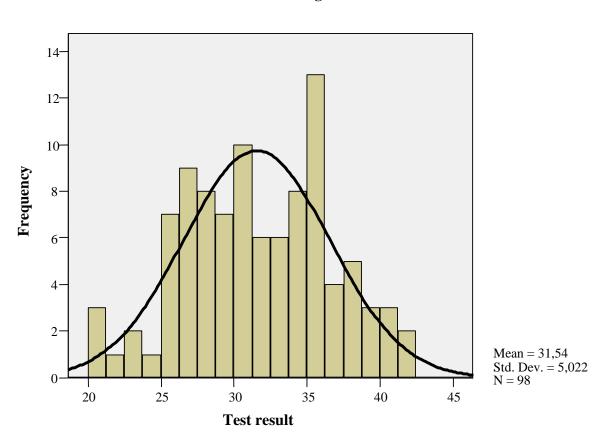
It would therefore be necessary to expand this research, provided funding is within reach, and correlate these findings with the findings of a research conducted on a representative sample of the general population. This survey aims at providing a model for the research of the perception of culture and it should show general tendency.

7.3. T-test (incorrect, correct)

The participants' answers were further analysed with respect to whether they answered correctly to the questions asked in the first part of the questionnaire, i.e., into *netočno* (incorrect) and *točno* (correct). Figure 7 shows the general frequency of correct answers in the first part of the questionnaire:

Figure 7 – Test result





The aim was to investigate the degree of influence of each of the five elements: *titl* (subtitle), *scena* (scene), *acting* (gluma), *jezik* (language) and *culture* (for detailed explanation of the categories, go back to Section 5.2., for complete questionnaire

see Material 2). Each item was analysed separately, regarding the statistically significant variables, those in which "p" is lower than .05. If the "p" value is lower than .05 (point zero five) it means the results can potentially be generalized for the whole population. (The detailed statistical analyses carried out in the SPSS⁷¹ programme for statistical analysis can be found in Material 6). What follows is a detailed analysis of all items used in the questionnaire.

7.3.1 *Army brat*

The statistically significant difference between the two groups as regards this item is only valid for variable 3 (acting). The participants who answered incorrectly in the first part of the questionnaire, relied on acting for general understanding significantly more than those who answered correctly, giving it a mean value of 2.35 (out of 5), which is significantly more than those who answered correctly (1.90). What is interesting is that both groups relied on all other aspects for the understanding of the video-clip, on all of the other variables. The character in this video-clip makes various facial expression, although this finding is rather unexpected since the connection between facial expressions and the meaning of the item *army brat* is not clear, which brings to the conclusion that viewers rely on non-verbal expressions more when they don't know the meaning of an EC or EL if compared to the situation when the meaning is clear. The groups will be called "incorrects" and "corrects" depending on the answers they provided in the first part of the questionnaire from this point on.

7.3.2 *Chip shop*

In this case, the statistically significant difference is found in three variables: *subtitle, language* and *culture*. The most significant difference is found in the variable of subtitle, where the "incorrect" group gave it a high mean value of 4.11. It is also interesting to note that in the "correct" group the variable of *language* was given a high mean value of 3.73, which means that this group relied primarily on their knowledge of language and the subtitle for the understanding of the video-clip,

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⁷¹ http://www-01.ibm.com/software/analytics/spss/?pgel=ibmhzn&cm_re=masthead-_-products-_sw-spss. (Date of access: May 27, 2011).

followed by the variable of *culture*, which has already been described as closely connected to the variable of *language* in the first part of the analysis (see Chapter 6).

7.3.3 Tea

The same variables are relevant as in the previous item and the mean value for the variable *subtitle* is 4.36 for the "incorrects" which again confirms a high reliance on a subtitle for the perception of the whole content. This group also relied far lees on the variables of *language* and *culture*, which follows the patterns shown in the previous example.

7.3.4 Juvenile detention center

This item shows the same pattern as the previous two with an interesting difference in the variable of *language*. Those participants who answered correctly to the question in the first part of the questionnaire gave a high mean value of 4.5 to this variable, which shows that they mostly relied on their knowledge of English for the understanding of this item, while the subtitle received a mean value of 2.41 in this group, which demonstrates that it was relatively important to them. However, the mean value of *subtitle* for the "incorrects" is 3.55. Since the value of 3 is neutral, it means that the participants couldn't asses how much a variable influenced their understanding (see Material 2), the value of 3.55 means that many of the "incorrect" participants couldn't asses the degree to which it was the *subtitle* that influenced understanding of this item.

7.3.5 To arraign

The statistically significant difference for this item is noticed in the categories of *subtitle, acting and language* between the "incorrects" and "corrects". The first group assigned a mean value of 2.11 to the category of acting, which is not very high if the general correlation is taken into consideration. However, the "corrects" relied on that category in a much lower extent, assigning it only the value of 1.64.

The "incorrects" assigned the highest value to the variable of subtitle, while the former group assigned it to the variable of *language*.

7.3.6 Bail

As regards this item, it is only the variable of *language* which is statistically significant. The "corrects" assigned it a high mean value of 4.45. It is interesting to note that the "incorrects" relied on the same variable the most, as well as on the category of *culture*, putting the subtitle in the third place. The pattern established in the previous item does not apply to this EL.

7.3.7 Mortgage

This follows the pattern established in some of the previous items. Statistically significant difference is found in the categories of *subtitle*, *language* and *culture*. The "corrects" assigned a mean value of more than four (4.59) to the variable of *language*, which is followed by culture (3.67) and subtitle (3.61). The most important variable for the latter group is *subtitle* (3.61), but it is also followed by language (3.22), which shows that most participants who didn't know the correct answer in the first part of the questionnaire, understood the meaning of the item once they have seen the subtitle, which helped them the most for the understanding of the video-clip. They also couldn't assess the degree to which language helped them to understand the item.

7.3.8 Cod

The statistically significant aspects of viewers' evaluation here were *subtitle* and *language*. The viewers who answered the question incorrectly in the first part of the questionnaire relied more on the subtitles, an average value of 4.00 was assigned to it. The "corrects" relied more on their knowledge of language, giving it the value of 3.75 out of 5. This is expected when it comes to translations of species, since there are few other elements of a film or TV series, or a documentary, which may clarify the meaning if the viewer doesn't know what the item means, apart from the subtitle.

7.3.9 *People*

According to the statistical analysis, none of the five elements is significant for the understanding of this item when the participants of the survey are divided into the groups of "corrects" and the "incorrects". All the elements were assigned roughly the same value ranging from 1.97 to 3.74. It is possible that all five elements influenced understanding to the same degree, although it strikes as interesting that the influence of the knowledge of the English language was given a mean value of 3.68 by those participants in the survey who answered the question incorrectly in the first part of the questionnaire, which is the same mean value given by those who answered the question correctly. The reason is the number of meanings of this item. The "incorrects" apparently didn't understand the meaning even after they have seen the video with subtitles.

7.3.10 Criminal guy

The statistically significant variables here were again the *subtitle*, *language* and *culture*. Again the same pattern applies as in some of the previous items. The "incorrects" relied significantly more on the subtitle, while the "corrects" relied more their knowledge of language, giving it a mean value of 4.03, as well as to the knowledge of culture (3.88). This item as well shows the perception of language as a part of culture, since both variables have roughly the same value in the "corrects" group.

7.3.11 Grand Jury

The statistically significant variables were the *scene*, *acting* and *language*. The most interesting find is the reliance on *acting* in the "incorrects" group, with a mean value of 1.59, which means that most of them assigned the value of 2 (it influenced a little) to it, while this is the only video-clip in which there is no acting whatsoever. However, since the context was rather barren in this video-clip, there was no dialogue, only an inscription *Grand Jury* on a building, translated in the subtitle in capital letters as *Istražni sud*, it was expected that the "incorrects" would mostly

rely on the subtitle for the understanding of this item or that they wouldn't be able to assess it (a mean value of 3.56), while it is noticeable that both groups mostly couldn't asses what influenced their understanding of the term; the values are mostly closer to 3 which means "I can't assess", apart from the aspect of *acting*. The "corrects" said they didn't rely on acting whatsoever, while the "incorrects" slightly relied on it.

7.3.12 Beat-up

It is the *subtitle*, *scene* and *acting* that are statistically significant as regards the difference in the perception of this item between the two groups in which we have divided the participants in this part of analysis, the "corrects", and the "incorrects". The "incorrects" relied significantly more on the subtitle, giving it a mean value of 3.80. It has already been noticed, and the perception of this item also shows it, that, those viewers who don't understand the item in question also rely on the scene and acting for the understanding, namely they *perceive* these two variables as important to at least some degree for the general understanding of the video-clip. The "corrects" assigned the mean value of 4.27 to the variable of *language*, namely they perceive that their knowledge of the English language helped them the most for the understanding of this EL (element of language).

7.3.13 Tyre jack

This item, an EL, brings an interesting find. All five variables are statistically significant. However, the biggest differences are in the perception of the variables *subtitle* and *language*. The "incorrects" assigned a mean value of 4.31 to the influence of subtitle for their understanding of the term *tyre jack*, while the "corrects" assigned a mean of 4.02 to the aspect of language. The perception of this item shows most clearly so far how much a viewer relies on the subtitle if they don't know the meaning of an item. The context of the scene helped little to both groups, especially to the "corrects", since it is difficult to understand from the context what is being discussed. It is not even completely clear that the dialogue is about cars. The sentence is: *When did you loan Jacob your tyre jack? I'm just wondering why a beat-up old Chevy has a tyre jack from 94*.

7.3.14 "94"

It is again the *subtitle*, *language* and *culture* that are statistically the most significant as regards the differences between these two groups. The "incorrects" perceive the subtitle as the most significant for the understanding of the video-clip. The value they assign to it is 4.39. As regards *language* and *scene*, the difference is that most "corrects" couldn't assess the degree to which these two variables helped them (3.10 and 3.42), while the "incorrects" are mostly sure that they didn't help them. The "corrects" are obviously not very sure which of the variables helped them most.

7.3.15 Fatso

It is again the variable of *subtitle* that is significant, but also *acting* and *language*. The mean value assigned to the variable of *subtitle* by the "incorrects" is 4.00, while the one assigned to the variable of *language* by the "corrects" is 4.54 and the difference is most significant there. This is a continuation of the pattern that has already been noticed. However, as regards the variable of *acting*, one notices that the "corrects" perceive it as of little influence on the understanding of the videoclip, while the "incorrects" mostly can't assess the degree of the influence of acting.

7.3.16 Founding father

All variables, apart from *acting*, carry different levels of importance for the understanding of the video clip. The "corrects" relied mostly on their knowledge of the language and culture for the understanding of the video-clip (the mean values are 4.31 and 4.14 respectively). This shows that language is again perceived as a part of culture, especially if an EC is in question. The "incorrects" relied mostly on the subtitle, which is also continuation of the already established pattern.

7.3.17 Finders-keepers

None of the five variables is found to be statistically significant as regards the differences in perception of the degree to which they influenced understanding if the participants of the survey are divided into these two groups, the "corrects" and the "incorrects". However, the *T-test* has shown that both groups consider their knowledge of the English language as crucial for the understanding of this item giving it a mean value of 5.00 (the "incorrects") and 4.61 (the "corrects"). Furthermore, what is crucial here is the number of incorrect answers: one, therefore the comparison between the two groups is irrelevant in this instance. Almost all participants relied on the their knowledge of English for the understanding of this item, followed by their knowledge of culture, although it is not clear how this item is connected to culture. This demonstrates, again, that variables of *language* and *culture* are almost synonymous to the participants of the survey, even when an item is EL and not EC. It should also be noted that the *subtitle* was the least significant variable to the "corrects" for the understanding of the video-clip.

7.3.18 Federal Reserve

Unlike in the previous item, all variables but *acting* are relevant for the understanding of this item. Since this is an EC, one recognizes an already established pattern here as well. The most significant variables for the understanding of this item are *language* and *culture* for the "corrects", while the incorrects relied mostly on the *subtitle*. This pattern also demonstrates that the participants were honest in their assessment of what helped them the most: the last two variables, *language* and *culture*, were given an average mean value of around three by the "incorrects" (3 = I can't assess).

7.3.19 Federal offence

This item follows the same pattern as the previous one, all variables are significant, but *acting*, and the values are almost the same as for the previous item, which is also an EC. It is possible, however, that the participants assessed these two items

almost the same because they were a part of the same video-clip. However, the answers follow a pattern and there is regularity in the consistency of answers.

7.3.20 M.I.T.

This item shows an interesting find: the only statistically relevant difference between the two groups is connected to the variable of *culture*. This is an EC, and the "corrects" relied mostly on their knowledge of culture for the understanding of it. One should also note the strategy used in the translation of this item: the item was kept in its original form in the subtitle. Most "incorrects" couldn't say whether their knowledge of language and culture helped them and they were sure that the subtitle, scene and acting didn't help them. This find sheds an interesting light on the problem of the translation of abbreviations in subtitles. In this instance, paraphrase might have been a better strategy to apply, since it is obvious that many viewers are left in the unknown as regards what this EC means because it is not translated. Given the fact that all participants in the survey have at least basic knowledge of English, the conclusion is that the strategy used in the translation of this item is wrong and that it would have been better to replace it with an item such as *fakultet* (college, university) or explicitate it ("*fakultet/sveučilište* M.I.T.").

7.3.21 Fingers to the bone

Before a comparison is made for this item, it should be pointed out that more than 80% of the participants answered correctly to the respective question in the first part of the questionnaire. The statistically significant difference was established in almost all categories, apart from *culture* and *acting*. The latter one just falls short of the margin of statistical significance. As an EL, this item is not perceived as being a part of culture. The "incorrects" again relied mostly on the *subtitle* for the understanding of the video-clip, while the "corrects" relied on the variable of *language*, and this also follows the already established pattern.

7.3.22 School

It is again the *subtitle*, *language* and *culture* where statistical differences are the most significant as regards the understanding of the video-clip when the two groups are compared. The "corrects" relied more on the subtitle, while the "corrects" relied on language (4.08) and culture (3.70). This item was classified as an intermediate EC as regards expectancy. However, the survey has shown that this item is one of the most complex ECs since as many as 62% of the participants didn't know the correct meaning of this item (see section 6.2.1.42).

7.3.23 Bum

It is the variables of *subtitle* and *language* in which the statistically significant difference is found between the two groups. The "incorrects" either couldn't assess the influence of the subtitle or they think it was relevant (the mean value is 3.50). However, one should note that only six participants of the survey failed to answer this question correctly in the first part of the questionnaire, which makes this item a simple EL as regards expectancy. For the "corrects", it is *language* (4.42) and *culture* (3.63) that are the most significant for the understanding of the video clip. It should also be stressed that there is a clearer distinction as regards ELs between the variables of *language* and *culture* (4.32 vs. 3.63). In the case of ELs, the difference in perception of *language* and *culture* as two different categories in more obvious.

7.3.24 "50 K"

This item, a simple EL both as regards expectancy and perception, follows the predominant pattern: *subtitle*, *language* and *culture* show statistical difference. The 11 "incorrects" relied mostly on subtitle for the understanding of the item, while the "corrects" perceive their knowledge of language (4.31) and culture (3.93) as most significant for the understanding of the term.

7.3.25 Betty Ford

For the understanding of this EC, the most relevant variables, which show statistical significance between the two groups, are the subtitle, language and culture, which is the continuation of the already established pattern especially applicable to ECs. This item is also the first one in which a higher value was given to the variable of culture (4.36 by the "corrects") and it is followed by language (3.62) by the same group). This is understandable since it is the knowledge of American culture that helps the most as regards the understanding of culture-specific items. The "incorrects" relied mostly on the subtitle (4.40), which is also a signal to the subtitler that the degree of familiarity of the item should determine the strategy of translation. This item is explicitated, it is translated as klinika Betty Ford and it is obvious that this strategy enabled those who didn't know what the item meant the most, it enabled understanding. However, this strategy is not particularly popular among subtitlers given all the temporal and spatial constraints of subtitling, but it also points to the fact that it is rather necessary: if almost half of the Englishspeaking participants of the survey were not familiar were this item, this suggests that this percentage is higher among the general TV audience, or an average viewer⁷². The translation of this item also shows how instant decisions made by subtitlers may influence the general understanding of the subtitled, in this instance, film.

7.3.26 To order out

All variables apart from acting show statistically significant difference between the two groups. The "corrects" relied mostly on their knowledge of the English language (the mean value is 4.56), followed by the variable of culture (3.76). Since this item is an EL, the value ascribed to the latter variable is lower than then the one to the former, unlike in the previous item, which shows that ELs are perceived as being slightly less homogenous when it comes to the perception of language and

.

⁷² An "average viewer" is in a way an imaginary category. Since there are no studies of viewers, at least not in Croatia, subtitlers use their own intuition when it comes to imagining who an average viewer may be. Sometimes that is easy: for instance in the case of translating a TV programme for children, while sometimes it is not that easy: for instance in the case of a film classic broadcast after the central news programme, in prime time.

culture as one and the same thing. In ELs, the variable of culture is less relied on than in ECs. The incorrects relied mostly on the variable of *subtitle*, which is expected. As regards the context of the scene, the "incorrects" couldn't asses its importance, while the "corrects" perceived it to be of little or no relevance for the understanding of the video-clip.

7.3.27 To concoct

The statistically significant difference between the two groups is again found in the variables of *subtitle*, *language* and *culture*. The difference between the reliance on *language* and *culture* for the "corrects" is even more distinct here than in the previous item, 4.14 for the *language* and 2.96 for *culture*, which demonstrates that this group couldn't asses the degree to which *culture* influenced understanding. Since this item is an EL, this find is no surprise and it again shows viewers' tendency to connect *language* and *culture*, but primarily for ECs, while this connection is significantly looser for ELs or there is no connection at all. The "incorrects" relied mostly on the *subtitle*, which is expected, while most other variables are given the value of around three, which means that most participants who fall in this group couldn't asses the degree to which other variables influenced understanding.

7.3.28 Brain-breaker

The same as the previous item, this item is a simple EL as regards the analysis of the first part of the questionnaire. Only 13 participants of the survey didn't know the correct answer, while for the previous item the number is 14. The statistically significant difference is found in the variables of *subtitle* and *language*. There is no significant difference between the two groups as regards the variable of *culture*. The "corrects" couldn't assess the influence of it as in the previous item, while the "incorrects" were also very close to the mean value of three, "I couldn't assess", (2.69). It is again *language* that influenced understanding the most for the "corrects" (4.40) and the *subtitle* to the "incorrects" (3.92).

7.3.29 Everyman

The comparison between the two groups is not relevant for this item since it is a simple EL as regards the frequency of correct answers. Only three participants of the survey answered the respective question in the first part of the questionnaire incorrectly. "The corrects", which is most of the participants of the survey regarding this item, relied primarily on their knowledge of the English language, while the three "incorrects" either couldn't assess the degree to which each of the variables influenced understanding, for instance the *subtitle* and *language*, or they couldn't assess it for all other variables.

7.3.30 American Dream

In none of the five variables is there a statistically significant difference between the two groups. Both groups relied heavily on their knowledge of British and American culture, which demonstrates that viewers may have a wrong idea about ECs they consider familiar. As many as 28 participants of the survey failed to answer correctly to the question about the meaning of this item, obviously failing to recognize that since the item is translated literally into Croatian, as *američki san*. Moreover, the participants were not provided with an explanation, an explicitation or paraphrase, of the meaning in the subtitle. This item sends a worrying signal to a subtitler who doesn't have enough space to explicitate or paraphrase the item in their translation. Even when a translation is correct, such as in this case, it doesn't mean that it is the best possible choice.

7.3.31 To make getaway

There are no statistically significant differences between the two groups as regards the perception of the importance of the five variables (*subtitle, scene, acting, language* and *culture*) for the understanding of this item. It should also be noted that frequency-wise, this is a simple EL, and this already points to the fact that there are differences as regards the perception of the importance of the five variables depending on whether an item is an EL or an EC. The five "incorrects" assigned almost the same value as the other group (4.00 vs. 4.39) to the variable of *language*

which shows that they were either unaware of the fact that they failed to provide the correct answer in the first part of the questionnaire or they were not ready to admit that they were wrong.

7.3.32 Subway

Since only two participants of the survey answered the respective question in the first part of the questionnaire incorrectly, this is a simple EL both as regards the expectancy and the frequency of correct answers in the first part of the questionnaire. The two "incorrects" relied mostly on the subtitle, while the 96 "corrects" relied mostly on their knowledge of the English language (4.66) and the American culture (4.19).

7.3.33 *Union Army*

Since this item is an EC, a simple one according to the frequency of correct answers, the already established predominant pattern is repeated here as well: it is the variables of *subtitle*, *language* and *culture* that show statistical significance between the two groups. While the "incorrects" relied mostly on the subtitle, as in many previous items, the "corrects" relied on the variables of *language* and *culture*, *culture* is given precedence over *language*: the mean value for the former is 4.35 and for the latter it is 3.66. This is roughly the same result as in the item of *Betty Ford* (see Section 7.3.25), and that points to a certain regularity as regards the perception of the ECs that are entirely culturally specific. The "corrects" relied mostly on their knowledge of British and American culture when they classified the five variables according to their importance for the understanding of the videos.

7.3.34 Uncle Tom

This EC, unknown to more than half of the participants of the survey (57 out of 98) is consistent with the previous item in the sense that it is again the variable of *culture* which is given the highest mean value by the "corrects" (4.15). Most participants who fall into this group couldn't asses how much it was their knowledge of English that influenced understanding the most, since the mean value

is 3.02, unlike for the "incorrects" who think that their knowledge of English helped them slightly (2.28). What is striking is almost the same value of a little more than 1.70 assigned to the value of the *subtitle* by both groups, which again points to the conclusion that the "incorrects" were either not aware that they were wrong in the first part of the questionnaire or that they were not ready to admit it.

However, what they are provided with in the subtitle is the Croatian version of "Uncle Tom", which is "Čiča Tom", and they are asked who Uncle Tom was (see the questionnaire in Material 2, part 1). This brings to the conclusion that they were not aware they had been wrong in the first part of the questionnaire and it also points to a serious limitation of subtitling: the viewer unfamiliar with such an EC is left without explanations as regards the actual meaning of the sentence which is ridden with cultural content. The sentence is: "He was Jewish Uncle Tom" and that means that the direct translation into Croatian in the subtitle: "On je bio židovski Čiča Tom", which obviously doesn't help to those unfamiliar with the meaning of this item. The result also shows that viewers can't rely on other elements of the video very much, such as the context of the scene or acting, since these can't reveal the meaning. In such an instance where a literary translator might resort to a footnote, the subtitler has no other option but to continue subtitling and hope that the translation they provided is relatively clear to their viewers, or that it will become clear at some other point in the film. However, these items are usually left unexplained.

7.3.35 The Garden

This EC, as expected, shows a statistically significant difference between the two groups as regards the variables of *subtitle* and *culture*. As regards the variable of *culture*, for the "corrects" it was statistically the most significant (4.29), while the "incorrects" couldn't asses its importance (3.25). The "corrects" couldn't asses the influence of *language*, as well as the "incorrects". The "incorrects" couldn't asses the influence of *subtitle* on the understanding of the video (2.90) although the *The Garden* was explicitated in the subtitle: its full form was used, *Madison Square Garden*. Even that wasn't enough and it didn't help much to those participants of the survey who didn't know what *The Garden* was.

7.3.36 Honest Abe

It is again the *subtitle* and *culture* that show statistically significant difference, but this time it is not *language*, but *acting* that is significant as well. As regards *acting*, the difference is only relevant in the sense that the "incorrects" couldn't asses its importance, while the "corrects" said it had little or no influence on the understanding on the video. Both groups couldn't say how much they relied on *language*, which is close to the result in several, previously explained culturally specific ECs, such as the previous one. The same as in the previous EC, *The Garden*, the direct translation: "Pošteni Abe" didn't help the viewers who didn't know that this was the nickname used for the American president Abraham Lincoln, and, as in the previous item, the "incorrects" couldn't say how much it was the subtitle that helped them to understand the video. This suggests that the strategy used in the translation of this item is, at least partially, wrong, and that it would have been better if it were replaced with its full form: Abraham Lincoln. This find again highlights the importance of decisions made by subtitlers (see Sections 3.6. and 3.7.).

7.3.37 Civil War

This simple EC is not particularly relevant for the comparison of the two groups since the number of incorrect answers was only two. It is interesting, however, that those two as well relied mostly on their knowledge of language and culture, at least that was how they perceived it, for the understanding of the video, the same as the 96 participants who answered the respective question in the first part of the questionnaire correctly.

7.3.38 Trust fund

There are no statistically significant differences for any of the variables as regards the differences between the two groups, the "corrects" and the "incorrects" for this item. It is also important to stress that only five participants answered the respective question incorrectly in the first part of the questionnaire. The "corrects" relied mostly on the subtitle for the understanding of the video (the mean value is 4.22),

while all other variables were of little or no significance, for instance the "corrects" didn't rely on the variable of *acting* at all and they couldn't assess the influence of the variable of *culture*.

7.3.39 Custodian

This item shows a different result, since all variables point to the statistically significant difference between the two groups, apart from *acting*. The "incorrects" relied mostly on the *subtitle* for the understanding of the video (the mean value is 4.35), while the "corrects" relied mostly on their knowledge of English (3.93) and they couldn't assess the influence of their knowledge of American culture (3.17). For the "incorrects", all other variables bear either no significance, such as *acting*, or little significance, such as *language*.

7.3.40 Cadillac

Since only a few participants, three of them, failed to answer the respective question incorrectly in the first part of the questionnaire, the comparison between these two groups is not that relevant for this item. "The corrects" relied mostly on their knowledge of language and culture, even more so on the latter one since this is an EC, while the three "incorrects" relied mostly on the subtitle, while other variables were either not assessable or they had little or no influence on the understanding of the video.

7.3.41 The Channel

Although this is a simple EC as regards the frequency of correct answers (88 out of 98), there are statistically significant differences between the two groups in the variables of *subtitle*, *language* and *culture*. It has already been noticed that the "corrects" relied mostly on their knowledge of language and culture (3.85 for the former and 4.27 for the latter), while the "incorrects" mostly relied on the *subtitle* to be able to understand the video. Since this is a documentary, it was expected that the variable of *acting* will get a low mean value from both groups. The variable of

acting had little influence on the understanding of the videos which came from feature films as well.

7.3.42 MP

There are statistically significant differences in all variables but *acting* for this item, which is again expected since this video-clip comes from a documentary, as well as the previous one, and it was given a low mean value by both groups. The "corrects" relied mostly on their knowledge of culture (4.08) and they either couldn't asses the influence of *language* or they thought it was an important aspect (3.54). The "incorrects" relied mostly on the subtitle, while all other variables had either little relevance (such as the *scene*) or they couldn't assess it (such as *culture*). It is also interesting to see that the "incorrects" tried to understand the meaning from the scene, while the "corrects" regarded it as irrelevant. This pattern has already been established, and it points to the conclusion that the "incorrects" rely more on the context than those viewers who already know the meaning of an item in the ST.

7.3.43 Britannia

It is only the variable of *culture* for which there is a statistically significant difference between the two groups. The "incorrects" either couldn't assess the influence of particular variables, such as *language*, or variables had little influence on the understanding of the video. It is important to note that the reference to the famous British song in ST is replaced with *Britanija* in the translation, while the question in the first part of the questionnaire referred to the source of this reference (see Material 2, part 1). The viewers are not given an explanation of the source in the subtitle and it remains unclear because of the nature of subtitling, because of the lack of space and time to add an explanation in particular⁷³. It is also interesting to see that 31 participants who knew the source of the reference couldn't assess the degree to which they relied on their knowledge of the English language (the mean value is 2.90) while most of them said that it was their knowledge of culture that

⁷³ Adding more information or paraphrase is even more difficult in documentaries (this item comes from a documentary), since the lack of space and time in subtitling is more drastic in this format and it may at times be quite challenging to decide what to omit from the subtitle.

helped them the most, although the mean value is not very high (3.58), which means that the number of those who couldn't assess the influence of this variable was also significant.

7.3.44 Pre-med

All variables show statistically significant differences between the two groups. The "corrects" relied mostly on their knowledge of language and culture, which is a pattern that has already been established, while the "incorrects" relied mostly on the subtitle for the understanding of this EC.

7.3.45 The conclusion about this T-test

The T-test is important for this study since it points to a pattern in the relevance of the studied elements for the perception of AVT, especially culture. Viewers who don't know the meaning of an item, especially if this item is a culturally specific EC, such as *Britannia* for instance, will rely mostly on the subtitle for the understanding of the respective scene. On the other hand, those who are familiar with culturally specific ECs will mostly rely on their knowledge of the English language and culture. It has also been established that these viewers give precedence to the variable of *culture* over the variable of *language* if an item is culturally specific. The items of language and culture are in some instances almost synonymous and the difference between them is perceived. Culturally specific ECs are less known to Croatian viewers; there is a difference in both expectancy and frequency between items such as the term *Union Army*, the term which is an element of American culture, but it is also known to more Croatian viewers than the term *Pre-med*.

Another important aspect comes through in the analysis of this T-test: the influence of subtitling strategies on the understanding of culture. When a viewer doesn't know what an EL or EC mean, and when the original is retained in translation, such as in the case of *M.I.T.*, the viewer is left without translation and that may have consequences for the understanding of the whole content. It is also apparent from this analysis that viewers who don't know the meaning of an item, rely slightly more on the context, especially when the subtitle is not clear enough or

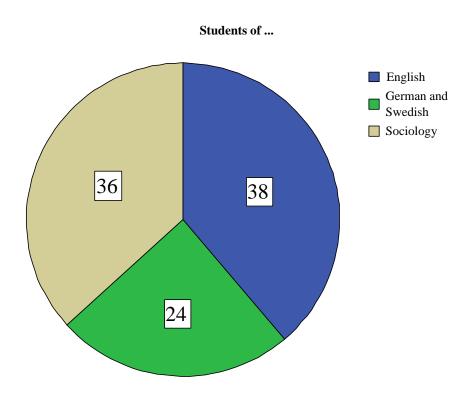
if no translation is provided in it. «The translator selects different strategies and assumes a certain knowledge and cognitive frames in the viewers. Effectiveness, in term of pragmatics, means that the greater the viewers' processing effort, the lower is the relevance of the translation» (Gambier 2005:5). This is particularly visible in non-translated ECs, some of which leave viewers struggling to grasp the meaning from the context of the scene (see 7.4.).

This T-test shows that there are significant differences in the perception of subtitled British and American TV programmes between those viewers who know specific items and those who don't. This find elicits the importance of the application of the Skopos Theory and the Model of Translatorial Action in the study of AVT (see Sections 2.2. and 2.3), of interlingual subtitling in particular, since if subtitlers knows who their viewer is and what the viewer knows, they can adjust the strategy of translation used in subtitling or apply general strategies for specific groups of viewers, for instance a subtitler can paraphrase more or resort to explicitation in such instances.

7. 4. The comparison between the three groups and the variables

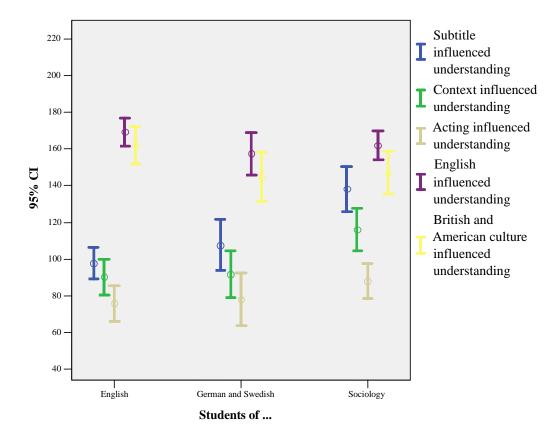
The participants of the survey were divided into three groups for this analysis in order to establish possible differences among them (for detailed statistical analysis see Material 7), as shown in Figure 8:

Figure 8 – The three groups



The first one is the control group, students of English (group 1). The second one is made up of students of German and Swedish (group 2), while the third one is made up of students of Sociology (group 3). The Anova test shows that, as regards the comparison among the three groups, it is only the variables of *subtitle* and *context*, which are statistically significant ($p \le .00$ and $p \le .01$). This test shows the homogeneity of the variance. It is used to check whether variations are equal and it is illustrated in the following figure.

Figure 9 – Homogeneity of the variance



The post-hoc test shows which groups may be differentiated as regards the perception of the importance of these variables on the understanding of the videoclips (see Material 7). The mean value for the reliance on the variable of *subtitle* is 97 (out of 220) for group 1, while for the other two groups it is 107 and 138 respectively. Since group 1 performed the best in the first part of the questionnaire, which was a sort of a test, the result is no surprise. The difference between Group 1 and Groups 2 and 3 is statistically significant, since $p \le .01$. This is also relatively consistent with the find established in the analysis of the first part of the questionnaire; since students from group 1 performed better than those from group 3. Group 2, which also consisted of language students, assessed the variable of *subtitle* as being slightly more important than group 1, while group 3 relied on it the most. This result points to the conclusion that the fewer viewers are familiar with SL (source language) and SC (source culture), the more they rely on subtitles as their primary source of information when watching subtitled TV-content.

Context is the most important for group 3, which is consistent with the find established in Section 7.2: the less a viewer is familiar with SC and SL, the more they try to rely on the context. Group 1 assessed the variable of *context* as of little relevance for their understanding of the video, since they relied more on their knowledge of English, as well as of British and American culture, followed by the information provided in the subtitle.

Other variables show no statistical significance as regards the assessment of the importance of the variables for the understanding of the video-clips. That means that all participants assess the importance of the variables of *language* and *culture* equally, as well as *acting*. However, this variable was perceived as relatively unimportant when compared with the other four variables. This means that acting has little influence on the understanding of a subtitled content, especially if the context is limited. It is possible that variables of *context* and *acting* would have been assessed as more important if a different approach was taken in the survey, for instance if only one film was played to the participants. However, this approach was abandoned since it was important to expose the participants to as many ELs and, especially, ECs as possible, from various contents and with various levels of expectancy (see Section 5.4. for more) and frequency (see Section 6.2.), in order to establish patterns of viewers' perception of culture through subtitles.

7.5. Gender

It has already been established in the analysis of the first part of the questionnaire that the survey was not gender-sensitive (see 6.3.1), but this find is connected to the first part of the questionnaire. According to the results, there were no statistically significant perceptual differences between the two genders (for more see Material 8). This means that there were no differences either as regards the knowledge of English or as regards the perception of the relevance of the five variables. However, one can speculate that a different selection of items, for instance if the items chosen were those more familiar to female viewers, or the opposite approach, the ones that are familiar to male viewers, for instance if 20% of the items were related to football, would show a different result.

During the selection of items, the idea of gender didn't even come to mind as being relevant. The idea was to compare items of different difficulty, complexity and familiarity, as expected by the subtitler, and to further compare that with the influence of subtitle on the perception of culture through experimental research. However, during the creation of the questionnaire, it became obvious to ask the participants to state their gender since this category might as well have been relevant, in particular as regards some variables. It is reassuring to learn, since this wasn't one of the hypotheses, that gender bears no relevance in AVT perception.

Gender-based experimental research in the perception of AVT is interesting. However, according to these results, a targeted selection of items for the questionnaire would produce predictable results. This research shows that a random selection of times, based on subtitler's expectancy, doesn't bear any relevance as regards the aspect of gender.

7.6. The influence of the years of learning of English

The more participants of the survey, the longer to be more precise, learned English at school, the more they relied on their knowledge of English for the understanding of the video-clips and their knowledge about British and American culture. The correlation values are .289** for *language* and .258* for culture (see Material 9 for details and the following two figures).

Figure 10 – Language correlation

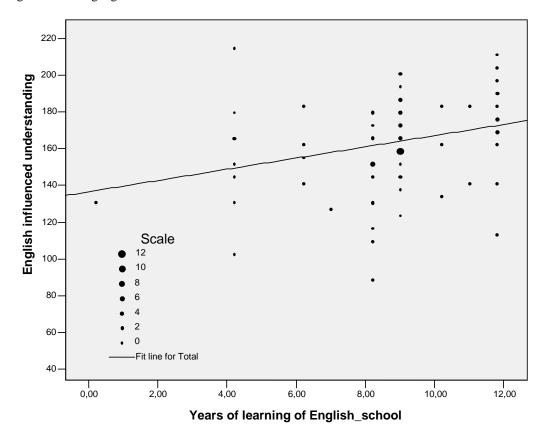
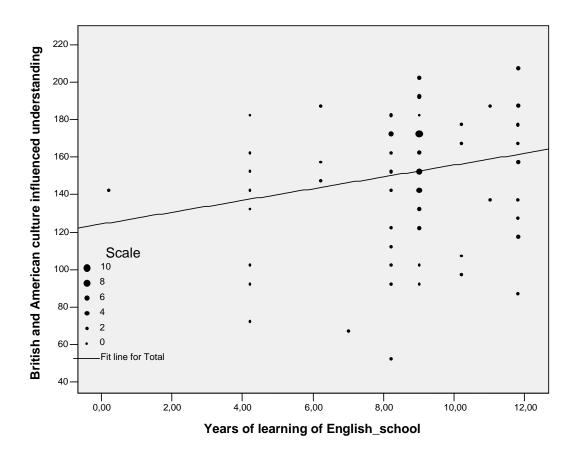


Figure 11 – Culture correlation



This brings to the conclusion that the more years were spent learning English at school, the more confident students feel about their reliance on these two variables and the less they depend on the subtitle for the understanding of the video clips. If this is the case, this means that the result of the survey conducted on a representative sample of the total population of Croatia would show that most people rely on subtitles for their understanding of the subtitled video content, in which the source language is mostly English, and this find is interesting since it shows that the importance of other elements of the video is not very significant. Acting, of which non-verbal communication is a part of, obviously doesn't play a very important role and the context either. When a reader is reading a translated book for instance, they can pause and think about what was written before and rely on the context a great deal. On the other hand, when a viewer is watching a subtitled film or an episode of a TV series for instance, there is no time to rely on the context that much since subtitles are, more or less constantly, popping up on the screen. This is why the way subtitles look, their graphic layout, and the tempo at which they appear and disappear on the screen, is very important. The looks of subtitles is important since "one of the most consistent and recurrent criticisms against subtitles has been directed towards the fact that they pollute the photography and distract our attention from what is going on in the image» (Díaz Cintas 2005a:6). Of course, it is not the only reason, especially if one takes a glance at some of the previous chapters of the study. This again demonstrates that the way subtitlers render ECs and ELs and the meaning as a whole, plays an important role in viewers' perception of culture.

7.6.1 British and American culture vs. universal culture

The question of the degree to which British and American culture are part of the universal culture, deserves some attention when discussing the results of the perception of culture. It is obvious from these finds that the participants of the survey see language and culture as almost synonymous in many instances, and that these aspects are key to understanding of the video clips, apart from the translation in the subtitle. However, one should distinguish between those elements of culture that are culture specific and those that are more general or universal. ELs can also be more general since some of them can function as borrowed lexemes in other languages, primarily in colloquial forms of expression. For instance the noun *e-mail* is an English word, but it is also used in Croatian, as well as in many other languages. On the other hand, there is a standard Croatian expression for *e-mail* and it is *e-pošta* or *elektronička pošta*, which is a formal expression and is hardly used at all.

Even with those ECs which are culture specific, for instance *Honest Abe*, and which are used in this survey, the question is not just their background and the fact that they stem from a certain culture, in this case American history, but also how much these elements of culture are seen as being exclusively American. For instance, it is not quite clear to what degree *Coca Cola* and *McDonald's* are seen as being exclusively American. Snell-Hornby (2000:12) quotes Barber (1992:53) who said that we live in "McWorld" (Barber 1992:53) It is a world in which American culture dominates, at least popular culture, and this dominating status is ensured by the fact that the medium of its spreading is the English language, spoken by many at

least in its very basic form, and by the fact that the American cinema is very influential in the world.

"Honest Abe" is for instance an EC which might be widely known only to Americans. However, there is the *The English Channel* (see 6.2.1.13), another item used in the questionnaire. This item has a wider context, or bears importance to other nations as well, to the French for sure, and it is the French term *La Manche* that is used in Croatian, or for instance the item *Cadillac* (see 6.2.1.4). Although in the context used in the questionnaire this item has a different meaning, it means the *pinnacle* or *the best of*, the original meaning, which stands for a car brand, is known worldwide, that car is driven worldwide, and the borderline between cultural specificity and non-specificity is rather blurry. *Civil War* (6.2.1.3) is a part of the American History, but in Croatia it is taught in history classes and at least basic facts about it are known to anyone who has finished primary school, which means virtually to all citizens of Croatia since primary school is obligatory. That is at least so in theory. This issue of cultural specificity deserves a special study. In any case, subtitlers should also consider that aspect in their everyday work⁷⁴.

8 Summary of the findings

8.1. Statistics and AVT research

This research would have been impossible without the use of statistics which is necessary to describe the way things are, to give concrete results, and enable the drawing of conclusions about assumptions and hypotheses if one wishes to understand viewers' perception. The aim of using statistics in this research was an attempt at creating a model for the study of viewer's perception of television subtitles, in particular the way ECs are perceived and of the role subtitles play in the general perception of subtitled TV content.

⁷⁴ For more on this, see Pedersen 2010.

8.1.1 Advantages of using this model in AVT research

The most obvious advantage of using statistics is that it moves researchers of AVT from the sphere of assuming how viewers perceive subtitles to actually knowing how they perceive them, backed by concrete numbers. By using concrete statistical data it is possible to test other aspects of viewers' perception of AVT, such as the way viewers perceive translation errors in subtitling and which errors disturb them the most. As regards culture, it is possible to test concrete aspects of it this way, for instance how viewers perceive specific subtitling strategies in the translation of historical ECs by means of substitution and to test whether this is a good approach or not, as well as some other strategies.

Culture can be viewed as an abstract term, but both Vermeer (see Section 1.4.) and especially Katan (see Section 1.4.1) have shown that the term culture is something concrete. It refers to everything from the way we eat, even how much we eat, what and how much we drink on the more basic side of things, to more philosophical questions about the way we treat history of our nation or the way we treat arts, our habits of going to the theatre, etc.

Although this model was tested on students, it is possible to draw conclusions about the relevance of subtitles for the perception of subtitled TV content and suggest general tendencies, as well as to test hypotheses posed in the beginning of the study.

8.1.2 Limitations of using this model

The question that was hovering throughout this study is whether it is possible to properly quantify perception of culture through subtitles. At the same time it was obvious that it would be impossible to draw any conclusions based on assumptions about the way things are without testing that experimentally. Limitations are mostly connected to the participants of the survey themselves. Although this research has shown, by comparing the first and second part of the questionnaire, that the participants of the survey were mostly honest in their answers and that the data is reliable, a different group of participants might have reacted with a significant lack of interest for such a survey which poses questions about the viability of such a survey outside academia. The survey itself was demanding for the participants,

since it required their full concentration for at least 75 minutes, which was the approximate duration of the survey per group. Given the fact that the participants were students who are used to being concentrated on lectures, seminars and exams, this wasn't a significant problem. However, it would be interesting to see how this model would work when tested on a representative sample of the population, for instance whether welders in a shipyard would be able to concentrate on such a survey, or whether they would wish to concentrate on it. They would probably have to be paid to participate which is another limitation since such a study involves funding. This statistical model for the study of viewers' perception of British and American culture is based on this preliminary research, which was analysed in previous chapters, and its full application would have to be tested with a wider, funded, research. Such a survey would take at least a year, if not more, to prepare and it remains to be seen if there are parties interested in funding it.

Another limitation is not just time, but the quantity of items tested. Although it was necessary to include as many items as possible to be able to establish if there are differences in the way various items are perceived by the viewers, in particular as regards the comparisons between what the subtitler expects and what viewers know and how they perceive subtitled TV content, the duration of the survey was rather long. If this experiment is conducted on a representative sample of the population, special attention should be paid to the number of items used.

8.2. The research question and hypotheses vs. research results

The main research question of this thesis was whether subtitles are important for the perception of culture in AVT content, especially for culture specific items, regardless of the level of English and knowledge of ST culture and to what degree subtitles are important for the perception of culture in relation to other elements of a video content. This question stems from the assumption that they are. The first part of the hypothesis is correct: subtitles are indeed important for the perception of culture and the strategy of translation of ECs used in them is not irrelevant. However, the second part of the assumption was proved to be wrong in the sense that the statistics shows the tendency of those viewers who are familiar with ECs

and ELs to less rely on subtitles and more on their knowledge of language and culture. What follows in the comparison of the hypotheses and research results.

8.2.1 Hypothesis 1

Even students of English won't know many of the items used in the empirical research, even those items that will be classified as more common or expected to be known to most.

The results show (see Section 6.3.1) that students of English were better in the first part of the questionnaire than students of the other two language groups and Sociology; however, they were not radically better than the other participants. Furthermore, this find is not as important as another find and that is the find discovered through general correlations (see Section 7.2., and Material 5) which says that the poorer the level of English, the more participants of the survey rely on the subtitle as their main source of information which shows the importance of subtitles as a reading form. This find also points to a general tendency which could be tested on a representative sample of the population: the lower the level of English, the higher the concentration of the viewer on the subtitle, which means that the subtitle then is the crucial information source about foreign cultures. This study deals with English, but given the fact that general knowledge of other languages such as German and French is even lower, it sheds a new light of the importance of subtitles, but also on the relationship of the subtitle with other elements that were tested, such as the importance of context, on which participants relied even less, or acting for that matter.

This study also shows that subtitler's expectancy about what viewers already know and what viewers actually know are often not synchronous, in many instances there is a discrepancy. This is one of the biggest problems in subtitling, from the subtitler's point of view. It is quite apparent that when subtitlers works on a subtitling project, they cannot conduct a research on viewer's preferences or even stop and think hard what to do with a certain element of culture given the fact that the time available for the completion of most subtitling projects is usually rather limited. However, this find points to the importance of extensive study of viewers, of their habits and their needs, even preferences. For instance, subtitlers don't know if they are subtitling a film about British youth in which the term *A-level* appears,

whether it would be better to retain that meaning in the translation or to replace it with something Croatian pupils, who are, let us suppose so, the target audience, are familiar with. If subtitlers had a better insight into viewers' knowledge, they would have been able to make better decisions. Subtitlers thus base their decisions on their own assessment, intuition and even prejudice. In the end, that doesn't benefit anyone since *thinking* that something is the way it is and *knowing* are different things.

This hypothesis has been proven to be right since even students of English failed to answer questions in the first part of the questionnaires correctly (for more see Section 7.3.).

8.2.2 Hypothesis 2

Education bears little relevance to whether viewers read subtitles or not and rely on them for the understanding of AVT content.

The survey has shown that viewers who know what an item, for instance and EC, means, rely mostly on their knowledge of English and British and American culture and that the information conveyed in the subtitle is less important in such an instance. However, even those viewers do read subtitles. This hypothesis refers to knowledge in general, not just knowledge of the English language.

This hypothesis has been only partially proven. Namely, education is not very relevant for whether viewers read subtitles. Furthermore, it is impossible to make that conclusion from this study since the participants were instructed to read the subtitles and that would have to be proven with a different model. However, it is obvious from the results of the study that viewers rely less on the subtitle the better their knowledge of English and British and American culture, but that is a just a part of knowledge. This question also deserves a separate study that would involve different types of participants, i.e., participants with different educational backgrounds and different levels of English, to establish how they interpret information given in subtitles. What also needs to be further developed is what kind of education viewers have since we need to distinguish between formal and informal education. Travel is for instance also a form of education, living in a foreign country as well: all these forms of education would have to be taken into consideration.

8.2.3 Hypothesis 3

Most viewers are not ready to admit that they learn about the unknown elements of British and American culture, or the English language, through subtitles.

This study group hasn't shown such results. Those participants who failed to answer questions correctly in the first part of the questionnaire mostly said that they relied primarily on the subtitle for the understanding of the video clip. This study involved a controlled experiment and the participants were asked to be honest in their answers since the study was anonymous. Based on the results of this study, it may be said that this hypothesis is wrong and it is valuable information for subtitlers who feel that their work is not appreciated by their employees (see Nikolić 2010) and by viewers. Even if viewers don't appreciate the work of subtitlers, they, at least according to this study, rely on them when they don't know the meaning of an item in ST. The level of English is not relevant for the reading of subtitles since viewers rely on subtitles for the understanding of AVT content even when they primarily rely on their knowledge of the English language and of culture.

8.2.4 Hypothesis 4

The level of English is not relevant for the reading of subtitles since viewers rely on subtitles for the understanding of AVT content.

This hypothesis has also been partially proven. The survey results show that all participants rely on the subtitles and that makes them relevant for the general understanding of a subtitled TV content. However, the results also show that the higher the level of English of a viewer, the more they rely on their knowledge of the language and culture, than subtitle (see Section 7.3. and Material 5). All viewers do rely on the subtitles. However, the level of reliance, at least according to this study, varies. This find is also a guideline to subtitlers, since subtitlers may assume that those viewers who speak English, in this instance, don't read subtitles and this should also be taken into consideration while subtitling. On the contrary, all viewers read subtitles, even if they are not always ready to admit that, which has more to do with ego and lack of self-criticism than anything else. Therefore, the level of

English is relevant, but it doesn't determine whether a viewer reads subtitles or not. It only influences the degree of reliance on the subtitle.

8.2.5 Hypothesis 5

The participants will, at least to some degree, claim that the most crucial element for the understanding of elements of culture is their knowledge of British and American culture.

This hypothesis has been proven, in particular in the "corrects" group. These two variables play the most important role in the general perception of the subtitled TV content for this group, but they didn't help very much to the "incorrect" group, which was expected. However, both groups relied on these two variables more than on acting and context. This also deserves further research: the way viewers differentiate, or nor, between culture and language and which strategies of translation they favour the most as regards the translation of ECs. Such a study should also involve interviews with participants of the survey and a different approach in the design of the questionnaire.

8.2.6 Hypothesis 6

Other elements of AVT content, such as acting or picture, scene and context significantly contribute to the understanding of culture, especially when viewers don't understand the language used in ST and when subtitles don't offer explanation (in the case of omission for instance).

This hypothesis has been partially proven. It is true that viewers rely on context and somewhat less on acting when the translation has been omitted and especially if they don't know the meaning of the item used in ST. For instance the "incorrects" relied slightly more on the context; they said it helped them a little, for the understanding of the item *Britannia* (see 7.3.43), the item which is replaced in the TT with the name of the country *Britanija*, the shortened form of *Velika Britanija*. The viewers are not provided with sufficient information in the translation, namely if they don't know what *Britannia* stands for, they are devoid of a significant part of the meaning, so they do cling on to the subtitle and context.

However, the "incorrects" relied more on the subtitles in the search for meaning, more than on context and acting. According to this study, it is the key element for the understanding of British and American culture in a subtitled TV content, especially if the viewers don't know what ECs or ELs mean, or the knowledge of the English language and British and American culture if viewers do know what ECs and ELs mean. When discussing this hypothesis, one should also stress again, that the video clips used were rather short and that the context of the scene was rather limited. In this particular instance, *Britannia*, there was no acting whatsoever since the video clip comes from a documentary. On the other hand, most clips come from feature films or TV series, and no significant difference has been noticed as regards the reliance of the participants on the variable of acting. A different research approach, for instance that of using less items and less scenes, or only one film, may produce different results as regards these two aspects. However, this research would have limitations as regards the validity of the statistical analysis, since it would be hard to make comparisons and draw conclusions based on, for instance, only one film.

8.2.7 Hypothesis 7

Viewers perceive language as a part of culture, and this will be, at least to some degree, reflected in the survey.

This hypothesis has been proven. In some instances, language is seen as almost synonymous with culture, although it is obvious that in the case of ECs, the variable of culture is given a higher mean value than language, for instance for the EC *The Channel* (see 7.3.41), while ELs, such as *custodian* (see 7.3.39) usually have a higher mean value for the variable of language. These results refer to the participants who answered the respective questions in the first part of the questionnaire correctly. Even the "incorrects" assessed these two variables with similar values and even said that it was their knowledge of language and culture that helped them the most in some instances, such as in the EC *American Dream*. However, this is connected with translation strategies used as well. It is not explained what *američki san* (Croatian translation of *American Dream*) means, and the participants of the survey were asked to choose the right definition it in the first

part of the questionnaire (see Material 2, part 2). That again points to the fact that it is important how subtitlers deal with elements of culture in translation.

The hypotheses were created based on the assumptions about viewers' perception of culture through TV subtitles. The most valuable find in this experimental research is the degree of reliance on subtitles when viewers are not familiar with ST, namely with ECs and ELs used in the ST. Although subtitles are just one of the elements of the subtitled TV content, they are more important than elements such as acting, for instance non-verbal communication as a part of it, or context. Since viewers unfamiliar with ECs and ELs of the ST rely mostly on the subtitles to be able to follow a subtitled TV content, that means that subtitlers should be careful about the strategies used in subtitling, for instance as regards omission which they resort to easily since it is the nature of subtitling to omit. Furthermore, viewers don't have enough time to devote their attention, at least not in the same degree, to the picture, or context and acting, when they are faced with subtitles. The duration of subtitles is something that deserves more attention, besides subtitling strategies. If subtitles are too short, if the time to read them is too short, the time available to the viewers to enjoy the picture may be insufficient. A viewer may end up trying to balance between the two, to read the subtitles and watch the picture, and in the end even give up watching a poorly subtitled film for instance. Even if there are country standards which set the duration of subtitles (such as those in Material 1), subtitlers don't really know what the ideal duration is for specific programmes.

Graphic layout of subtitles is also rather important if the results of this survey are taken into account, although this is another point that could be tested with this model, the preference for a certain shape of subtitles. Subtitles are a part of the picture and it is therefore necessary to adjust them most ideally to the viewers. The positioning of subtitles on the screen and line lengths are also defined by country standards (see Material 1), however some TV channels demand that subtitles be raised for two or more lines when opening credits of an episode of a TV series are rolling, which is quite time-consuming and even irritating for subtitlers who must do that; and nobody knows how viewers respond to that since no systematic studies have been carried out about that. It is not known how much the viewers "loose" of the meaning in the first couple of minutes of such a TV series,

since text covers most of the screen; it is expected that viewers read opening credits and subtitles on top of that, plus watch the picture, which is rather demanding.

Subtitlers know the rules about hyphenation which are, usually, set either inhouse or by country rules. In most subtitling countries the rule is to introduce every new speaker with a hyphen, but in Croatia for instance, this rule doesn't apply to the first speaker. In many subtitling countries the rule is that there cannot be more than two speakers in one subtitle, whilst in Croatia there can be more than two: three is quite normal in quick and numerous dialogue exchanges, in fast-paced TV series for instance. Subtitlers who work for some Croatian TV stations and subtitling agencies are usually required to pay close attention to hyphens and they may be reprimanded if they omit one or two, if they don't clearly mark that there is another speaker whose words are translated in the subtitle. On the other hand, none of the agencies and TV stations has carries out a proper survey among the viewers to see how much omission of hyphens really bothers them, if at all. If one relies on Internet discussions about subtitles the conclusion is that viewers don't pay great attention to hyphens, or that they are not important to them, however, an Internet forum is not something that can be used to draw definite conclusions.

As regards the perception of culture through subtitles we it may be said, based on this study, that subtitles are the primary source of information about foreign cultures if the premise that subtitles are the most read form of text is taken into consideration. Again, it must be stressed that in all countries, and that means in Croatia as well, the number of Internet users is on the increase and that, generally speaking, the knowledge of foreign languages, at least that of English, is on the increase as well. That means that even if subtitles are still the most read form of text in Croatia, the ratio may change. This doesn't of course mean that subtitles won't continue to be one of the most important sources of information about foreign cultures.

This study elicits the need for detailed, systematic studies of viewers that will enable subtitlers to make better choices, or well-founded choices, in their daily work.

8.3. Conclusions about the perception of British and American culture

This study is an attempt to find a model for the study of viewers which could hopefully be used in future reception and perception studies. It was of utmost importance for this study to embark into the field of statistics and join the disciplines of Translation Studies and statistics together to find a model of studying something that many consider too difficult to define, not to mention measure, and that is culture. The study has also elicited the differences in subtitlers' expectations and viewer's knowledge of ECs and ELs, which should make subtitlers stop and think about the choices they make every day and about the influence they have on viewers and their knowledge, or the lack of it, about British and American culture which were analysed here. Again, it doesn't mean that subtitlers can ponder upon the choice of every single word, or the reductions that they are forced to make, but it means that the choices subtitlers make are not always the best ones precisely because they don't know enough about the viewers, namely subtitlers assume things about their viewers, they don't know the facts. Too many of subtitlers' choices depend on their intuition about the viewers.

If subtitles are among the most crucial sources of information about foreign cultures, in this instance of British and American culture, that means that they, being a part of the media, play a crucial role in shaping people's mind about other cultures. They are not only a means of improving foreign language skills, but also a means of improving cultural literacy. In Europe, whose history is full of misunderstandings, wars and genocide, in which now in 2011 we are witnessing a sharp rise of radical right-wing parties and in the world full of injustice, conflict and misunderstandings between cultures, subtitling is one of the bridges between different cultures and it should be given appropriate treatment. Why? Subtitling is often seen as not very relevant. It is interesting for instance that a written translation, a translation of a novel, is seen as a publication, while subtitling of a film is very often not seen as something relevant and it may even be perceived as something "too entertaining" and not too serious. Subtitling may be entertaining, but it is also very demanding as a job, and if writing of a film script is a work of art, a translation of it should be seen in that light as well. Many young students close to getting their MA degrees in translation are only too keen to try subtitling. The owners of subtitling companies are aware of that and they are using the situation to

their benefit and leave experienced subtitlers with an unfair choice when they decide to slash rates: take it, or leave it. This entertaining and "fun" element of the subtitling job that seems appealing to novices is also one of the biggest enemies of the profession and influences the perception of it.

More attention should be paid to the treatment of cultural gaps in subtitling, because a superficial treatment of them may produce gaps in the minds of the readers of TT. Translators and subtitlers are one of the bridges between different cultures that should bring them and keep them closer together.

8.4. Suggestions for future research

This survey is hopefully only the beginning of systematic study of viewers' perception of subtitles and, as it has already been said, this was a preliminary study of the ways viewers perceive information they get from subtitles, in particular with respect to elements of culture (ECs). The repetition of this model on a representative sample of the population would hopefully prove the main hypotheses, provided there is a party interested in financing it.

Given the limitations of this model, certain adjustments may be considered. For instance one of them may be using fewer items, which may pose challenges for statistical analysis, but on the other hand this would mean that the survey would be less challenging from the practical side of things.

Although eye-tracking technology has been used in reception studies (Romero Fresco 2010:184), primarily in interlingual subtitling, it hasn't been used in this study since the focus of this study was to compare what viewers know and what they think they learn from subtitles. Those skilled in the use of eye-tracking technology in subtitling reception studies may consider combining these two models in their research.

This model may also be used for the testing of the differences in viewers' preference of subtitles produced via templates vs. those produced via first translation (see Section 3.4.), and that may shed a new light on this issue both to subtitlers who are against working with templates and to subtitling companies who are in favour of it.

This model may be used for testing specific types of ECs for instance. It may be tested how viewers react to the strategy of omission, which is used in subtitling, in particular with respect to the degree of familiarity of items, for instance how viewers react to omitting complex ECs in translations and the influence that has on the understanding of the entire video material, for instance a film. How viewers react in the cases of overtranslation may also be tested, when a subtitler uses explicitation even though the item is well known to most viewers. The way viewers perceive regionalisms for instance can also be tested or how they react to explicit translations of expletives. It would be interesting to see how viewers react to the translation of humour when ECs of the ST are replaced with ECs of the TC, which are not connected, but have the function of making viewers laugh (see Section 3.3.4.2). Other forms of AVT, such as audiovisual advertising texts, have different function in the TC since "viewers watch them even if they don't want to" (Fuentes Luque 2010:42) and the function influences choices made in the process of translation, in terms of strategies. This form of AVT might also be tested with this model.

There is one thing that irritates viewers a great deal, and that is errors in subtitling which should not happen, since a "guess or a careless translation never goes unnoticed" (Ivarsson and Carroll 1998:105). And indeed, if one checks Internet forums that deal with TV translations, a lot of space is devoted to discussions about errors (for instance see HRT's forum⁷⁵) in TV translations and the use of language in general. This is connected not only with a rather widespread view that everybody speaks English, but also with the fact that everybody uses language in their daily life and feels invited to discuss it, and that is understandable. Since errors obviously happen, it would be interesting to see which ones are the most common and to conduct a survey of viewers to see what type of errors they notice the most and why. A survey in this field may shed light on which errors they mind the most and that could hopefully be done with the model applied in this study. Psychological studies are also possible in combination with this model for error analysis. It would be interesting to learn for instance why viewers mind certain types of subtitling errors the most. As regards culture, it would be useful to learn why viewers think certain variables helped them more than others, from the psychological point of view.

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⁷⁵ http://forum.hrt.hr/viewforum.php?f=39&sid=06c5e24900ff78c8dfc988c315bfb8df. (Date of access: April 8, 2011).

This model may also be tested in other countries and the results could be compared to these. The hope is that the model will be used for the study of various aspects of TV viewers.

8.5. Final thoughts

This study has illustrated the way viewers perceive culture through subtitles, especially with respect to their previous knowledge and that these finds will help other researches interested in the perception of subtitles, as well as in reception studies of AVT in general. Viewers should be one of the main research areas of AVT since it is because of them that overseas TV programmes are subtitled and broadcast.

The first part of the thesis has hopefully opened up more space for thinking about where to place AVT research in the very popular field of research, that of Translation Studies. The sections of the thesis that deal with various issues subtitlers are faced with, such as the use of templates, the question of register and others, have shed more light on the complexity of the subtitling job and they could be used for further discussion and research. One of the aims of the thesis was also to show that by combining AVT research and another discipline (sociological statistics) AVT scholars may learn more about our viewers. Possibly by combining other disciplines such as psychology, new findings could be made. By combining AVT studies and economics, the problem of the decreasing subtitling rates subtitlers are so burdened with could be tackled. The finds established in this thesis may help subtitlers think more about the choices they make in their daily work, but they may help subtitling companies and TV broadcasters as well to perhaps pay more attention to subtitling itself, and subtitlers, especially those TV stations which mostly broadcast foreign subtitled content, which is much cheaper to broadcast than to produce and broadcast for instance a domestic feature film or a TV series.

The most translated Croatian author into foreign languages, Ms. Slavenka Drakulić⁷⁶, who is also a journalist, shared her thoughts about translation in a letter. Ms. Drakulić says:

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⁷⁶ http://slavenkadrakulic.com/. (Date of access: May 17, 2011).

"Prijevod je umjetnost, a prevoditelji umjetnici. U najgorem slučaju prijevod može uništiti originalno djelo, a u naboljem ga može čak i poboljšati. Zbog toga bi prevođenju trebalo posvetiti posebnu pažnju. Ulaganje u kvalitetne prijevode nije samo znak razumijevanja uloge prevoditelja u stvaralačkom procesu, nego i znak kulture jedne sredine."

Translation is art and translators are artists. At worst, a translation can ruin the original, while at best it may even make it better. This is why translation should be given special attention. Investing into high-quality translations is not only a sign of understanding translator's role in the creative process; it is also a sign of a community's the level of culture. (Drakulić, letter: personal communication, 2011).

9 References

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Materials

Material 1 – In-house subtitling rules

Priručnik za prevoditelje (Autor: Kristijan Nikolić)

1. Početak rada

Upute za instalaciju programa PMWin i rad s programom prevoditelj treba dobiti od SDI Media UK, ukoliko ih nema, treba ih zatražiti od koordinatorice. Prevoditelj rad može početi tek nakon što je instalirao program i upoznao se s njegovim radom. Najbolje je uzeti probni prijevod i na njemu se upoznati s programom PMWin. Prevoditelji za medije na engleskom se obično nazivaju «subtitlers», no to se obično odnosi na one prevoditelje za medije koji obavljaju i «titlanje (podslovljavanje)», odnosno «tajmkodiranje», a budući da pri radu za SDI Media toga nema, za potrebe ovog Priručnika upotrijebit ćemo riječ «prevoditelj».

Napomena: u opciji «cue settings» u PMW-inu treba promijeniti «minimum duration» u 02.00 i «characters per second» u 12.

2. Izgled titla (podslova)

Budući da je Hrvatska zemlja u kojoj se strani sadržaji za medije prevode duže vrijeme, postoje određeni standardi kad je riječ o izgledu titlova kojih bi se prevoditelji trebali pridržavati.

Idealno bi bilo da titl stane u jedan red, što nije uvijek moguće, pa se titlovi u većini slučajeva, pogotovo za npr. *Viasat History*, pišu u dva retka. Ukoliko se pišu u dva retka, idealno je da su oba podjednake dužine.

Primjer;

Još samo jedan dan škole koji treba preživjeti do sutra navečer.

ne

Još samo jedan dan škole koji treba preživjeti do sutra navečer.

U slučaju švedskoga, što ste mogli čuti na seminaru prije nego što ste počeli raditi, titl se lomi ondje gdje je logično. U slučaju hrvatskoga to se ne primjenjuje. Titl se lomi prema gore navedenome.

Ukoliko jedan redak mora biti duži od drugoga, onda je to svakako donji, pa će titl

izgledati ovako:

Ne znam. Progledaj u odjeći koju si nosio sinoć.

ne

Ne znam. Progledaj u odjeći koju si nosio sinoć.

U švedskom također postoji pravilo da se novi govornik uvodi u novi red. U hrvatskom se ni to pravilo ne primjenjuje. Bez obzira na to imamo li u titlu jednog ili dva govornika (kod nas se dopušta i više, no kod SDI-ja to nije praksa), izgled titla se ne mijenja.

Titl s dva govornika izgledat će ovako.

Da? –Da.

ili

Što radiš? -Sunčam se.

ili

Što radim? -Sunčam se⁷⁷

Tako će i drugi govornik biti uveden u prvom ili drugom retku zbog izgleda titla.

⁷⁷ Ako se prevoditelju čini da je titl tako pregledniji i da ga je lakše pročitati, no to ovisi isključivo o prevoditeljskoj procjeni.

Da? –Mislim da si mi to trebao reći bez okolišanja.

ili

Još su kod mene u Tripovoj jakni. -Što je tebi?

ne

Da?
-Mislim da si mi to trebao reći bez okolišanja.

ne

Još su kod mene u Tripovoj jakni. -Što je tebi.

Novi se govornik uvodi crticom, a između crtice i prvog slova <u>nema razmaka</u>.

Titl bi trebao biti značenjska cjelina i bez obzira na to što se misao ili dijalog nastavljaju u sljedećem titlu i možda se protežu kroz nekoliko titlova, prevoditelj gledatelju treba omogućiti što lakše praćenje programa.

Ako se misao prekida, stavljaju se tri točkice:

Johne, zašt...

Ako se misao prekida i nastavlja u sljedećem titlu, nastavljamo u sljedećem:

Morao sam ti reći koliko mi je bilo stalo do tebe

jer znao sam da više nema vremena za nas i da je kraj. U ovom je slučaju važno da se titl ne «odreže» da pogrešnome mjestu, odnosno da se ne prebaci u sljedeći ono što logički i misaono pripada u titl (to nije uvijek lako

kad se radi s «templateima», ali je u velikoj većini slučajeva moguće), pa ovo nikad ne bi smjelo izgledati ovako:

Morao sam ti reći koliko mi je bilo stalo

do tebe jer sam znao da više nema vremena za nas i da je kraj.

Titl možemo završiti i zarezom, ako slijedi logički ili gramatički zarez u hrvatskom:

Nisam ti rekao koliko mi je bilo stalo do tebe,

a znao sam da više nema vremena za nas i da je kraj.

<u>Važna napomena:</u> Titl nikad ne smije imati više od dva retka koji se uvijek pišu na dnu ekrana. Ukoliko se na ekranu pojavljuje potpis govornika, titl se diže za tri retka. U retku ne smije biti više od 37 znakova (to je određeno i programom).

3. Točka i zarez

Točka i zarez upotrebljavaju se u skladu s pravopisom hrvatskoga standardnog jezika.

Johne, vidimo se.

4. Elipsa (tri točkice)

Elipsa se upotrebljava samo kad je govornik prekinut ili u govoru slijedi stanka:

1) Johne, zašto mi...

2) ...nisi rekao

Ili može zamijeniti dio riječi:

Johne, zašt...

Između tri točkice i posljednjeg, odnosno prvog slova riječi nema razmaka.

U engleskim i švedskim *templateima* tri točkice se upotrebljavaju da bi se naznačilo da se rečenica nastavlja u drugom titlu. U hrvatskim titlovima to ne treba činiti. Ukoliko na kraju titla ne dolazi hrvatski interpunkcijski znak koji je gramatički ili logički potreban u hrvatskom standardnom jeziku, rečenica se nastavlja u sljedećem titlu.

5. Navodnici

Navodnici se upotrebljavaju umjesto kurziva ukoliko bi jedna riječ u retku trebala biti u kurzivu. U istom se retku ne smije upotrebljavati i kurziv i usprav («normalna» slova).

Gledao sam «reality show» na TV-u jer dan je bio ružan i nevjerojatno dosadan.

ne

Gledao sam *reality show* na TV-u jer dan je bio ružan i nevjerojatno dosadan.

Ukoliko je upravni govor dio titla ili je kao ovdje vezan za prethodni, umetnut je, interpunkcija dolazi izvan navodnika:

- 1.) Rekao je:
- 2.) «Bilo mi je strašno dosadno».

I...

George Bush je izjavio: «Iran Gomila oružje za masovno uništenje».

Ukoliko je cijeli titl u navodnicima, što je bolje zamijeniti kurzivom, titl izgleda ovako (interpunkcija je unutar navodnika):

«Iran gomila oružje za masovno uništenje.»

Ukratko, ako je upravni govor dio titla, interpunkcija je izvan navodnika. Ako je cijeli titl upravni govor, interpunkcija je u navodnicima.

Navodnici se uvode dvotočkom ili zarezom, u hrvatskom se češće uvode dvotočkom, kao u prethodnom primjeru.

Ukoliko citat iz knjige (vidi poglavlje «Kurziv») ili što slično pišemo pod navodnicima i to se proteže kroz nekoliko titlova, otvaraju se u prvom titlu, a zatvaraju u posljednjem u kojem se citat završava, npr. izvadak iz dnevnika koji narator u dokumentarcu čita:

«Vidio sam da si došla, gledao sam te kroz prozor.

Nije mi bilo jasno što činiš.

Shvatio sam da mi je dosta, pa sam te odlučio nazvati.»

6. Upitnici i uskličnici

Ispred upitnika i uskličnika, a i točke i zareza, nema razmaka (kao u nekim *templateima*). Ukoliko je rečenica upitna i ako govornik viče, stavlja se uskličnik i upitnik (ovisno o tome koji osjećaj prevladava, ako je više izraženo čuđenje ili vika prvo ide uskličnik, ako je važnije pitanje, prvo ide upitnik, dakle to <u>ovisi o procjeni prevoditelja</u>):

Jesi normalan!?

Ovdje znači da se viče, da je galama više izražena od upitnog aspekta koji je ionako retorički, manje je važan.

7. Crtice

Crticom se uvodi samo drugi govornik, nikada prvi:

Koliko ti je godina? -Nikako ti ne mogu reći.

ne

-Koliko ti je godina? -Nikako ti ne mogu reći.

SDI ne dopušta više govornika od dva u jednom titlu, a to je unaprijed određeno *templateom*.

8. Veliko i malo slovo

Velika se slova uvijek upotrebljavaju za natpise na ekranu, npr:

SMETLIŠTE

9. Kurziv

Kurziv se upotrebljava da bi se gledatelja upozorilo na nešto što odstupa od ostaloga, uobičajenoga.

Kurziv se nikad ne smije kombinirati s uspravom (vidi poglavlje «Navodnici») u istom retku.

U kurziv se nikad ne stavljaju govornici u dokumentarcu (bez obzira na to što se djelomično ne pojavljuju na ekranu) niti naracija ako je ima više od 50 %, dakle sve ide u usprav. Citati iz drugih djela, ako narator čita ulomak iz knjige, idu u kurziv ili eventualno pod navodnike da se to razlikuje od naracije i govornika, ovisno o dokumentarcu i o prevoditeljevu izboru i procjeni (simulator može predložiti prevoditelju da nešto promijeni po tom pitanju ako smatra da je to potrebno učiniti, s jasnim obrazloženjem

zašto to treba učiniti).

Inače se naracija ili «off» sinkronizira. Ovdje toga nema, dakle u titlovima je. Ima smisla to pretvoriti u kurziv ukoliko toga nema mnogo, no ako je više od pola dokumentarca naracija ili cijeli dokumentarac, to ne treba stavljati u kurziv.

U filmovima i serijama u kurziv idu dijelovi koji dolaze iz nekog drugog izvora (tv, radio, telefon i sl.), ako se čita ulomak iz knjige, pjesme se pišu u kurzivu, dakle sve ono što odstupa od dijaloga u filmu. Inače i strana imena i nazivi idu u kurziv, no u našem slučaju idu pod navodnike jer to se obično pojavljuje u kombinaciji s uspravom u istom retku. Ukoliko se u titlu pojavljuje riječ tipa «screening», dakle strana riječ koja bi trebala biti napisana u kurzivu, ostavite je u uspravu i stavite pod navodnike ako za njih imate mjesta.

Simulator proizvoljno ne mijenja kurziv u usprav i obrnuto.

10. Vlastita imena

Osobitu pozornost treba obratiti na povijesna imena. Npr. Henry VIII u hrvatskom je Henrik VIII., a tih primjera ima podosta. Slavenska imena stvarnih ljudi u hrvatskom se obično pišu drukčije nego u engleskom, npr. Dostoevsky je Dostojevski. O stranim imenima više možete pročitati u prezentacijama u Power Pointu i bilo kojem pravopisu.

11. Novac

Novčane jedinice ne preračunavajte u kune, zadržite original. Simbol za valutu dolazi iza broja, ne ispred kao u engleskome. Za decimalne se brojeve upotrebljava zarez, a ne točka kao u engleskome:

Hrvatski 23,44 \$

Engleski \$ 23.44

Brojevi do 9999 pišu se bez razmaka i interpunkcije.

Brojevi do 99.999 pišu se s točkom, ne sa zarezom kao u engleskom.

Brojevi do 999.000 pišu se s točkom, ne sa zarezom kao u engleskom.

Brojevi do 9,999.0000 pišu se ovako.

Billion nije bilijun, nego milijarda.

Umjesto interpunkcije u brojevima iznad 9999 može se upotrebljavati i razmak, no smatra se da je s interpunkcijom preglednije.

Brojevi do deset, ukoliko ne postoje prostorna ograničenja, pišu se slovima (jedan, dva, tri, četiri, pet, šest, sedam, osam, devet i deset).

Brojevi iznad deset pišu se brojkama (11, 12... itd.)

Trebalo bi izbjegavati uporabu ta dva načina pisanja u istom titlu.

12. Mjerne jedinice

Sve anglosaksonske mjerne jedinice treba preračunati (stope u metre itd.)

Ukoliko mjera nije precizna, bolje je zaokružiti.

Npr;

The city is 400 miles away.

Ako se mislili otprilike;

Grad je udaljen 600 km.

Napomena: U Velikoj Britaniji temperatura se izražava u Celzijevim stupnjevima, ne u Fahrenheitima, kao u SAD-u.

13. Kratice

Postoje jasna pravila za pisanje kratica u hrvatskome. Npr. g. za «gospodin», gđa (bez točke) za «gospođa». Za pravila o pisanju kratica najbolje je upotrijebiti pravopis.

14. Sati, dani i datumi

U hrvatskom se sat i minute odvajaju točkom (npr. 15.30). Može se pisati i ovako (15:30), ali treba biti dosljedan u cijelom prijevodu. Budući da mi nemamo oznake «am» i «pm» kao u engleskom, valja razlikovati:

ne:

Vidimo se u devet ujutro.

da:

Vidimo se u devet (jer se zna da se misli u jutro)

da:

Vidimo se u 21 (na večer).

Piše se 9h, bez razmaka.

15. Kvaliteta: Quality Specifications

U toj je kratkoj SDI-jevoj brošuri opisano što je važno činiti da bi prijevod bio kvalitetan (trebali ste je dobiti od SDI-ja).

Ukratko:

Nakon što ste preveli film ili dokumentarac, važno je obaviti provjere (Edit Range/Format Range/F9/Ctrl F9 – Cue Validation/F11 za prazne titlove). Prevoditelj nakon što dokument prebaci u Word mora obaviti provjeru pravopisa i gramatike (F7), pročitati materijal u Wordu i još jedanput ga pogledati u PMWinu. Ukoliko se preskoči jedan od koraka, pogreške su u većini slučajeva zajamčene.

Prevoditelji su dužni pridržavati se svih dodatnih uputa koje izda SDI.

Sva imena, nazivi, pojmovi itd., moraju se provjeriti u relevantnoj literaturi ili na internetu. Kad je riječ o internetu, uvijek treba naći službene internetske stranice. Neslužbene se upotrebljavaju samo u krajnjoj nuždi, odnosno ukoliko ništa službeno ne postoji. To se posebice odnosi na nova istraživanja, kad nema objavljene literature, npr. za najnovija svemirska istraživanja.

16. Pomoćna literatura

Svaki bi prevoditelj trebao imati Svjetski atlas na hrvatskom jeziku, a prevoditelji koji rade za History svakako bi trebali imati Hrvatski opći leksikon Leksikografskog zavoda «Miroslav Krleža». Ukoliko npr. imate reference na stare filmove, treba vam Filmska enciklopedija u kojoj ćete naći prijevode naslova stranih filmova. Za tehničke stvari dobro dođe Dudenov Slikovni rječnik. Literature je mnogo, ovo su samo neki naslovi. <u>Važno je ne izmišljati</u>. Npr. u novinama se može pročitati da je «premijer posjetio Moldovu», premda

je riječ o «Moldaviji», da se nešto dogodilo u «Latviji», premda je riječ o «Letoniji» itd. Takve stvari možete naći u Općem leksikonu. Tu nikakva improvizacija i pogađanje ne dolazi u obzir. Kod internetskih stranica treba se uvijek koristiti službenim stranicama.

17. Hrvatski jezik i rječnici

Svaki prevoditelj mora imati pravopis hrvatskoga književnog jezika. U nekim pravopisima postoje odstupanja, npr. neću ili ne ću, no tih je iznimaka relativno malo. Prevoditeljske pogreške često su vezane za elementarna pravopisna i gramatička pitanja, npr. mnogi pišu «gdin» za kraticu imenice «gospodin», a kratica je «g.» i to stoji u svakom pravopisu. Ako prevoditelja bilo tko prozove zbog bilo kojeg dijela prijevoda, mora znati zašto je nešto napisao tako kako je napisao. Svakom će prevoditelju dobro doći Hrvatski enciklopedijski rječnik (izdavač je Novi Liber, Zagreb 2002), od pravopisa npr. «Hrvatski pravopis», Babić, Finka, Moguš (Zagreb 2002).

Bilo koji englesko-engleski rječnik dobro će doći (Webster, Longman, Oxford). Na internetu postoje mnogi specijalizirani rječnici, npr. za film, automobilizam itd., no i tu treba paziti čiji je rječnik, odnosno tko ga je izdao. Do rječnika se može doći i preko pretraživača Google. U pretraživač upišite «define:reality» ukoliko vas npr. zanima moguće značenje riječi reality. Kod uporabe rječnika prevoditelj najčešće griješi jer u žurbi pogleda natuknicu br. 1, a ne recimo 5., premda mu/joj je upravo ta trebala.

Od englesko-hrvatskih rječnika najbolji je Bujasov rječnik (jer je jedini izdan u posljednjih desetak godina), no dobro ga je kombinirati s englesko-engleskim rječnikom, ovisno o situaciji.

18. Pitanje stila

Svaka televizijska kuća ima pravo tražiti određeni jezični stil. Npr. javni HRT insistira na uporabi standardnog jezika. U našem se slučaju to u većini slučajeva odnosi na Viasat History u kojemu se u većini slučajeva može upotrebljavati samo standardni jezik. Govorni je jezik dopušten u filmovima, no to je uvijek problematično i najčešće je to mješavina govornoga jezika i standarda, dakako, ovisi o kojem je filmu riječ. Kletve (psovke) su na SDI-ju dopuštene, no ne treba pretjerivati i dodatno «pojačavati» stvari, a to ostaje na izbor svakom prevoditelju.

19. Kraćenje titla

S tim se pitanjem uglavnom sreću novi prevoditelji. Što skratiti, izbaciti, ako se

mnogo govori? Prevoditelj treba gledatelju omogućiti da materijal prati i to valja imati na umu, pa iz toga proizlazi da što se krati ovisi o svakom pojedinom slučaju. Naučiti kratiti nije lako, a dobro kraćenje jedan je od elemenata koji dobre prevoditelje za medije (subtitlere) dijeli od loših ili lošijih. No riječ je i o tome da su nekima potrebni tjedni da bi se posao svladao, a nekima mjeseci, pa i godine i tu nema jasne formule. Naprosto treba biti dovoljno uporan i u početku uzeti više vremena i razmisliti o tome što izbaciti. Nakon nekog vremena, stvar bi trebala ići automatski, odnosno prevoditelj čim čuje izgovoreni tekst, trebao bi znati što izbaciti.

20. Templates

Javljaju se problemi kod uporabe srpskih templatea zbog sličnosti jezika. Nikad ne znate tko je prevodio na srpski i kakva je kvaliteta toga prijevoda, pa srpski template treba poslužiti samo kao referenca. Ako ga možete iskoristiti, tim bolje, imate opciju CTR+D, no nikako se ne smije dogoditi da cijeli prijevod obavite s pomoću te dvije tipke i da na kraju u program odlaze srpski prijevodi. Ukoliko niste sigurni u razlike između dva jezika koje su znatne, od vokabulara do sintakse, bolje se u to ne upuštati i srpski *template* upotrijebiti samo kao pomoć za određivanje time-codea, odnosno kao i švedski, engleski ili rumunjski *template*.

21. Poštovanje rokova

Bilo kakvo kašnjenje apsolutno je nedopustivo. Ne treba si uzimati više posla nego što se može obaviti. Posao koji se ne preda na vrijeme koordinatorici, neće biti plaćen.

22. «Simulacije»

Nakon što se prijevod dobije sa simulacije, prevoditelj ima pravo simulatoru postaviti pitanje zašto je nešto promijenjeno i simulator je dužan odgovoriti. Prevoditelj koji nije spreman učiti i proučiti simulacije, nikad neće postati dobar prevoditelj, tj., subtitler.

23. Napomene za «simulatore»

Simulator se treba pridržavati svega navedenog u Priručniku. Simulator ni u kojem slučaju ne smije zadirati u stil prevoditelja, pa ne smije ispravljati proizvoljno. Imali smo poznati slučaj s «farmerkama» kad je simulator hrvatsku riječ za *jeans* ispravno prevedenu kao *traperice*, prebacio u srpske *farmerke*. No to je vrlo očit primjer. Ima i onih manje očitih. Npr., ne smije se mijenjati sljedeći titl:

Baš mi je bilo cool. (Ovo cool trebalo bi biti u kurzivu jer je «cool» strana riječ, ali zbog gore navedenih ograničenja, ne treba je pisati u kurzivu.)

Simulator npr. mijenja u...

Baš mi je bilo super.

Budući da je u razgovornom hrvatskom i jedno i drugo prihvatljivo, simulator mora imati dobre argumente zašto je to promijenio. Ako simulator misli da je ovo drugo bolje rješenje iz bilo kojeg razloga, može ga predložiti prevoditelju i u «Upitniku» to navesti.

Simulator prvenstveno treba ispravljati gramatičke i pravopisne pogreške i pogrešne prijevode te razviti sustav ocjenjivanja na temelju nekog kriterija. Npr. pogrešan prijevod se ocjenjuje kao velika pogreška, pogrešna interpunkcija kao manja itd., a konačna ocjena treba ovisiti o ukupnom broju pogrešaka i njihovoj težini itd. Ni u kom slučaju ne smije omalovažavati prevoditelja, pa bio prijevod i za najgoru ocjenu. Svaki prijevod treba ocijeniti i poslati koordinatorici. Simulatoru se ne bi smjele potkrasti pravopisne i gramatičke pogreške, odnosno ne bi ih smio previdjeti i također se mora držati pravopisa hrvatskog jezika.

Bilo bi dobro da simulator u Upitnik o kvaliteti prijevoda unese i svoju e-mail adresu kako bi mu se prevoditelj, nakon što dobije ispravljeni prijevod, mogao obratiti i pitati ga ako mu što nije jasno.

Material 2, part 1 – The Questionnaire

ŠIFRA:
e kroz televizijske
enata Filozofskog
mpirijske potpore
ough Subtitles: A / Audience.
ojehu istraživanja
Unaprijed hvala

SVEUČILIŠTE U ZAGREBU FILOZOFSKI FAKULTET ODSJEK ZA ANGLISTIKU UNIVERSITÄT WIEN ZENTRUM FÜR TRANSLATIONSWISSENSCHAFT

Poštovani,

Ova anketa dio je istraživanja vezanog za ispitivanje percepcije angloameričke kulture prijevode, odnosno titlove. Istraživanje se provodi na reprezentativnom uzorku stude Fakulteta, Sveučilišta u Zagrebu. Rezultati istraživanja upotrijebit će se u svrhu er izradi i obrani doktorske disertacije pod naslovom The Perception of Culture thro Study of the Perception of British and American Culture in a Sample of Croatian TV

Anketa je anonimna, a rezultati će se rabiti isključivo u znanstvene svrhe.

Molimo Vas da ispunite cjelokupnu anketu jer će upravo Vaši odgovori pridonijeti usp

Zagreb, siječanj 2011.

RBI 123

Upute:

Poštovani,

Ispred Vas nalaze se dva međusobno povezana upitnika. Prvi se sastoji od pitanja vezanih uz odgovarajuće pojmove iz engleskog jezika i kulture, a drugi je vezan uz odgovarajući filmski insert. Ispunjavat ćete ih paralelno u skladu s uputama ispitivača.

Anketa se sastoji od 30 inserata za koje su vezana 44 pitanja. Nakon svakog pitanja slijedi vrlo kratak filmski ili dokumentarni insert (ne više od desetak sekundi).

Anketa je anonimna.

Način ispunjavanja obje ankete ilustrirat ćemo sljedećim primjerom:

Pitanje za vježbu:

U insertu će se pojaviti sljedeća rečenica:

I think you mentioned you teach first grade at "Pennbridge Academy"

«Academy» u ovom kontekstu znači:

- a) akademija
- b) škola
- c) koledž
- d) fakultet
- e) visoka škola

U prvom dijelu ankete zaokružit ćete odgovor koji smatrate točnim. Potom slijedi insert, a u drugom dijelu ankete vidjet ćete ovo:

INSERT 1

Na ekranu stoji sljedeći titl:

Predaješ u školi Pennbridge Academy? –Da.

Što je Vama osobno bilo presudno za razumijevanje pojma «Pennbridge Academy»?

U kojoj mjeri je <u>svaki od navedenih</u> aspekata UTJECAO na VAŠE OSOBNO razumijevanje navedenog pojma?

Zaokružite (za pokus) odgovarajući broj u tablici

		NIJE NIMALO UTJECAO	MALO JE UTJECAO	NE MOGU PROCIJENI TI	MNOGO JE UTJECAO	IZRAZITO MNOGO JE UTJECAO
1	Prijevod u titlu	1	2	3	4	5
2	Kontekst scene	1	2	3	4	5
3	Glumačka izvedba	1	2	3	4	5
4	Poznavanje engleskog jezika	1	2	3	4	5
5	Poznavanje britanske i američke kulture	1	2	3	4	5

Pročitat ću Vam objašnjenje:

Ovisno o tome koliko je svaki od određenih elemenata utjecao na Vaše razumijevanje pojma, zaokružit ćete JEDAN OD PONUĐENIH odgovora.

Ukoliko smatrate da je prijevod u titlu PRESUDNO utjecao na razumijevanje pojma, zaokružit ćete broj 5 pod kategorijom prijevod u titlu u prvom retku.

Ukoliko smatrate da je prijevod u titlu ZNAČAJNO utjecao na razumijevanje pojma, zaokružit ćete broj 4 pod kategorijom prijevod u titlu u prvom retku.

Ukoliko smatrate da je prijevod u titlu DJELOMIČNO utjecao na razumijevanje pojma, zaokružit ćete <u>broj 3</u> pod kategorijom prijevod u titlu u prvom retku.

Ukoliko smatrate da je prijevod u titlu MALO utjecao na razumijevanje pojma, zaokružit ćete <u>broj 2</u> pod kategorijom prijevod u titlu u prvom retku.

Ukoliko smatrate da je prijevod u titlu NIMALO utjecao na razumijevanje pojma, zaokružit ćete <u>broj</u> <u>1</u> pod kategorijom prijevod u titlu u prvom retku.

Procjenu ćete ponoviti za preostale četiri kategorije (kontekst, gluma, jezik, kultura).

Slijedi anketa:

Zaokružite odgovarajući broj ispred odgovora koji smatrate točnim. Pitanja se odnose na inserte koje ćete gledati u sklopu drugog dijela ankete. 1) U insertu se pojavljuje pojam «army brat». Obratite pozornost na njega. U početku inserta pojavljuje se pojam «army brat». Taj pojam znači: 1) Dijete pripadnika Američke vojske 2) Nezakonito dijete pripadnika Američke vojske 3) Bjelačko dijete pripadnika Američke vojske 4) Odbačeno dijete pripadnika Američke vojske 5) Dijete visoko odlikovanoga pripadnika Američke vojske 2) U insertu jedan od likova kaže «I own a chip shop, Cod Almighty». Obratite pozornost na to. Ti pojmovi znače: chip shop 1) zalogajnica 2) restoran 3) trgovina 4) kiosk 5) fast food cod 1) skuša 2) inćun srdela 3) 4) bakalar škamp 3) U insertu ženski lik kaže «Bring home fish for your tea». «Tea» u ovom kontekstu znači: 1) čaj 2) ručak 3) doručak 4) kasna večera 5) sendvič

4) U insertu se pojavljuju pojmovi *«juvenile detention center»* i *«to arraign»*. Obratite pozornost na njih.

Ti pojmovi znače:

«juvenile detention center» znači:

- 1) maloljetnički centar
- 2) maloljetnički dom
- 3) maloljetničko prihvatilište
- 4) maloljetnički pritvor
- 5) maloljetnički stan

Pojam «to arraign» znači:

- 1) izvesti pred sud zbog saslušanja
- 2) izvesti pred sud da bi se odredila jamčevina
- 3) izvesti pred sud da bi se sastavila porota
- 4) izvesti pred sud zbog policijskog ispitivanja
- 5) izvesti pred sud da bi se poništila jamčevina
- 5) U insertu se pojavljuje rečenica «The People ugre that bail be denied». Obratite pozornost na pojmove «The People» i «bail».

Pojam «people» u ovom kontekstu znači:

- 1) Sud
- 2) Tužilaštvo
- 3) Porota
- 4) Sudsko vijeće
- 5) Raspravno vijeće suda

Pojam «bail» znači:

- 1) Otkupnina
- 2) Jamčevina
- 3) Upisnina
- 4) Sudska pristojba
- 5) Otkupni iznos
- 6) U insertu se pojavljuje rečenica «I deal with mortgage closings, you need a criminal guy».

Obratite pozornost na pojmove «mortgage» i «criminal guy».

Pojam «mortgage» znači:

- 1) lombardni kredit
- 2) kratkoročni kredit

- 3) loš kratkoročni kredit
- 4) stambeni kredit
- 5) neostvareni stambeni kredit

«Criminal guy» znači:

- 1) kriminalac koji bespoštedno pljačka
- 2) odvjetnik koji uspješno zastupa klijente
- 3) odvjetnik koji se bavi kaznenim pravom
- 4) kriminalac koji vješto izigrava odvjetnike
- 5) odvjetnik koji uspješno brani kriminalce
- 7) Obratite pozornost na kratki kadar u kojemu na zgradi piše: «GRAND JURY ROOM».

U insertu se pojavljuje natpis: GRAND JURY ROOM

Pojam «grand jury» znači:

- 1) Veliko sudsko vijeće
- 2) Istražni sud
- 3) Općinski sud
- 4) Veliko raspravno vijeće
- 5) Veliko porotničko vijeće
- 8) U insertu se čuje rečenica: «When did you loan Jacob your tyre jack? I'm just wondering why a beat-up old Chevy has a jack from 94.» Obratite pozornost na pojmove «beat-up» i «tyre-jack» te broj «94».

Pridjev «beat-up» znači:

- 1) nov
- 2) star
- 3) zelen
- 4) okrugao
- 5) šaren

Riječ «tyre-jack» znači:

- 1) osovina
- 2) remen
- 3) dizalica
- 4) pumpa
- 5) guma

Broj 94 odnosi se na poznati model automobilske marke:

- 1) Volvo
- 2) Chrysler
- 3) Buick
- 4) Saab
- 5) Ford

9) *U insertu slijedi rečenica:* «He was a bit of a fatso, but he was sexually active. And of all the founding fathers, he's the only one cracking a smile». *Obratite pozornost za pojmove* «fatso» *i* «founding father».

Riječ «fatso» znači?

- 1) mršav
- 2) krakat
- 3) debeo
- 4) zaguljen
- 5) odsutan

Pojam «founding father» znači:

- 1) američki revolucionar
- 2) američki političar
- 3) američki pjesnik
- 4) američki kontrarevolucionar
- 5) član Ku Klux Klana

10) *U insertu se pojavljuju pojmovi* «finders keepers» *i rečenica* «It's the property of the Federal Reserve. That means it's a federal offence». *Obratite pozornost na pojmove* «finders keepers», «Federal Reserve» *i* «federal offence».

Pojam «finders keepers» znači?

- 1) tko nađe, seli se
- 2) tko nađe, prima nagradu
- 3) tko nađe, ima sreće
- 4) tko nađe, njegovo je
- 5) tko nađe, bježi

Pojam «Federal Reserve» u Americi znači:

- 1) Komercijalna banka
- 2) Državna banka
- 3) Banka države New York
- 4) Narodna banka
- 5) Investicijska banka

Pojam «federal offence» znači:

- 1) savezni prekršaj
- 2) težak zločin
- 3) prekršaj koji se kažnjava smrću
- 4) oružana pljačka
- 5) državni prekršaj

11) U insertu se pojavljuje pojam «M. I. T.» Obratite pozornost na njega. Kratica «M. I. T.» znači?

- 1) Missouri Institute of Technics
- 2) Massachusetts Institute of Technics
- 3) Missouri Institute of Technology
- 4) Michigan Institute of Technology

5) Massachusetts Institute of Technology

12) U insertu se pojavljuju izrazi «fingers to the bone», «school» i «bum» Obratite pozornost na njih.

Lik u insertu kaže: «fingers to the bone»

To, kao odgovor na pitanje «Working/Radiš»?znači...

- 1) Mlatim praznu slamu
- 2) Ubijam se
- 3) Tu i tamo
- 4) Nikada
- 5) Kad na vrbi rodi grožđe

Lik u insertu spominje pojam «school». To znači:

- 1) viša škola
- 2) škola
- 3) fakultet
- 4) magisterij
- 5) doktorat

Lik u insertu spominje riječ «bum». To znači:

- 1) anarhist
- 2) ekstremist
- 3) propalitet
- 4) nakoman
- 5) alkoholičar

13) U insertu se pojavljuje pojam «50 K»

Lik u insertu kaže: «I just want my fifty K (čita se kei)»

To znači...

- 1) 50 milijuna
- 2) 50 tisuća
- 3) 500 tisuća
- 4) 5 milijuna
- 5) 5 tisuća

14) Lik u insertu kaže: «All right, I'll call Betty Ford, do you want me to get a room for him?»

«Betty Ford» je...

- 1) fakultet
- 2) internat
- 3) klinika
- 4) zatvor
- 5) hotel

15) U insertu se pojavljuje pojam «to order out»

Lik (koji se ne vidi u kadru) u insertu kaže: «Cindy will order out!»

To znači...

- 1) izvesti u restoran
- 2) pozvati kuhara
- 3) napraviti sendviče
- 4) skuhati
- 5) naručiti jelo

16) Lik (koji se ne vidi u kadru) u insertu kaže: «I've been assured by our friend at the Encyclopaedia that they've concocted some real brain-breakers»

«To concoct» znači...

- 1) dovesti
- 2) donijeti
- 3) smisliti
- 4) umisliti
- 5) izmisliti

Pojam «brain-breaker» označava pitanje koje je:

- 1) vrlo teško
- 2) intrigantno
- 3) dojmljivo
- 4) nezamislivo
- 5) predvidljivo

17) Lik (koji se ne vidi u kadru) u insertu kaže: «You just tell him I said Stempel has an everyman quality, you know that all American Dream thing...»

«Everyman» znači...

- 1) sitan čovjek
- 2) bezvezan čovjek
- 3) običan čovjek
- 4) krupan čovjek
- 5) zdepast čovjek

«American Dream» znali «američki san». Američki san odnosi se težnju Amerikanaca za:

- 1) otvaranjem vlastite tvrtke
- 2) većom kućom
- 3) prekomjernim bogaćenjem
- 4) uspjehom u poslovnom svijetu
- 5) boljim životom

18) Lik (koji se ne vidi u kadru) u insertu kaže: «We're making out getaway Charlie, if you want a ride...»

«To make getaway» u ovom kontekstu znači...

- 1) stajati
- 2) trčati

- 3) otići
- 4) ostati
- 5) zadržati se

19) Lik (koji se ne vidi u kadru) u insertu kaže: «This beats the Subway, ha, mr. Stempel?»

«Subway» u ovom kontekstu znači...

- 1) vlak
- 2) podzemna željeznica
- 3) tramvaj
- 4) trolejbus
- 5) nadzemna željeznica

20) U insertu se pojavljuje pitanje: «Who was the commanding general of the Union Army at the time?»

«Union Army» znači...

- 1) vojska američkog sjevera u vrijeme Američkoga građanskoga rata
- 2) vojska američkog juga u vrijeme Američkoga građanskoga rata
- 3) vojska američkog zapada u vrijeme Američkoga građanskoga rata
- 4) vojska američkog jugozapada u vrijeme Američkoga građanskoga rata
- 5) vojska američkih Indijanaca u vrijeme Američkoga građanskoga rata
- 21) U insertu se pojavljuje pitanje: «You are like the uncle Tom of the Jews?»
- «Uncle Tom» je...
 - 1) američki junak iz Prvoga svjetskog rata
 - 2) kaubojska legenda iz doba Zlatne groznice
 - 3) neznani junak iz doba Američkoga građanskoga rata
 - 4) junak romana američke spisateljice Harriet Beecher Stowe iz 1852.
 - 5) junak filma američkog redatelja Stevena Speelberga iz 1992.
- 22) U insertu se pojavljuje rečenica: «I was there that night at the Garden»
- «The Garden» je...
 - 1) park u New Yorku
 - 2) sportska dvorana u New Yorku
 - 3) park u Bostonu
 - 4) sportska dvorana u Bostonu
 - 5) četvrt u New Yorku
- 23) U insertu se pojavljuje pitanje: «How do you think Honest Abe would do on a quizz show»?

4) 5) 24) U in «Civil V	Abrahama Jacksona Abrahama Williamsa Abrahama (biblijski lik) Abrahama Lincolna asertu se pojavljuje pojam «Civil War»
4) 5) 24) U in «Civil V	Abrahama (biblijski lik) Abrahama Lincolna asertu se pojavljuje pojam «Civil War»
5) 24) U in «Civil V 1)	Abrahama Lincolna asertu se pojavljuje pojam «Civil War»
24) U in «Civil V	asertu se pojavljuje pojam «Civil War»
«Civil V	
1)	
	<i>var</i> »
~ `	Američki građanski rat
2)	Američki rat za neovisnost
3)	Američki rat protiv Indijanaca
4)	Američki civilni rat
5)	Američki rat protiv Meksika
25) U in	asertu se pojavljuju pojmovi «trust fund» i «custodian».
«Trust f	iund» znači:
1)	Zaklada
2)	Trust
3)	Korporacija
4)	Tvrtka
5)	Koncern
«Custoa	lian» znači:
1)	Vozač
	Ložač
	Domar
	Portir
5)	Čistač
26) II ir	nsertu se pojavljuje riječ « <i>Cadillac</i> » u rečenici « <i>No limit Texas hold'em is the</i> Cadillac
	koja u ovom kontekstu znači:
1)	Total disc
1)	dno dna
2)	vrhunac
3) 4)	idiotizam eksperiment
5)	smrt
3)	SHILL

Pojam «Honest Abe» odnosi se na...

27) U insertu se pojavljuje rečenica: «The convoy moved down the Channel», pojam «The Channel» znači:

- 1) Rijeka Temza
- 2) La Manche
- 3) Cornwallski tjesnac
- 4) Brightonski zaljev
- 5) Doverski zaljev
- 28) U rečenici «Vernon's father, who was an MP, disapproved of his son's career choice», pojam «MP» znači:
 - 1) Lord u Regionalnom domu Britanskoga parlamenta
 - 2) Predstavnik u Admiralskom vijeću
 - 3) Poslanik u Londonskoj gradskoj skupštini
 - 4) Poslanik u Vijeću za kolonije Britanskoga parlamenta
 - 5) Zastupnik u Donjem domu Britanskoga parlamenta
- 29) U insertu se pojavljuje rečenica «Britannia really did rule the waves», a odnosi se na:
 - 1) Poznati britanski film
 - 2) Poznatu britansku pjesmu
 - 3) Poznati britanski roman
 - 4) Poznatu britansku kratku priču
 - 5) Poznati britanski grad
- 30) U insertu se pojavljuje rečenica «Darrin was pre-med», a znači da se/je lik po imenu Darrin:
 - 1) pripremao se za kliničku praksu u sklopu studija medicine
 - 2) bio je student medicine i nije diplomirao
 - 3) bio je student medicine i odustao je nakon prve godine
 - 4) pripremao se za studij medicine
 - 5) bio je medicinski samouk

Molimo Vas da još upišete sljedeće podatke:
STUDIJSKA GRUPA (ILI GRUPE):
GODINA STUDIJA:
SPOL (ZAOKRUŽITE): M Ž
UČENJE ENGLESKOG JEZIKA:
OSNOVNA ŠKOLA (KOLIKO GODINA?):
SREDNJA ŠKOLA (KOLIKO GODINA?):
FAKULTET (KOLIKO GODINA?):
TEČAJEVI (AKO DA, KOLIKO PUTA NA TJEDAN I KOLIKO GODINA):
PRIVATNI SATI (AKO DA, KOLIKO PUTA NA TJEDAN I KOLIKO GODINA:

Material 2, part 2 – second part of the questionnaire

	ŠIFRA:_
	SH K/1
Drugi dio ankete:	

U insertu se pojavljuje titl:

Devet škola u deset

godina. Vojnička obitelj?

Što je Vama osobno bilo presudno za razumijevanje pojma «army brat»?

Ukojoj mjeri je
 \underline{svaki} od navedenih aspekata UTJECAO na VAŠE OSOBNO razumi
jevanje navedenog pojma?

Zaokružite odgovarajući broj u tablici

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5	Poznavanje britanske i američke kulture	1	2	3	4	5

INSERT 2

U insertu jedan od likova kaže «I own a chip shop... Cod Almighty». U insertu se pojavljuje titl:

Rhys Edwards Vlasnik sam riblje zalogajnice.

Vlasnik sam Bakalara. Nudim najsvježiji bakalar u dolini.

1. Što je Vama osobno bilo presudno za razumijevanje pojma «chip shop»?

U kojoj mjeri je <u>svaki od navedenih</u> aspekata UTJECAO na VAŠE OSOBNO razumijevanje navedenog pojma

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5	Poznavanje britanske i američke kulture	1	2	3	4	5

2. Što je Vama osobno bilo presudno za razumijevanje pojma «Cod Almighty»?

U kojoj mjeri je <u>svaki od navedenih</u> aspekata UTJECAO na VAŠE OSOBNO razumijevanje navedenog pojma?

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5	Poznavanje britanske i američke kulture	1	2	3	4	5

INSERT 3

U insertu se pojavljuje titl:

Donesi ribu za ručak. Nemam vremena danas ići u kupnju.

Što je Vama osobno bilo presudno za razumijevanje pojma «tea»?

U kojoj mjeri je <u>svaki od navedenih</u> aspekata UTJECAO na VAŠE OSOBNO razumijevanje navedenog pojma?

Zaokružite odgovarajući broj u tablici

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5	Poznavanje britanske i američke kulture	1	2	3	4	5

U insertu se pojavljuje titl:

U maloljetničkom je pritvoru. Sutra će biti izveden pred sud.

1. Što je Vama osobno bilo presudno za razumijevanje pojma «juvenile detention centre»?

U kojoj mjeri je <u>svaki od navedenih</u> aspekata UTJECAO na VAŠE OSOBNO razumijevanje navedenog pojma

Zaokružite odgovarajući broj u tablici

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5	Poznavanje britanske i američke kulture	1	2	3	4	5

2. Što je Vama osobno bilo presudno za razumijevanje glagola «to arraign»?

U kojoj mjeri je <u>svaki od navedenih</u> aspekata UTJECAO na VAŠE OSOBNO razumijevanje navedenog pojma?

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5	Poznavanje britanske i američke kulture	1	2	3	4	5

U insertu se pojavljuju titlovi:

Nijedan roditelj u ovom gradu, a zacijelo nijedna kći

ne može se osjećati sigurno, pa tražimo odbijanje jamčevine.

 $1.\ \mbox{\colored}$ Xto je Vama osobno bilo presudno za razumijevanje pojma «The People» koji je u titlu izostavljen»?

U kojoj mjeri je <u>svaki od navedenih</u> aspekata UTJECAO na VAŠE OSOBNO razumijevanje navedenog pojma?

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5	Poznavanje britanske i američke kulture	1	2	3	4	5

2. Što je Vama osobno bilo presudno za razumijevanje pojma «bail»?

Ukojoj mjeri je
 \underline{svaki} od navedenih aspekata UTJECAO na VAŠE OSOBNO razumi
jevanje navedenog pojma?

Zaokružite odgovarajući broj u tablici

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5	Poznavanje britanske i američke kulture	1	2	3	4	5

U insertu se pojavljuju titlovi:

Ja se bavim stambenim kreditima.

Vi trebate stručnjaka za kazneno pravo.

1. Što je Vama osobno bilo presudno za razumijevanje pojma «mortgage»?

U kojoj mjeri je <u>svaki od navedenih</u> aspekata UTJECAO na VAŠE OSOBNO razumijevanje navedenog pojma

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5	Poznavanje britanske i američke kulture	1	2	3	4	5

2. Što je Vama osobno bilo presudno za razumijevanje pojma «criminal guy»?

U kojoj mjeri je <u>svaki od navedenih</u> aspekata UTJECAO na VAŠE OSOBNO razumijevanje navedenog pojma

Zaokružite odgovarajući broj u tablici

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5	Poznavanje britanske i američke kulture	1	2	3	4	5

U insertu se pojavljuje titl:

ISTRAŽNI SUD

Što je Vama osobno bilo presudno za razumijevanje pojma «grand jury»?

U kojoj mjeri je <u>svaki od navedenih</u> aspekata UTJECAO na VAŠE OSOBNO razumijevanje navedenog pojma

Zaokružite odgovarajući broj u tablici

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5	Poznavanje britanske i američke kulture	1	2	3	4	5

INSERT 8

U insertu se pojavljuje titl:

Samo se pitam zašto je u starom *Chevroletu* dizalica za *Forda*.

1. Što je Vama osobno bilo presudno za razumijevanje pojma «beat-up»?

U kojoj mjeri je <u>svaki od navedenih</u> aspekata UTJECAO na VAŠE OSOBNO razumijevanje navedenog pojma

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5	Poznavanje britanske i američke kulture	1	2	3	4	5

2. Što je Vama osobno bilo presudno za razumijevanje pojma «tyre-jack»?

U kojoj mjeri je <u>svaki od navedenih</u> aspekata UTJECAO na VAŠE OSOBNO razumijevanje navedenog pojma

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3. Što je Vama osobno bilo presudno za razumijevanje toga na što se odnosi broj «94»?

U kojoj mjeri je <u>svaki od navedenih</u> aspekata UTJECAO na VAŠE OSOBNO razumijevanje navedenog pojma

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5	Poznavanje britanske i američke kulture	1	2	3	4	5

U insertu se pojavljuju titlovi:

Bio je debeo, ali bio je seksualno aktivan.

Od svih američkih revolucionara čija se lica nalaze na novčanicama,

nasmijan je jedino on.

1. Što je Vama osobno bilo presudno za razumijevanje pojma «fatso»?

Ukojoj mjeri je
 \underline{svaki} od navedenih aspekata UTJECAO na VAŠE OSOBNO razumi
jevanje navedenog pojma?

Zaokružite odgovarajući broj u tablici

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5	Poznavanje britanske i američke kulture	1	2	3	4	5

2. Što je Vama osobno bilo presudno za razumijevanje pojma «founding father»?

U kojoj mjeri je <u>svaki od navedenih</u> aspekata UTJECAO na VAŠE OSOBNO razumijevanje navedenog pojma Zaokružite odgovarajući broj u tablici

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INSERT 10

U insertu se pojavljuju titlovi:

To nije naše. -Tko to nađe, njegovo je.

To je vlasništvo Narodne banke. To znači da je to savezni prekršaj

1. Što je Vama osobno bilo presudno za razumijevanje pojma «finders keepers»?

U kojoj mjeri je <u>svaki od navedenih</u> aspekata UTJECAO na VAŠE OSOBNO razumijevanje navedenog pojma?

Zaokružite odgovarajući broj u tablici

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2. Što je Vama osobno bilo presudno za razumijevanje pojma «Federal Reserve»?

U kojoj mjeri je <u>svaki od navedenih</u> aspekata UTJECAO na VAŠE OSOBNO razumijevanje navedenog pojma

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5	Poznavanje britanske i američke kulture	1	2	3	4	5

3. Što je Vama osobno bilo presudno za razumijevanje pojma «federal offence»?

Ukojoj mjeri je
 $\underline{\text{svaki od navedenih}}$ aspekata UTJECAO na VAŠE OSOBNO razumijevanje navedenog pojma

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5	Poznavanje britanske i američke kulture	1	2	3	4	5

INSERT 11

U insertu se pojavljuju titlovi:

Kad si se vratila? -Jučer.

Kako je na M.I.T.-ju? -Čudno i poticajno.

Jeste li znale da vam

je televizor između nogu?

Što je Vama osobno bilo presudno za razumijevanje pojma «M.I.T.»?

U kojoj mjeri je <u>svaki od navedenih</u> aspekata UTJECAO na VAŠE OSOBNO razumijevanje navedenog pojma?

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INSERT 12

U insertu se pojavljuju titlovi:

Kad si se vatio? -Jutros.

Ostaješ neko vrijeme? -Da. Kako si ti?

Dobro. Zarađujem za život.

Radiš? -Ubijam se.

Ostat ćeš na faksu? -Hoću.

Nemoj zajebati i biti propalitet. -Poput tebe?

1. Što je Vama osobno bilo presudno za razumijevanje pojma «fingers to the bone»?

U kojoj mjeri je <u>svaki od navedenih</u> aspekata UTJECAO na VAŠE OSOBNO razumijevanje navedenog pojma

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5	Poznavanje britanske i američke kulture	1	2	3	4	5

2. Što je Vama osobno bilo presudno za razumijevanje pojma «school»?

U kojoj mjeri je <u>svaki od navedenih</u> aspekata UTJECAO na VAŠE OSOBNO razumijevanje navedenog pojma?

Zaokružite odgovarajući broj u tablici

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5	Poznavanje britanske i američke kulture	1	2	3	4	5

3. Što je Vama osobno bilo presudno za razumijevanje pojma «bum»?

U kojoj mjeri je <u>svaki od navedenih</u> aspekata UTJECAO na VAŠE OSOBNO razumijevanje navedenog pojma?

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5	Poznavanje britanske i američke kulture	1	2	3	4	5

INSERT 13

U insertu se pojavljuju titlovi:

Moramo razgovarati o poslu. -Samo se opusti. Vratit ću ti.

Ne želim ti vjerovati. Samo želim svojih 50.000.

Strpljen-spašen...

Što je Vama osobno bilo presudno za razumijevanje pojma «50 K»?

U kojoj mjeri je <u>svaki od navedenih</u> aspekata UTJECAO na VAŠE OSOBNO razumijevanje navedenog pojma?

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INSERT 14

U insertu se pojavljuju titlovi:

Sve se brzo promijenilo.

Julian je trebao nekoga, a valjda sam i ja nekoga trebala. -Zaboravi.

Jesi li razgovarao s Julianom? -Nisam. -Zamolila sam te.

Hoćeš da mu nađem mjesto u klinici *Betty Ford?* -Ne, razgovaraj s njim.

Što je Vama osobno bilo presudno za razumijevanje pojma «Betty Ford»?

U kojoj mjeri je <u>svaki od navedenih</u> aspekata UTJECAO na VAŠE OSOBNO razumijevanje navedenog pojma?

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5	Poznavanje britanske i američke kulture	1	2	3	4	5

U insertu se pojavljuju titlovi:

Pričekaj. Izaći ću. -Moram ići.

Cindy će naručiti jelo.
-Oprosti, ne mogu.

Mogu li ti ja kako pomoći? -Ne. Dobro sam.

Sretan Božić! Vidimo se u ponedjeljak. -Sretan Božić!...

Što je Vama osobno bilo presudno za razumijevanje glagola «to order out»?

U kojoj mjeri je <u>svaki od navedenih</u> aspekata UTJECAO na VAŠE OSOBNO razumijevanje navedenog pojma?

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3	Glumačka izvedba	1	2	3	4	5
4	Poznavanje engleskog jezika	1	2	3	4	5
5	Poznavanje britanske i američke kulture	1	2	3	4	5

U insertu se pojavljuje titl:

Čujem da su enciklopedisti smislili vrlo teška pitanja.

1. Što je Vama osobno bilo presudno za razumijevanje glagola «to concoct»?

U kojoj mjeri je <u>svaki od navedenih</u> aspekata UTJECAO na VAŠE OSOBNO razumijevanje navedenog pojma?

Zaokružite odgovarajući broj u tablici

		NIJE NIMALO UTJECAO	MALO JE UTJECAO	NE MOGU PROCIJENI TI	MNOGO JE UTJECAO	IZRAZITO MNOGO JE UTJECAO
1	Prijevod u titlu	1	2	3	4	5
2	Kontekst scene	1	2	3	4	5
3	Glumačka izvedba	1	2	3	4	5
4	Poznavanje engleskog jezika	1	2	3	4	5
5	Poznavanje britanske i američke kulture	1	2	3	4	5

2. Što je Vama osobno bilo presudno za razumijevanje glagola «brain-breaker»?

U kojoj mjeri je <u>svaki od navedenih</u> aspekata UTJECAO na VAŠE OSOBNO razumijevanje navedenog pojma?

		NIJE NIMALO UTJECAO	MALO JE UTJECAO	NE MOGU PROCIJENI TI	MNOGO JE UTJECAO	IZRAZITO MNOGO JE UTJECAO
1	Prijevod u titlu	1	2	3	4	5
2	Kontekst scene	1	2	3	4	5
3	Glumačka izvedba	1	2	3	4	5
4	Poznavanje engleskog jezika	1	2	3	4	5

5	Poznavanje britanske i američke kulture	1	2	3	4	5
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U insertu se pojavljuje titl:

Recite da je Stempel tipičan Amerikanac.

1. Što je Vama osobno bilo presudno za razumijevanje pojma «everyman»?

U kojoj mjeri je <u>svaki od navedenih</u> aspekata UTJECAO na VAŠE OSOBNO razumijevanje navedenog pojma?

Zaokružite odgovarajući broj u tablici

		NIJE NIMALO UTJECAO	MALO JE UTJECAO	NE MOGU PROCIJENI TI	MNOGO JE UTJECAO	IZRAZITO MNOGO JE UTJECAO
1	Prijevod u titlu	1	2	3	4	5
2	Kontekst scene	1	2	3	4	5
3	Glumačka izvedba	1	2	3	4	5
4	Poznavanje engleskog jezika	1	2	3	4	5
5	Poznavanje britanske i američke kulture	1	2	3	4	5

2. Što je Vama osobno bilo presudno za razumijevanje pojma «American Dream» kojega u titlovima nema, ali se u izvorniku čuje?

U kojoj mjeri je <u>svaki od navedenih</u> aspekata UTJECAO na VAŠE OSOBNO razumijevanje navedenog pojma?

Zaokružite odgovarajući broj u tablici

		NIJE NIMALO UTJECAO	MALO JE UTJECAO	NE MOGU PROCIJENI TI	MNOGO JE UTJECAO	IZRAZITO MNOGO JE UTJECAO
1	Prijevod u titlu	1	2	3	4	5
2	Kontekst scene	1	2	3	4	5

3	Glumačka izvedba	1	2	3	4	5
4	Poznavanje engleskog jezika	1	2	3	4	5
5	Poznavanje britanske i američke kulture	1	2	3	4	5

U insertu se pojavljuje titl:

Tu si! -Bježimo, Charlie. Trebaš li prijevoz?

Što je Vama osobno bilo presudno za razumijevanje fraze «we're making our getaway»?

U kojoj mjeri je <u>svaki od navedenih</u> aspekata UTJECAO na VAŠE OSOBNO razumijevanje navedenog pojma?

Zaokružite odgovarajući broj u tablici

		NIJE NIMALO UTJECAO	MALO JE UTJECAO	NE MOGU PROCIJENI TI	MNOGO JE UTJECAO	IZRAZITO MNOGO JE UTJECAO
1	Prijevod u titlu	1	2	3	4	5
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3	Glumačka izvedba	1	2	3	4	5
4	Poznavanje engleskog jezika	1	2	3	4	5
5	Poznavanje britanske i američke kulture	1	2	3	4	5

INSERT 19

U insertu se pojavljuje titl:

Ovo je bolje od podzemne, zar ne? -Apsolutno!

Što je Vama osobno bilo presudno za razumijevanje pojma «subway»?

U kojoj mjeri je <u>svaki od navedenih</u> aspekata UTJECAO na VAŠE OSOBNO razumijevanje navedenog pojma?

Zaokružite odgovarajući broj u tablici

NIJE NIMALO UTJECAO	MALO JE UTJECAO	NE MOGU PROCIJENI TI	MNOGO JE UTJECAO IZRAZITO MNOGO JE UTJECAO

1	Prijevod u titlu	1	2	3	4	5
2	Kontekst scene	1	2	3	4	5
3	Glumačka izvedba	1	2	3	4	5
4	Poznavanje engleskog jezika	1	2	3	4	5
5	Poznavanje britanske i američke kulture	1	2	3	4	5

U insertu se pojavljuje titl:

Tko je tada bio zapovjednik vojske Sjevera?

Što je Vama osobno bilo presudno za razumijevanje pojma «Union Army»?

U kojoj mjeri je <u>svaki od navedenih</u> aspekata UTJECAO na VAŠE OSOBNO razumijevanje navedenog pojma?

Zaokružite odgovarajući broj u tablici

		NIJE NIMALO UTJECAO	MALO JE UTJECAO	NE MOGU PROCIJENI TI	MNOGO JE UTJECAO	IZRAZITO MNOGO JE UTJECAO
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4	Poznavanje engleskog jezika	1	2	3	4	5
5	Poznavanje britanske i američke kulture	1	2	3	4	5

INSERT 21

U insertu se pojavljuje titl:

Ali simpatiziraš ga. Ti si židovski čiča Tom!

Što je Vama osobno bilo presudno za razumijevanje pojma «Uncle Tom»?

U kojoj mjeri je <u>svaki od navedenih</u> aspekata UTJECAO na VAŠE OSOBNO razumijevanje navedenog pojma?

		NIJE NIMALO UTJECAO	MALO JE UTJECAO	NE MOGU PROCIJENI TI	MNOGO JE UTJECAO	IZRAZITO MNOGO JE UTJECAO
1	Prijevod u titlu	1	2	3	4	5
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4	Poznavanje engleskog jezika	1	2	3	4	5
5	Poznavanje britanske i američke kulture	1	2	3	4	5

U insertu se pojavljuje titl:

Bio sam u *Madison Square Gardenu* kad ga je Baer prebio. 12 puta.

Što je Vama osobno bilo presudno za razumijevanje pojma «The Garden»?

U kojoj mjeri je <u>svaki od navedenih</u> aspekata UTJECAO na VAŠE OSOBNO razumijevanje navedenog pojma?

Zaokružite odgovarajući broj u tablici

		NIJE NIMALO UTJECAO	MALO JE UTJECAO	NE MOGU PROCIJENI TI	MNOGO JE UTJECAO	IZRAZITO MNOGO JE UTJECAO
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3	Glumačka izvedba	1	2	3	4	5
4	Poznavanje engleskog jezika	1	2	3	4	5
5	Poznavanje britanske i američke kulture	1	2	3	4	5

INSERT 23

U insertu se pojavljuje titl:

Kako bi Pošteni Abe prošao na kvizu?

Što je Vama osobno bilo presudno za razumijevanje pojma «Honest Abe»?

U kojoj mjeri je <u>svaki od navedenih</u> aspekata UTJECAO na VAŠE OSOBNO razumijevanje navedenog pojma

Zaokružite odgovarajući broj u tablici

		NIJE NIMALO UTJECAO	MALO JE UTJECAO	NE MOGU PROCIJENI TI	MNOGO JE UTJECAO	IZRAZITO MNOGO JE UTJECAO
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4	Poznavanje engleskog jezika	1	2	3	4	5
5	Poznavanje britanske i američke kulture	1	2	3	4	5

INSERT 24

U insertu se pojavljuje titl:

«Američki građanski rat». Za koliko bodova od 1 do 11?

Što je Vama osobno bilo presudno za razumijevanje pojma «Civil War»?

Ukojoj mjeri je
 \underline{svaki} od navedenih aspekata UTJECAO na VAŠE OSOBNO razumi
jevanje navedenog pojma

Zaokružite odgovarajući broj u tablici

		NIJE NIMALO UTJECAO	MALO JE UTJECAO	NE MOGU PROCIJENI TI	MNOGO JE UTJECAO	IZRAZITO MNOGO JE UTJECAO
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4	Poznavanje engleskog jezika	1	2	3	4	5
5	Poznavanje britanske i američke kulture	1	2	3	4	5

INSERT 25

U insertu se pojavljuju titlovi:

Bili smo jedini učenici bez mnogo novca.

Ured mog oca je bio ondje. Na vratima je pisalo: "domar". 1. Što je Vama osobno bilo presudno za razumijevanje pojma «trust fund»?

U kojoj mjeri je <u>svaki od navedenih</u> aspekata UTJECAO na VAŠE OSOBNO razumijevanje navedenog pojma?

Zaokružite odgovarajući broj u tablici

		NIJE NIMALO UTJECAO	MALO JE UTJECAO	NE MOGU PROCIJENI TI	MNOGO JE UTJECAO	IZRAZITO MNOGO JE UTJECAO
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4	Poznavanje engleskog jezika	1	2	3	4	5
5	Poznavanje britanske i američke kulture	1	2	3	4	5

2. Što je Vama osobno bilo presudno za razumijevanje pojma «custodian»?

U kojoj mjeri je <u>svaki od navedenih</u> aspekata UTJECAO na razumijevanje navedenog pojma? Zaokružite odgovarajući broj u tablici

		NIJE NIMALO UTJECAO	MALO JE UTJECAO	NE MOGU PROCIJENI TI	MNOGO JE UTJECAO	IZRAZITO MNOGO JE UTJECAO
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4	Poznavanje engleskog jezika	1	2	3	4	5
5	Poznavanje britanske i američke kulture	1	2	3	4	5

INSERT 26

U insertu se pojavljuje titl:

Teksaški poker bez limita vrhunac je u toj igri. Što je Vama osobno bilo presudno za razumijevanje pojma «Cadillac of poker»?

U kojoj mjeri je <u>svaki od navedenih</u> aspekata UTJECAO na VAŠE OSOBNO razumijevanje navedenog pojma?

Zaokružite odgovarajući broj u tablici

		NIJE NIMALO UTJECAO	MALO JE UTJECAO	NE MOGU PROCIJENI TI	MNOGO JE UTJECAO	IZRAZITO MNOGO JE UTJECAO
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3	Glumačka izvedba	1	2	3	4	5
4	Poznavanje engleskog jezika	1	2	3	4	5
5	Poznavanje britanske i američke kulture	1	2	3	4	5

INSERT 27

U insertu se pojavljuje titl:

Konvoj se preko La Manchea uputio na Atlantik.

Što je Vama osobno bilo presudno za razumijevanje pojma «The Channel»?

U kojoj mjeri je <u>svaki od navedenih</u> aspekata UTJECAO na VAŠE OSOBNO razumijevanje navedenog pojma

Zaokružite odgovarajući broj u tablici

		NIJE NIMALO UTJECAO	MALO JE UTJECAO	NE MOGU PROCIJENI TI	MNOGO JE UTJECAO	IZRAZITO MNOGO JE UTJECAO
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4	Poznavanje engleskog jezika	1	2	3	4	5
5	Poznavanje britanske i američke kulture	1	2	3	4	5

INSERT 28

U insertu se pojavljuje titl:

Vernonov otac, zastupnik, nije odobravao izbor posla svoga sina.

Što je Vama osobno bilo presudno za razumijevanje pojma «MP»?

U kojoj mjeri je <u>svaki od navedenih</u> aspekata UTJECAO na VAŠE OSOBNO razumijevanje navedenog pojma

Zaokružite odgovarajući broj u tablici

		NIJE NIMALO UTJECAO	MALO JE UTJECAO	NE MOGU PROCIJENI TI	MNOGO JE UTJECAO	IZRAZITO MNOGO JE UTJECAO
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3	Glumačka izvedba	1	2	3	4	5
4	Poznavanje engleskog jezika	1	2	3	4	5
5	Poznavanje britanske i američke kulture	1	2	3	4	5

INSERT 29

U insertu se pojavljuje titl:

Britanija je uistinu bila gospodarica mora.

Što je Vama osobno bilo presudno za razumijevanje pojma «Britannia»?

U kojoj mjeri je <u>svaki od navedenih</u> aspekata UTJECAO na VAŠE OSOBNO razumijevanje navedenog pojma?

Zaokružite odgovarajući broj u tablici

		NIJE NIMALO UTJECAO	MALO JE UTJECAO	NE MOGU PROCIJENI TI	MNOGO JE UTJECAO	IZRAZITO MNOGO JE UTJECAO
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4	Poznavanje engleskog jezika	1	2	3	4	5
5	Poznavanje britanske i američke kulture	1	2	3	4	5

INSERT 30

U insertu se pojavljuje titl:

Darrin se pripremao za studij medicine. -Pripremao?

Što je Vama osobno bilo presudno za razumijevanje pojma «pre-med»?

U kojoj mjeri je
 $\underline{\text{svaki od navedenih}}$ aspekata UTJECAO na VAŠE OSOBNO razumijevanje navedenog pojma?

Zaokružite odgovarajući broj u tablici

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4	Poznavanje engleskog jezika	1	2	3	4	5
5	Poznavanje britanske i američke kulture	1	2	3	4	5

Material 3 - Frequencies

Frequency Table

Study group 1

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	anglistika	34	34,7	34,7	34,7
	germanistika	18	18,4	18,4	53,1
	sociologija	35	35,7	35,7	88,8
	švedski	10	10,2	10,2	99,0
	5	1	1,0	1,0	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

Study group 2

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	0	35	35,7	35,7	35,7
	anglistika	5	5,1	5,1	40,8
	germanistika	3	3,1	3,1	43,9
	sociologija	3	3,1	3,1	46,9
	švedski	2	2,0	2,0	49,0
	pedagogija	2	2,0	2,0	51,0
	oln	2	2,0	2,0	53,1
	turski	1	1,0	1,0	54,1
	južna slavistika	2	2,0	2,0	56,1
	latinski	2	2,0	2,0	58,2
	nizozemski	2	2,0	2,0	60,2
	češki	4	4,1	4,1	64,3
	informatologija	7	7,1	7,1	71,4
	indologija	1	1,0	1,0	72,4
	lingvistika	1	1,0	1,0	73,5
	kroatistika	5	5,1	5,1	78,6
	francuski	2	2,0	2,0	80,6
	ukrajinski	1	1,0	1,0	81,6
	ruski	1	1,0	1,0	82,7
	talijanski	6	6,1	6,1	88,8
	povijest umjetnosti	2	2,0	2,0	92,9
	španjolski	4	4,1	4,1	96,9
	povijest	1	1,0	1,0	98,0
	rumunjski	1	1,0	1,0	99,0
	portugalski	1	1,0	1,0	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

Gender

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	muški	31	31,6	31,6	31,6
	ženski	67	68,4	68,4	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

English-primary school

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	0	9	9,2	9,2	9,2
	2	4	4,1	4,1	13,3
	3	1	1,0	1,0	14,3
	4	17	17,3	17,3	31,6
	5	39	39,8	39,8	71,4
	6	3	3,1	3,1	74,5
	7	3	3,1	3,1	77,6
	8	22	22,4	22,4	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

English-high school

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	0	2	2,0	2,0	2,0
	3	1	1,0	1,0	3,1
	4	95	96,9	96,9	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

English-university

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	0	19	19,4	19,4	19,4
	1	40	40,8	40,8	60,2
	2	8	8,2	8,2	68,4
	3	28	28,6	28,6	96,9
	4	3	3,1	3,1	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

English courses – per week

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	0	74	75,5	75,5	75,5
	1	5	5,1	5,1	80,6
	2	17	17,3	17,3	98,0
	3	1	1,0	1,0	99,0
	7	1	1,0	1,0	100,0

Total 98 100	100,0
--------------	-------

English courses – a year

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	0	74	75,5	75,5	75,5
	1	2	2,0	2,0	77,6
	2	3	3,1	3,1	80,6
	3	3	3,1	3,1	83,7
	4	3	3,1	3,1	86,7
	5	1	1,0	1,0	87,8
	6	2	2,0	2,0	89,8
	7	2	2,0	2,0	91,8
	8	4	4,1	4,1	95,9
	9	1	1,0	1,0	96,9
	10	1	1,0	1,0	98,0
	12	2	2,0	2,0	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

English private lessons – per week

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	0	95	96,9	96,9	96,9
	1	2	2,0	2,0	99,0
	2	1	1,0	1,0	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

English private lessons – years

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	0	95	96,9	96,9	96,9
	1	2	2,0	2,0	99,0
	3	1	1,0	1,0	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

army brat - subtitle

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	22	22,4	22,4	22,4
	It influenced a little	27	27,6	27,6	50,0
	I can't assess	14	14,3	14,3	64,3
	It influenced significantly	19	19,4	19,4	83,7
	It had the biggest influence	16	16,3	16,3	100,0

Total	98	100.0	100.0	
Total	90	100,0	100,0	

army brat - scene

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	27	27,6	27,6	27,6
	It influenced a little	17	17,3	17,3	44,9
	I can't assess	15	15,3	15,3	60,2
	It influenced significantly	31	31,6	31,6	91,8
	It had the biggest influence	8	8,2	8,2	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

army brat - acting

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	38	38,8	38,8	38,8
	It influenced a little	23	23,5	23,5	62,2
	I can't assess	21	21,4	21,4	83,7
	It influenced significantly	15	15,3	15,3	99,0
	It had the biggest influence	1	1,0	1,0	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

army brat - language

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	5	5,1	5,1	5,1
	It influenced a little	11	11,2	11,2	16,3
	I can't assess	17	17,3	17,3	33,7
	It influenced significantly	39	39,8	39,8	73,5
	It had the biggest influence	26	26,5	26,5	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

army brat - culture

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	13	13,3	13,3	13,3
	It influenced a little	14	14,3	14,3	27,6
	I can't assess	28	28,6	28,6	56,1
	It influenced significantly	26	26,5	26,5	82,7
	It had the biggest influence	17	17,3	17,3	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

chip shop - subtitle

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	12	12,2	12,2	12,2
	It influenced a little	17	17,3	17,3	29,6
	I can't assess	8	8,2	8,2	37,8
	It influenced significantly	32	32,7	32,7	70,4
	It had the biggest influence	29	29,6	29,6	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

chip shop - scene

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	24	24,5	24,5	24,5
	It influenced a little	26	26,5	26,5	51,0
	I can't assess	22	22,4	22,4	73,5
	It influenced significantly	22	22,4	22,4	95,9
	It had the biggest influence	4	4,1	4,1	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

chip shop - acting

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	42	42,9	42,9	42,9
	It influenced a little	20	20,4	20,4	63,3
	I can't assess	28	28,6	28,6	91,8
	It influenced significantly	7	7,1	7,1	99,0
	It had the biggest influence	1	1,0	1,0	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

chip shop - language

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	8	8,2	8,2	8,2
	It influenced a little	12	12,2	12,2	20,4
	I can't assess	23	23,5	23,5	43,9
	It influenced significantly	40	40,8	40,8	84,7
	It had the biggest influence	15	15,3	15,3	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

chip shop - culture

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	14	14,3	14,3	14,3
	It influenced a little	24	24,5	24,5	38,8
	I can't assess	21	21,4	21,4	60,2
	It influenced significantly	31	31,6	31,6	91,8
	It had the biggest influence	8	8,2	8,2	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

cod - subtitle

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	17	17,3	17,3	17,3
	It influenced a little	16	16,3	16,3	33,7
	I can't assess	4	4,1	4,1	37,8
	It influenced significantly	23	23,5	23,5	61,2
	It had the biggest influence	38	38,8	38,8	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

cod - scene

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	30	30,6	30,6	30,6
	It influenced a little	23	23,5	23,5	54,1
	I can't assess	27	27,6	27,6	81,6
	It influenced significantly	16	16,3	16,3	98,0
	It had the biggest influence	2	2,0	2,0	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

cod - acting

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	42	42,9	42,9	42,9
	It influenced a little	18	18,4	18,4	61,2
	I can't assess	30	30,6	30,6	91,8
	It influenced significantly	8	8,2	8,2	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

cod - language

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	11	11,2	11,2	11,2
	It influenced a little	21	21,4	21,4	32,7
	I can't assess	17	17,3	17,3	50,0
	It influenced significantly	29	29,6	29,6	79,6
	It had the biggest influence	20	20,4	20,4	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

cod - culture

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	29	29,6	29,6	29,6
	It influenced a little	16	16,3	16,3	45,9
	I can't assess	28	28,6	28,6	74,5
	It influenced significantly	17	17,3	17,3	91,8
	It had the biggest influence	8	8,2	8,2	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

tea - subtitle

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	8	8,2	8,2	8,2
	It influenced a little	14	14,3	14,3	22,4
	I can't assess	6	6,1	6,1	28,6
	It influenced significantly	33	33,7	33,7	62,2
	It had the biggest influence	37	37,8	37,8	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

tea - scene

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	30	30,6	30,6	30,6
	It influenced a little	21	21,4	21,4	52,0
	I can't assess	20	20,4	20,4	72,4
	It influenced significantly	23	23,5	23,5	95,9
	It had the biggest influence	4	4,1	4,1	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

tea - acting

			Cumulative
Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Percent

Valid	Didn't influence at all	39	39,8	39,8	39,8
	It influenced a little	24	24,5	24,5	64,3
	I can't assess	23	23,5	23,5	87,8
	It influenced significantly	12	12,2	12,2	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

tea - language

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	15	15,3	15,3	15,3
	It influenced a little	17	17,3	17,3	32,7
	I can't assess	21	21,4	21,4	54,1
	It influenced significantly	32	32,7	32,7	86,7
	It had the biggest influence	13	13,3	13,3	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

tea - culture

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	13	13,3	13,3	13,3
	It influenced a little	24	24,5	24,5	37,8
	I can't assess	23	23,5	23,5	61,2
	It influenced significantly	29	29,6	29,6	90,8
	It had the biggest influence	9	9,2	9,2	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

juvenile d c - subtitle

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	31	31,6	31,6	31,6
	It influenced a little	20	20,4	20,4	52,0
	I can't assess	12	12,2	12,2	64,3
	It influenced significantly	21	21,4	21,4	85,7
	It had the biggest influence	14	14,3	14,3	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

juvenile d c - scene

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	30	30,6	30,6	30,6
	It influenced a little	17	17,3	17,3	48,0

I can't assess	18	18,4	18,4	66,3
It influenced significantly	28	28,6	28,6	94,9
It had the biggest influence	5	5,1	5,1	100,0
Total	98	100,0	100,0	

juvenile d c - acting

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	50	51,0	51,0	51,0
	It influenced a little	17	17,3	17,3	68,4
	I can't assess	23	23,5	23,5	91,8
	It influenced significantly	8	8,2	8,2	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

juvenile d c - language

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	3	3,1	3,1	3,1
	It influenced a little	4	4,1	4,1	7,1
	I can't assess	8	8,2	8,2	15,3
	It influenced significantly	36	36,7	36,7	52,0
	It had the biggest influence	47	48,0	48,0	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

juvenile d c - culture

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	12	12,2	12,2	12,2
	It influenced a little	15	15,3	15,3	27,6
	I can't assess	21	21,4	21,4	49,0
	It influenced significantly	29	29,6	29,6	78,6
	It had the biggest influence	21	21,4	21,4	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

to arraign - subtitle

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	22	22,4	22,4	22,4
	It influenced a little	16	16,3	16,3	38,8
	I can't assess	8	8,2	8,2	46,9
	It influenced significantly	26	26,5	26,5	73,5

It had the biggest influence	26	26,5	26,5	100,0
Total	98	100,0	100,0	

to arraign - scene

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	30	30,6	30,6	30,6
	It influenced a little	10	10,2	10,2	40,8
	I can't assess	22	22,4	22,4	63,3
	It influenced significantly	27	27,6	27,6	90,8
	It had the biggest influence	9	9,2	9,2	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

to arraign - acting

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	56	57,1	57,1	57,1
	It influenced a little	13	13,3	13,3	70,4
	I can't assess	25	25,5	25,5	95,9
	It influenced significantly	3	3,1	3,1	99,0
	It had the biggest influence	1	1,0	1,0	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

to arraign - language

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	5	5,1	5,1	5,1
	It influenced a little	19	19,4	19,4	24,5
	I can't assess	19	19,4	19,4	43,9
	It influenced significantly	28	28,6	28,6	72,4
	It had the biggest influence	27	27,6	27,6	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

to arraign - culture

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	20	20,4	20,4	20,4
	It influenced a little	14	14,3	14,3	34,7
	I can't assess	26	26,5	26,5	61,2
	It influenced significantly	23	23,5	23,5	84,7
	It had the biggest influence	15	15,3	15,3	100,0

Total	98	100.0	100.0	
Total	98	100,0	100,0	

people - subtitle

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	46	46,9	46,9	46,9
	It influenced a little	21	21,4	21,4	68,4
	I can't assess	15	15,3	15,3	83,7
	It influenced significantly	10	10,2	10,2	93,9
	It had the biggest influence	6	6,1	6,1	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

people - scene

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	15	15,3	15,3	15,3
	It influenced a little	11	11,2	11,2	26,5
	I can't assess	11	11,2	11,2	37,8
	It influenced significantly	35	35,7	35,7	73,5
	It had the biggest influence	26	26,5	26,5	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

people - acting

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	31	31,6	31,6	31,6
	It influenced a little	21	21,4	21,4	53,1
	I can't assess	21	21,4	21,4	74,5
	It influenced significantly	18	18,4	18,4	92,9
	It had the biggest influence	7	7,1	7,1	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

people - language

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	9	9,2	9,2	9,2
	It influenced a little	11	11,2	11,2	20,4
	I can't assess	12	12,2	12,2	32,7
	It influenced significantly	36	36,7	36,7	69,4
	It had the biggest influence	30	30,6	30,6	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

people - culture

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	11	11,2	11,2	11,2
	It influenced a little	10	10,2	10,2	21,4
	I can't assess	19	19,4	19,4	40,8
	It influenced significantly	35	35,7	35,7	76,5
	It had the biggest influence	23	23,5	23,5	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

bail - subtitle

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	41	41,8	41,8	41,8
	It influenced a little	22	22,4	22,4	64,3
	I can't assess	7	7,1	7,1	71,4
	It influenced significantly	19	19,4	19,4	90,8
	It had the biggest influence	9	9,2	9,2	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

bail - scene

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	30	30,6	30,6	30,6
	It influenced a little	15	15,3	15,3	45,9
	I can't assess	11	11,2	11,2	57,1
	It influenced significantly	29	29,6	29,6	86,7
	It had the biggest influence	13	13,3	13,3	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

bail - acting

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	45	45,9	45,9	45,9
	It influenced a little	17	17,3	17,3	63,3
	I can't assess	23	23,5	23,5	86,7
	It influenced significantly	10	10,2	10,2	96,9
	It had the biggest influence	3	3,1	3,1	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

bail - language

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	4	4,1	4,1	4,1
	It influenced a little	4	4,1	4,1	8,2
	I can't assess	6	6,1	6,1	14,3
	It influenced significantly	20	20,4	20,4	34,7
	It had the biggest influence	64	65,3	65,3	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

bail - culture

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	13	13,3	13,3	13,3
	It influenced a little	9	9,2	9,2	22,4
	I can't assess	11	11,2	11,2	33,7
	It influenced significantly	34	34,7	34,7	68,4
	It had the biggest influence	31	31,6	31,6	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

mortgage - subtitle

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	38	38,8	38,8	38,8
	It influenced a little	14	14,3	14,3	53,1
	I can't assess	5	5,1	5,1	58,2
	It influenced significantly	21	21,4	21,4	79,6
	It had the biggest influence	20	20,4	20,4	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

mortgage - scene

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	48	49,0	49,0	49,0
	It influenced a little	15	15,3	15,3	64,3
	I can't assess	19	19,4	19,4	83,7
	It influenced significantly	13	13,3	13,3	96,9
	It had the biggest influence	3	3,1	3,1	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

mortgage - acting

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	52	53,1	53,1	53,1
	It influenced a little	15	15,3	15,3	68,4
	I can't assess	23	23,5	23,5	91,8
	It influenced significantly	7	7,1	7,1	99,0
	It had the biggest influence	1	1,0	1,0	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

mortgage - language

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	3	3,1	3,1	3,1
	It influenced a little	7	7,1	7,1	10,2
	I can't assess	10	10,2	10,2	20,4
	It influenced significantly	19	19,4	19,4	39,8
	It had the biggest influence	59	60,2	60,2	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

mortgage - culture

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	13	13,3	13,3	13,3
	It influenced a little	7	7,1	7,1	20,4
	I can't assess	26	26,5	26,5	46,9
	It influenced significantly	30	30,6	30,6	77,6
	It had the biggest influence	22	22,4	22,4	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

Criminal guy - subtitle

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	30	30,6	30,6	30,6
	It influenced a little	12	12,2	12,2	42,9
	I can't assess	10	10,2	10,2	53,1
	It influenced significantly	17	17,3	17,3	70,4
	It had the biggest influence	29	29,6	29,6	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

Criminal guy - scene

			Cumulative
Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Percent

Valid	Didn't influence at all	32	32,7	32,7	32,7
	It influenced a little	16	16,3	16,3	49,0
	I can't assess	18	18,4	18,4	67,3
	It influenced significantly	24	24,5	24,5	91,8
	It had the biggest influence	8	8,2	8,2	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

Criminal guy - acting

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	44	44,9	44,9	44,9
	It influenced a little	19	19,4	19,4	64,3
	I can't assess	23	23,5	23,5	87,8
	It influenced significantly	10	10,2	10,2	98,0
	It had the biggest influence	2	2,0	2,0	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

Criminal guy - language

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	7	7,1	7,1	7,1
	It influenced a little	14	14,3	14,3	21,4
	I can't assess	14	14,3	14,3	35,7
	It influenced significantly	35	35,7	35,7	71,4
	It had the biggest influence	28	28,6	28,6	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

Criminal guy - culture

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	13	13,3	13,3	13,3
	It influenced a little	10	10,2	10,2	23,5
	I can't assess	17	17,3	17,3	40,8
	It influenced significantly	35	35,7	35,7	76,5
	It had the biggest influence	23	23,5	23,5	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

grand jury - subtitle

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	23	23,5	23,5	23,5
	It influenced a little	7	7,1	7,1	30,6

I can't assess	8	8,2	8,2	38,8
It influenced significantly	16	16,3	16,3	55,1
It had the biggest influence	44	44,9	44,9	100,0
Total	98	100,0	100,0	

grand jury - scene

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	25	25,5	25,5	25,5
	It influenced a little	20	20,4	20,4	45,9
	I can't assess	13	13,3	13,3	59,2
	It influenced significantly	28	28,6	28,6	87,8
	It had the biggest influence	12	12,2	12,2	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

grand jury - acting

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	74	75,5	75,5	75,5
	It influenced a little	5	5,1	5,1	80,6
	I can't assess	14	14,3	14,3	94,9
	It influenced significantly	5	5,1	5,1	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

grand jury - language

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	16	16,3	16,3	16,3
	It influenced a little	20	20,4	20,4	36,7
	I can't assess	27	27,6	27,6	64,3
	It influenced significantly	19	19,4	19,4	83,7
	It had the biggest influence	16	16,3	16,3	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

grand jury - culture

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	19	19,4	19,4	19,4
	It influenced a little	18	18,4	18,4	37,8
	I can't assess	30	30,6	30,6	68,4
	It influenced significantly	24	24,5	24,5	92,9

It had the biggest influence	7	7,1	7,1	100,0
Total	98	100,0	100,0	

beat-up - subtitle

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	38	38,8	38,8	38,8
	It influenced a little	16	16,3	16,3	55,1
	I can't assess	9	9,2	9,2	64,3
	It influenced significantly	16	16,3	16,3	80,6
	It had the biggest influence	19	19,4	19,4	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

beat-up - scene

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	54	55,1	55,1	55,1
	It influenced a little	21	21,4	21,4	76,5
	I can't assess	9	9,2	9,2	85,7
	It influenced significantly	9	9,2	9,2	94,9
	It had the biggest influence	5	5,1	5,1	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

beat-up - acting

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	58	59,2	59,2	59,2
	It influenced a little	17	17,3	17,3	76,5
	I can't assess	15	15,3	15,3	91,8
	It influenced significantly	7	7,1	7,1	99,0
	It had the biggest influence	1	1,0	1,0	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

beat-up - language

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	3	3,1	3,1	3,1
	It influenced a little	12	12,2	12,2	15,3
	I can't assess	6	6,1	6,1	21,4
	It influenced significantly	18	18,4	18,4	39,8
	It had the biggest influence	59	60,2	60,2	100,0

Total	98	100.0	100.0	
Total	98	100,0	100,0	

beat-up - culture

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	18	18,4	18,4	18,4
	It influenced a little	10	10,2	10,2	28,6
	I can't assess	21	21,4	21,4	50,0
	It influenced significantly	30	30,6	30,6	80,6
	It had the biggest influence	19	19,4	19,4	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

tyre-jack - subtitle

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	24	24,5	24,5	24,5
	It influenced a little	11	11,2	11,2	35,7
	I can't assess	5	5,1	5,1	40,8
	It influenced significantly	18	18,4	18,4	59,2
	It had the biggest influence	40	40,8	40,8	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

tyre-jack - scene

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	54	55,1	55,1	55,1
	It influenced a little	18	18,4	18,4	73,5
	I can't assess	13	13,3	13,3	86,7
	It influenced significantly	9	9,2	9,2	95,9
	It had the biggest influence	4	4,1	4,1	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

tyre-jack - acting

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	56	57,1	57,1	57,1
	It influenced a little	17	17,3	17,3	74,5
	I can't assess	22	22,4	22,4	96,9
	It influenced significantly	2	2,0	2,0	99,0
	It had the biggest influence	1	1,0	1,0	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

tyre-jack - language

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	17	17,3	17,3	17,3
	It influenced a little	21	21,4	21,4	38,8
	I can't assess	13	13,3	13,3	52,0
	It influenced significantly	21	21,4	21,4	73,5
	It had the biggest influence	26	26,5	26,5	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

tyre-jack - culture

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	24	24,5	24,5	24,5
	It influenced a little	24	24,5	24,5	49,0
	I can't assess	25	25,5	25,5	74,5
	It influenced significantly	12	12,2	12,2	86,7
	It had the biggest influence	13	13,3	13,3	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

94 - subtitle

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	13	13,3	13,3	13,3
	It influenced a little	8	8,2	8,2	21,4
	I can't assess	9	9,2	9,2	30,6
	It influenced significantly	22	22,4	22,4	53,1
	It had the biggest influence	46	46,9	46,9	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

94 - scene

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	46	46,9	46,9	46,9
	It influenced a little	20	20,4	20,4	67,3
	I can't assess	20	20,4	20,4	87,8
	It influenced significantly	9	9,2	9,2	96,9
	It had the biggest influence	3	3,1	3,1	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

94 - acting

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	61	62,2	62,2	62,2
	It influenced a little	11	11,2	11,2	73,5
	I can't assess	23	23,5	23,5	96,9
	It influenced significantly	2	2,0	2,0	99,0
	It had the biggest influence	1	1,0	1,0	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

94 - language

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	27	27,6	27,6	27,6
	It influenced a little	19	19,4	19,4	46,9
	I can't assess	26	26,5	26,5	73,5
	It influenced significantly	15	15,3	15,3	88,8
	It had the biggest influence	11	11,2	11,2	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

94 - culture

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	23	23,5	23,5	23,5
	It influenced a little	12	12,2	12,2	35,7
	I can't assess	24	24,5	24,5	60,2
	It influenced significantly	20	20,4	20,4	80,6
	It had the biggest influence	19	19,4	19,4	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

fatso - subtitle

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	48	49,0	49,0	49,0
	It influenced a little	19	19,4	19,4	68,4
	I can't assess	9	9,2	9,2	77,6
	It influenced significantly	13	13,3	13,3	90,8
	It had the biggest influence	9	9,2	9,2	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

fatso - scene

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	48	49,0	49,0	49,0
	It influenced a little	16	16,3	16,3	65,3
	I can't assess	18	18,4	18,4	83,7
	It influenced significantly	15	15,3	15,3	99,0
	It had the biggest influence	1	1,0	1,0	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

fatso - acting

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	53	54,1	54,1	54,1
	It influenced a little	15	15,3	15,3	69,4
	I can't assess	19	19,4	19,4	88,8
	It influenced significantly	9	9,2	9,2	98,0
	It had the biggest influence	2	2,0	2,0	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

fatso - language

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	2	2,0	2,0	2,0
	It influenced a little	6	6,1	6,1	8,2
	I can't assess	1	1,0	1,0	9,2
	It influenced significantly	28	28,6	28,6	37,8
	It had the biggest influence	60	61,2	61,2	99,0
	6	1	1,0	1,0	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

fatso - culture

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	16	16,3	16,3	16,3
	It influenced a little	12	12,2	12,2	28,6
	I can't assess	12	12,2	12,2	40,8
	It influenced significantly	33	33,7	33,7	74,5
	It had the biggest influence	25	25,5	25,5	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

founding father - subtitle

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	31	31,6	31,6	31,6
	It influenced a little	14	14,3	14,3	45,9
	I can't assess	9	9,2	9,2	55,1
	It influenced significantly	20	20,4	20,4	75,5
	It had the biggest influence	24	24,5	24,5	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

founding father - scene

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	40	40,8	40,8	40,8
	It influenced a little	19	19,4	19,4	60,2
	I can't assess	11	11,2	11,2	71,4
	It influenced significantly	21	21,4	21,4	92,9
	It had the biggest influence	7	7,1	7,1	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

founding father - acting

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	52	53,1	53,1	53,1
	It influenced a little	17	17,3	17,3	70,4
	I can't assess	20	20,4	20,4	90,8
	It influenced significantly	8	8,2	8,2	99,0
	It had the biggest influence	1	1,0	1,0	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

$founding\ father\ \hbox{-}\ language$

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	7	7,1	7,1	7,1
	It influenced a little	11	11,2	11,2	18,4
	I can't assess	13	13,3	13,3	31,6
	It influenced significantly	26	26,5	26,5	58,2
	It had the biggest influence	41	41,8	41,8	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

founding father - culture

			Cumulative
Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Percent

Valid	Didn't influence at all	11	11,2	11,2	11,2
	It influenced a little	7	7,1	7,1	18,4
	I can't assess	14	14,3	14,3	32,7
	It influenced significantly	25	25,5	25,5	58,2
	It had the biggest influence	41	41,8	41,8	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

finders keepers - subtitle

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	51	52,0	52,0	52,0
	It influenced a little	18	18,4	18,4	70,4
	I can't assess	8	8,2	8,2	78,6
	It influenced significantly	12	12,2	12,2	90,8
	It had the biggest influence	9	9,2	9,2	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

finders keepers - scene

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	39	39,8	39,8	39,8
	It influenced a little	20	20,4	20,4	60,2
	I can't assess	12	12,2	12,2	72,4
	It influenced significantly	21	21,4	21,4	93,9
	It had the biggest influence	6	6,1	6,1	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

finders keepers - acting

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	43	43,9	43,9	43,9
	It influenced a little	17	17,3	17,3	61,2
	I can't assess	18	18,4	18,4	79,6
	It influenced significantly	17	17,3	17,3	96,9
	It had the biggest influence	3	3,1	3,1	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

finders keepers - language

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	2	2,0	2,0	2,0
	It influenced a little	2	2,0	2,0	4,1

It influenced significantly	24	24,5	24,5	28,6
It had the biggest influence	70	71,4	71,4	100,0
Total	98	100,0	100,0	

finders keepers - culture

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	11	11,2	11,2	11,2
	It influenced a little	7	7,1	7,1	18,4
	I can't assess	18	18,4	18,4	36,7
	It influenced significantly	30	30,6	30,6	67,3
	It had the biggest influence	32	32,7	32,7	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

Federal Reserve - subtitle

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	20	20,4	20,4	20,4
	It influenced a little	22	22,4	22,4	42,9
	I can't assess	13	13,3	13,3	56,1
	It influenced significantly	22	22,4	22,4	78,6
	It had the biggest influence	21	21,4	21,4	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

Federal Reserve - scene

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	37	37,8	37,8	37,8
	It influenced a little	20	20,4	20,4	58,2
	I can't assess	20	20,4	20,4	78,6
	It influenced significantly	19	19,4	19,4	98,0
	It had the biggest influence	2	2,0	2,0	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

Federal Reserve - acting

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	44	44,9	44,9	44,9
	It influenced a little	21	21,4	21,4	66,3
	I can't assess	22	22,4	22,4	88,8
	It influenced significantly	10	10,2	10,2	99,0

It had the biggest influence	1	1,0	1,0	100,0
Total	98	100,0	100,0	

Federal Reserve - language

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	5	5,1	5,1	5,1
	It influenced a little	15	15,3	15,3	20,4
	I can't assess	15	15,3	15,3	35,7
	It influenced significantly	32	32,7	32,7	68,4
	It had the biggest influence	31	31,6	31,6	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

Federal Reserve - culture

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	9	9,2	9,2	9,2
	It influenced a little	13	13,3	13,3	22,4
	I can't assess	15	15,3	15,3	37,8
	It influenced significantly	24	24,5	24,5	62,2
	It had the biggest influence	37	37,8	37,8	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

federal offence - subtitle

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	32	32,7	32,7	32,7
	It influenced a little	21	21,4	21,4	54,1
	I can't assess	9	9,2	9,2	63,3
	It influenced significantly	20	20,4	20,4	83,7
	It had the biggest influence	16	16,3	16,3	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

federal offence - scene

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	37	37,8	37,8	37,8
	It influenced a little	25	25,5	25,5	63,3
	I can't assess	21	21,4	21,4	84,7
	It influenced significantly	13	13,3	13,3	98,0
	It had the biggest influence	2	2,0	2,0	100,0

Total	98	100.0	100.0	Ī
10441	70	100,0	100,0	

federal offence - acting

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	44	44,9	44,9	44,9
	It influenced a little	16	16,3	16,3	61,2
	I can't assess	28	28,6	28,6	89,8
	It influenced significantly	9	9,2	9,2	99,0
	It had the biggest influence	1	1,0	1,0	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

federal offence - language

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	4	4,1	4,1	4,1
	It influenced a little	7	7,1	7,1	11,2
	I can't assess	4	4,1	4,1	15,3
	It influenced significantly	40	40,8	40,8	56,1
	It had the biggest influence	43	43,9	43,9	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

federal offence - culture

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	8	8,2	8,2	8,2
	It influenced a little	8	8,2	8,2	16,3
	I can't assess	13	13,3	13,3	29,6
	It influenced significantly	29	29,6	29,6	59,2
	It had the biggest influence	40	40,8	40,8	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

M.I.T. - subtitle

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	87	88,8	88,8	88,8
	It influenced a little	5	5,1	5,1	93,9
	I can't assess	6	6,1	6,1	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

M.I.T. - scene

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	66	67,3	67,3	67,3
	It influenced a little	14	14,3	14,3	81,6
	I can't assess	10	10,2	10,2	91,8
	It influenced significantly	7	7,1	7,1	99,0
	It had the biggest influence	1	1,0	1,0	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

M.I.T. - acting

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	68	69,4	69,4	69,4
	It influenced a little	16	16,3	16,3	85,7
	I can't assess	10	10,2	10,2	95,9
	It influenced significantly	3	3,1	3,1	99,0
	It had the biggest influence	1	1,0	1,0	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

M.I.T. - language

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	21	21,4	21,4	21,4
	It influenced a little	16	16,3	16,3	37,8
	I can't assess	27	27,6	27,6	65,3
	It influenced significantly	17	17,3	17,3	82,7
	It had the biggest influence	17	17,3	17,3	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

M.I.T. - culture

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	13	13,3	13,3	13,3
	It influenced a little	10	10,2	10,2	23,5
	I can't assess	26	26,5	26,5	50,0
	It influenced significantly	21	21,4	21,4	71,4
	It had the biggest influence	28	28,6	28,6	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

fingers to the bone - subtitle

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	33	33,7	33,7	33,7
	It influenced a little	20	20,4	20,4	54,1
	I can't assess	6	6,1	6,1	60,2
	It influenced significantly	21	21,4	21,4	81,6
	It had the biggest influence	18	18,4	18,4	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

fingers to the bone - scene $\,$

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	44	44,9	44,9	44,9
	It influenced a little	23	23,5	23,5	68,4
	I can't assess	10	10,2	10,2	78,6
	It influenced significantly	17	17,3	17,3	95,9
	It had the biggest influence	4	4,1	4,1	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

fingers to the bone - acting

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	45	45,9	45,9	45,9
	It influenced a little	19	19,4	19,4	65,3
	I can't assess	15	15,3	15,3	80,6
	It influenced significantly	16	16,3	16,3	96,9
	It had the biggest influence	3	3,1	3,1	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

fingers to the bone - language

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	7	7,1	7,1	7,1
	It influenced a little	8	8,2	8,2	15,3
	I can't assess	17	17,3	17,3	32,7
	It influenced significantly	26	26,5	26,5	59,2
	It had the biggest influence	40	40,8	40,8	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

fingers to the bone - culture

			Cumulative
Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Percent

Valid	Didn't influence at all	16	16,3	16,3	16,3
	It influenced a little	17	17,3	17,3	33,7
	I can't assess	25	25,5	25,5	59,2
	It influenced significantly	21	21,4	21,4	80,6
	It had the biggest influence	19	19,4	19,4	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

school - subtitle

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	10	10,2	10,2	10,2
	It influenced a little	18	18,4	18,4	28,6
	I can't assess	10	10,2	10,2	38,8
	It influenced significantly	31	31,6	31,6	70,4
	It had the biggest influence	29	29,6	29,6	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

school - scene

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	22	22,4	22,4	22,4
	It influenced a little	18	18,4	18,4	40,8
	I can't assess	10	10,2	10,2	51,0
	It influenced significantly	35	35,7	35,7	86,7
	It had the biggest influence	13	13,3	13,3	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

school - acting

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	43	43,9	43,9	43,9
	It influenced a little	22	22,4	22,4	66,3
	I can't assess	21	21,4	21,4	87,8
	It influenced significantly	9	9,2	9,2	96,9
	It had the biggest influence	3	3,1	3,1	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

school - language

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	14	14,3	14,3	14,3
	It influenced a little	13	13,3	13,3	27,6

I can't assess	19	19,4	19,4	46,9
It influenced significantly	28	28,6	28,6	75,5
It had the biggest influence	24	24,5	24,5	100,0
Total	98	100,0	100,0	

school - culture

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	13	13,3	13,3	13,3
	It influenced a little	13	13,3	13,3	26,5
	I can't assess	24	24,5	24,5	51,0
	It influenced significantly	32	32,7	32,7	83,7
	It had the biggest influence	16	16,3	16,3	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

bum - subtitle

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	44	44,9	44,9	44,9
	It influenced a little	24	24,5	24,5	69,4
	I can't assess	4	4,1	4,1	73,5
	It influenced significantly	14	14,3	14,3	87,8
	It had the biggest influence	12	12,2	12,2	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

bum - scene

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	42	42,9	42,9	42,9
	It influenced a little	21	21,4	21,4	64,3
	I can't assess	13	13,3	13,3	77,6
	It influenced significantly	19	19,4	19,4	96,9
	It had the biggest influence	3	3,1	3,1	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

bum - acting

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	47	48,0	48,0	48,0
	It influenced a little	19	19,4	19,4	67,3
	I can't assess	19	19,4	19,4	86,7
	It influenced significantly	9	9,2	9,2	95,9

It had the biggest influence	4	4,1	4,1	100,0
Total	98	100,0	100,0	

bum - language

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	7	7,1	7,1	7,1
	It influenced a little	1	1,0	1,0	8,2
	I can't assess	3	3,1	3,1	11,2
	It influenced significantly	29	29,6	29,6	40,8
	It had the biggest influence	58	59,2	59,2	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

bum - culture

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	14	14,3	14,3	14,3
	It influenced a little	11	11,2	11,2	25,5
	I can't assess	10	10,2	10,2	35,7
	It influenced significantly	31	31,6	31,6	67,3
	It had the biggest influence	32	32,7	32,7	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

50 K - subtitle

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	40	40,8	40,8	40,8
	It influenced a little	23	23,5	23,5	64,3
	I can't assess	4	4,1	4,1	68,4
	It influenced significantly	15	15,3	15,3	83,7
	It had the biggest influence	16	16,3	16,3	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

50 K - scene

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	50	51,0	51,0	51,0
	It influenced a little	22	22,4	22,4	73,5
	I can't assess	10	10,2	10,2	83,7
	It influenced significantly	13	13,3	13,3	96,9
	It had the biggest influence	3	3,1	3,1	100,0

Total	98	100.0	100,0	
1 Otal	98	100,0	100,0	

50 K - acting

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	53	54,1	54,1	54,1
	It influenced a little	18	18,4	18,4	72,4
	I can't assess	17	17,3	17,3	89,8
	It influenced significantly	8	8,2	8,2	98,0
	It had the biggest influence	2	2,0	2,0	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

50 K - language

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	6	6,1	6,1	6,1
	It influenced a little	8	8,2	8,2	14,3
	I can't assess	9	9,2	9,2	23,5
	It influenced significantly	25	25,5	25,5	49,0
	It had the biggest influence	50	51,0	51,0	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

50 K - culture

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	11	11,2	11,2	11,2
	It influenced a little	9	9,2	9,2	20,4
	I can't assess	14	14,3	14,3	34,7
	It influenced significantly	24	24,5	24,5	59,2
	It had the biggest influence	40	40,8	40,8	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

Betty Ford - subtitle

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	27	27,6	27,6	27,6
	It influenced a little	17	17,3	17,3	44,9
	I can't assess	3	3,1	3,1	48,0
	It influenced significantly	22	22,4	22,4	70,4
	It had the biggest influence	29	29,6	29,6	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

Betty Ford - scene

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	42	42,9	42,9	42,9
	It influenced a little	22	22,4	22,4	65,3
	I can't assess	17	17,3	17,3	82,7
	It influenced significantly	14	14,3	14,3	96,9
	It had the biggest influence	3	3,1	3,1	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

Betty Ford - acting

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	57	58,2	58,2	58,2
	It influenced a little	16	16,3	16,3	74,5
	I can't assess	20	20,4	20,4	94,9
	It influenced significantly	5	5,1	5,1	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

Betty Ford - language

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	26	26,5	26,5	26,5
	It influenced a little	16	16,3	16,3	42,9
	I can't assess	18	18,4	18,4	61,2
	It influenced significantly	13	13,3	13,3	74,5
	It had the biggest influence	25	25,5	25,5	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

Betty Ford - culture

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	16	16,3	16,3	16,3
	It influenced a little	15	15,3	15,3	31,6
	I can't assess	18	18,4	18,4	50,0
	It influenced significantly	8	8,2	8,2	58,2
	It had the biggest influence	41	41,8	41,8	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

to order out - subtitle

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	43	43,9	43,9	43,9
	It influenced a little	23	23,5	23,5	67,3
	I can't assess	9	9,2	9,2	76,5
	It influenced significantly	16	16,3	16,3	92,9
	It had the biggest influence	7	7,1	7,1	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

to order out - scene

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	47	48,0	48,0	48,0
	It influenced a little	27	27,6	27,6	75,5
	I can't assess	15	15,3	15,3	90,8
	It influenced significantly	8	8,2	8,2	99,0
	It had the biggest influence	1	1,0	1,0	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

to order out - acting

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	58	59,2	59,2	59,2
	It influenced a little	16	16,3	16,3	75,5
	I can't assess	20	20,4	20,4	95,9
	It influenced significantly	3	3,1	3,1	99,0
	It had the biggest influence	1	1,0	1,0	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

to order out - language

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	2	2,0	2,0	2,0
	It influenced a little	2	2,0	2,0	4,1
	I can't assess	4	4,1	4,1	8,2
	It influenced significantly	31	31,6	31,6	39,8
	It had the biggest influence	59	60,2	60,2	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

to order out - culture

			Cumulative
Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Percent

Valid	Didn't influence at all	10	10,2	10,2	10,2
	It influenced a little	11	11,2	11,2	21,4
	I can't assess	14	14,3	14,3	35,7
	It influenced significantly	30	30,6	30,6	66,3
	It had the biggest influence	33	33,7	33,7	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

to concoct - subtitle

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	35	35,7	35,7	35,7
	It influenced a little	20	20,4	20,4	56,1
	I can't assess	7	7,1	7,1	63,3
	It influenced significantly	15	15,3	15,3	78,6
	It had the biggest influence	21	21,4	21,4	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

to concoct - scene

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	31	31,6	31,6	31,6
	It influenced a little	22	22,4	22,4	54,1
	I can't assess	11	11,2	11,2	65,3
	It influenced significantly	27	27,6	27,6	92,9
	It had the biggest influence	7	7,1	7,1	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

to concoct - acting

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	54	55,1	55,1	55,1
	It influenced a little	18	18,4	18,4	73,5
	I can't assess	16	16,3	16,3	89,8
	It influenced significantly	8	8,2	8,2	98,0
	It had the biggest influence	2	2,0	2,0	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

to concoct - language

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	6	6,1	6,1	6,1
	It influenced a little	11	11,2	11,2	17,3

I can't assess	12	12,2	12,2	29,6
It influenced significantly	22	22,4	22,4	52,0
It had the biggest influence	47	48,0	48,0	100,0
Total	98	100,0	100,0	

to concoct - culture

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	23	23,5	23,5	23,5
	It influenced a little	17	17,3	17,3	40,8
	I can't assess	25	25,5	25,5	66,3
	It influenced significantly	18	18,4	18,4	84,7
	It had the biggest influence	15	15,3	15,3	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

brain-breaker - subtitle

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	41	41,8	41,8	41,8
	It influenced a little	17	17,3	17,3	59,2
	I can't assess	6	6,1	6,1	65,3
	It influenced significantly	17	17,3	17,3	82,7
	It had the biggest influence	17	17,3	17,3	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

brain-breaker - scene

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	37	37,8	37,8	37,8
	It influenced a little	20	20,4	20,4	58,2
	I can't assess	10	10,2	10,2	68,4
	It influenced significantly	25	25,5	25,5	93,9
	It had the biggest influence	6	6,1	6,1	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

brain-breaker - acting

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	56	57,1	57,1	57,1
	It influenced a little	17	17,3	17,3	74,5
	I can't assess	17	17,3	17,3	91,8
	It influenced significantly	6	6,1	6,1	98,0

It had the biggest influence	2	2,0	2,0	100,0
Total	98	100,0	100,0	

brain-breaker - language

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	4	4,1	4,1	4,1
	It influenced a little	3	3,1	3,1	7,1
	I can't assess	5	5,1	5,1	12,2
	It influenced significantly	41	41,8	41,8	54,1
	It had the biggest influence	45	45,9	45,9	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

brain-breaker - culture

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	19	19,4	19,4	19,4
	It influenced a little	14	14,3	14,3	33,7
	I can't assess	19	19,4	19,4	53,1
	It influenced significantly	23	23,5	23,5	76,5
	It had the biggest influence	23	23,5	23,5	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

everyman - subtitle

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	42	42,9	42,9	42,9
	It influenced a little	26	26,5	26,5	69,4
	I can't assess	11	11,2	11,2	80,6
	It influenced significantly	14	14,3	14,3	94,9
	It had the biggest influence	5	5,1	5,1	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

everyman - scene

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	45	45,9	45,9	45,9
	It influenced a little	17	17,3	17,3	63,3
	I can't assess	16	16,3	16,3	79,6
	It influenced significantly	17	17,3	17,3	96,9
	It had the biggest influence	3	3,1	3,1	100,0

Total	98	100.0	100.0	

everyman - acting

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	55	56,1	56,1	56,1
	It influenced a little	20	20,4	20,4	76,5
	I can't assess	17	17,3	17,3	93,9
	It influenced significantly	5	5,1	5,1	99,0
	It had the biggest influence	1	1,0	1,0	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

everyman - language

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	3	3,1	3,1	3,1
	It influenced a little	4	4,1	4,1	7,1
	I can't assess	5	5,1	5,1	12,2
	It influenced significantly	39	39,8	39,8	52,0
	It had the biggest influence	47	48,0	48,0	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

everyman - culture

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	12	12,2	12,2	12,2
	It influenced a little	9	9,2	9,2	21,4
	I can't assess	16	16,3	16,3	37,8
	It influenced significantly	34	34,7	34,7	72,4
	It had the biggest influence	27	27,6	27,6	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

American Dream - subtitle

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	71	72,4	72,4	72,4
	It influenced a little	14	14,3	14,3	86,7
	I can't assess	9	9,2	9,2	95,9
	It influenced significantly	4	4,1	4,1	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

American Dream - scene

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	44	44,9	44,9	44,9
	It influenced a little	25	25,5	25,5	70,4
	I can't assess	15	15,3	15,3	85,7
	It influenced significantly	11	11,2	11,2	96,9
	It had the biggest influence	3	3,1	3,1	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

American Dream - acting

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	61	62,2	62,2	62,2
	It influenced a little	15	15,3	15,3	77,6
	I can't assess	17	17,3	17,3	94,9
	It influenced significantly	4	4,1	4,1	99,0
	It had the biggest influence	1	1,0	1,0	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

American Dream - language

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	3	3,1	3,1	3,1
	It influenced a little	10	10,2	10,2	13,3
	I can't assess	10	10,2	10,2	23,5
	It influenced significantly	36	36,7	36,7	60,2
	It had the biggest influence	39	39,8	39,8	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

American Dream - culture

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	1	1,0	1,0	1,0
	It influenced a little	3	3,1	3,1	4,1
	I can't assess	16	16,3	16,3	20,4
	It influenced significantly	29	29,6	29,6	50,0
	It had the biggest influence	49	50,0	50,0	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

getaway - subtitle

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	45	45,9	45,9	45,9
	It influenced a little	26	26,5	26,5	72,4
	I can't assess	7	7,1	7,1	79,6
	It influenced significantly	11	11,2	11,2	90,8
	It had the biggest influence	9	9,2	9,2	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

getaway - scene

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	27	27,6	27,6	27,6
	It influenced a little	25	25,5	25,5	53,1
	I can't assess	9	9,2	9,2	62,2
	It influenced significantly	29	29,6	29,6	91,8
	It had the biggest influence	8	8,2	8,2	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

getaway - acting

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	45	45,9	45,9	45,9
	It influenced a little	20	20,4	20,4	66,3
	I can't assess	20	20,4	20,4	86,7
	It influenced significantly	11	11,2	11,2	98,0
	It had the biggest influence	2	2,0	2,0	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

getaway - language

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	1	1,0	1,0	1,0
	It influenced a little	2	2,0	2,0	3,1
	I can't assess	8	8,2	8,2	11,2
	It influenced significantly	36	36,7	36,7	48,0
	It had the biggest influence	51	52,0	52,0	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

getaway - culture

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	15	15,3	15,3	15,3
	It influenced a little	11	11,2	11,2	26,5
	I can't assess	22	22,4	22,4	49,0
	It influenced significantly	29	29,6	29,6	78,6
	It had the biggest influence	21	21,4	21,4	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

subway - subtitle

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	56	57,1	57,1	57,1
	It influenced a little	17	17,3	17,3	74,5
	I can't assess	5	5,1	5,1	79,6
	It influenced significantly	14	14,3	14,3	93,9
	It had the biggest influence	6	6,1	6,1	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

subway - scene

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	51	52,0	52,0	52,0
	It influenced a little	11	11,2	11,2	63,3
	I can't assess	16	16,3	16,3	79,6
	It influenced significantly	17	17,3	17,3	96,9
	It had the biggest influence	3	3,1	3,1	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

subway - acting

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	64	65,3	65,3	65,3
	It influenced a little	12	12,2	12,2	77,6
	I can't assess	16	16,3	16,3	93,9
	It influenced significantly	3	3,1	3,1	96,9
	It had the biggest influence	3	3,1	3,1	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

subway - language

			Cumulative
Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Percent

Valid	Didn't influence at all	2	2,0	2,0	2,0
	I can't assess	1	1,0	1,0	3,1
	It influenced significantly	28	28,6	28,6	31,6
	It had the biggest influence	67	68,4	68,4	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

subway - culture

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	6	6,1	6,1	6,1
	It influenced a little	5	5,1	5,1	11,2
	I can't assess	2	2,0	2,0	13,3
	It influenced significantly	40	40,8	40,8	54,1
	It had the biggest influence	45	45,9	45,9	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

Union Army - subtitle

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	35	35,7	35,7	35,7
	It influenced a little	15	15,3	15,3	51,0
	I can't assess	10	10,2	10,2	61,2
	It influenced significantly	21	21,4	21,4	82,7
	It had the biggest influence	17	17,3	17,3	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

Union Army - scene

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	54	55,1	55,1	55,1
	It influenced a little	18	18,4	18,4	73,5
	I can't assess	17	17,3	17,3	90,8
	It influenced significantly	8	8,2	8,2	99,0
	It had the biggest influence	1	1,0	1,0	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

Union Army - acting

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	61	62,2	62,2	62,2
	It influenced a little	13	13,3	13,3	75,5
	I can't assess	20	20,4	20,4	95,9

It influenced significantly	3	3,1	3,1	99,0
It had the biggest influence	1	1,0	1,0	100,0
Total	98	100,0	100,0	

Union Army - language

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	11	11,2	11,2	11,2
	It influenced a little	16	16,3	16,3	27,6
	I can't assess	10	10,2	10,2	37,8
	It influenced significantly	32	32,7	32,7	70,4
	It had the biggest influence	29	29,6	29,6	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

Union Army - culture

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	7	7,1	7,1	7,1
	It influenced a little	7	7,1	7,1	14,3
	I can't assess	5	5,1	5,1	19,4
	It influenced significantly	27	27,6	27,6	46,9
	It had the biggest influence	52	53,1	53,1	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

Uncle Tom - subtitle

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	64	65,3	65,3	65,3
	It influenced a little	13	13,3	13,3	78,6
	I can't assess	9	9,2	9,2	87,8
	It influenced significantly	6	6,1	6,1	93,9
	It had the biggest influence	6	6,1	6,1	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

Uncle Tom - scene

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	61	62,2	62,2	62,2
	It influenced a little	14	14,3	14,3	76,5
	I can't assess	13	13,3	13,3	89,8
	It influenced significantly	8	8,2	8,2	98,0

It had the biggest influence	2	2,0	2,0	100,0
Total	98	100,0	100,0	

Uncle Tom - acting

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	65	66,3	66,3	66,3
	It influenced a little	8	8,2	8,2	74,5
	I can't assess	16	16,3	16,3	90,8
	It influenced significantly	7	7,1	7,1	98,0
	It had the biggest influence	2	2,0	2,0	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

Uncle Tom - language

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	33	33,7	33,7	33,7
	It influenced a little	13	13,3	13,3	46,9
	I can't assess	24	24,5	24,5	71,4
	It influenced significantly	17	17,3	17,3	88,8
	It had the biggest influence	11	11,2	11,2	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

Uncle Tom - culture

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	22	22,4	22,4	22,4
	It influenced a little	7	7,1	7,1	29,6
	I can't assess	21	21,4	21,4	51,0
	It influenced significantly	20	20,4	20,4	71,4
	It had the biggest influence	28	28,6	28,6	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

The Garden - subtitle

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	45	45,9	45,9	45,9
	It influenced a little	17	17,3	17,3	63,3
	I can't assess	6	6,1	6,1	69,4
	It influenced significantly	16	16,3	16,3	85,7
	It had the biggest influence	14	14,3	14,3	100,0

Total	98	100.0	100.0	

The Garden - scene

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	51	52,0	52,0	52,0
	It influenced a little	16	16,3	16,3	68,4
	I can't assess	13	13,3	13,3	81,6
	It influenced significantly	14	14,3	14,3	95,9
	It had the biggest influence	4	4,1	4,1	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

The Garden - acting

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	61	62,2	62,2	62,2
	It influenced a little	13	13,3	13,3	75,5
	I can't assess	19	19,4	19,4	94,9
	It influenced significantly	5	5,1	5,1	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

The Garden - language

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	18	18,4	18,4	18,4
	It influenced a little	15	15,3	15,3	33,7
	I can't assess	18	18,4	18,4	52,0
	It influenced significantly	34	34,7	34,7	86,7
	It had the biggest influence	13	13,3	13,3	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

The Garden - culture

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	8	8,2	8,2	8,2
	It influenced a little	9	9,2	9,2	17,3
	I can't assess	12	12,2	12,2	29,6
	It influenced significantly	28	28,6	28,6	58,2
	It had the biggest influence	41	41,8	41,8	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

Honest Abe - subtitle

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	48	49,0	49,0	49,0
	It influenced a little	22	22,4	22,4	71,4
	I can't assess	9	9,2	9,2	80,6
	It influenced significantly	10	10,2	10,2	90,8
	It had the biggest influence	9	9,2	9,2	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

Honest Abe - scene

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	28	28,6	28,6	28,6
	It influenced a little	14	14,3	14,3	42,9
	I can't assess	10	10,2	10,2	53,1
	It influenced significantly	23	23,5	23,5	76,5
	It had the biggest influence	23	23,5	23,5	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

Honest Abe - acting

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	54	55,1	55,1	55,1
	It influenced a little	13	13,3	13,3	68,4
	I can't assess	20	20,4	20,4	88,8
	It influenced significantly	10	10,2	10,2	99,0
	It had the biggest influence	1	1,0	1,0	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

Honest Abe - language

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	15	15,3	15,3	15,3
	It influenced a little	17	17,3	17,3	32,7
	I can't assess	21	21,4	21,4	54,1
	It influenced significantly	28	28,6	28,6	82,7
	It had the biggest influence	17	17,3	17,3	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

Honest Abe - culture

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	4	4,1	4,1	4,1
	It influenced a little	8	8,2	8,2	12,2
	I can't assess	14	14,3	14,3	26,5
	It influenced significantly	30	30,6	30,6	57,1
	It had the biggest influence	42	42,9	42,9	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

Civil War - subtitle

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	50	51,0	51,0	51,0
	It influenced a little	20	20,4	20,4	71,4
	I can't assess	4	4,1	4,1	75,5
	It influenced significantly	15	15,3	15,3	90,8
	It had the biggest influence	9	9,2	9,2	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

Civil War - scene

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	61	62,2	62,2	62,2
	It influenced a little	14	14,3	14,3	76,5
	I can't assess	10	10,2	10,2	86,7
	It influenced significantly	9	9,2	9,2	95,9
	It had the biggest influence	4	4,1	4,1	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

Civil War - acting

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	69	70,4	70,4	70,4
	It influenced a little	15	15,3	15,3	85,7
	I can't assess	10	10,2	10,2	95,9
	It influenced significantly	2	2,0	2,0	98,0
	It had the biggest influence	2	2,0	2,0	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

Civil War - language

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	3	3,1	3,1	3,1
	It influenced a little	6	6,1	6,1	9,2
	I can't assess	4	4,1	4,1	13,3
	It influenced significantly	39	39,8	39,8	53,1
	It had the biggest influence	46	46,9	46,9	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

Civil War - culture

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	4	4,1	4,1	4,1
	It influenced a little	2	2,0	2,0	6,1
	It influenced significantly	28	28,6	28,6	34,7
	It had the biggest influence	64	65,3	65,3	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

trust fund - subtitle

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	40	40,8	40,8	40,8
	It influenced a little	30	30,6	30,6	71,4
	I can't assess	11	11,2	11,2	82,7
	It influenced significantly	10	10,2	10,2	92,9
	It had the biggest influence	7	7,1	7,1	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

trust fund - scene

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	48	49,0	49,0	49,0
	It influenced a little	22	22,4	22,4	71,4
	I can't assess	12	12,2	12,2	83,7
	It influenced significantly	14	14,3	14,3	98,0
	It had the biggest influence	2	2,0	2,0	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

trust fund - acting

					Cumulative
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	66	67,3	67,3	67,3

It influenced a little	11	11,2	11,2	78,6
I can't assess	18	18,4	18,4	96,9
It influenced significantly	2	2,0	2,0	99,0
It had the biggest influence	1	1,0	1,0	100,0
Total	98	100,0	100,0	

trust fund - language

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	2	2,0	2,0	2,0
	It influenced a little	4	4,1	4,1	6,1
	I can't assess	11	11,2	11,2	17,3
	It influenced significantly	40	40,8	40,8	58,2
	It had the biggest influence	41	41,8	41,8	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

trust fund - culture

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	10	10,2	10,2	10,2
	It influenced a little	12	12,2	12,2	22,4
	I can't assess	18	18,4	18,4	40,8
	It influenced significantly	32	32,7	32,7	73,5
	It had the biggest influence	26	26,5	26,5	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

custodian - subtitle

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	18	18,4	18,4	18,4
	It influenced a little	18	18,4	18,4	36,7
	I can't assess	3	3,1	3,1	39,8
	It influenced significantly	18	18,4	18,4	58,2
	It had the biggest influence	41	41,8	41,8	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

custodian - scene

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	47	48,0	48,0	48,0
	It influenced a little	16	16,3	16,3	64,3
	I can't assess	14	14,3	14,3	78,6

It influenced significantly	18	18,4	18,4	96,9
It had the biggest influence	3	3,1	3,1	100,0
Total	98	100,0	100,0	

custodian - acting

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	68	69,4	69,4	69,4
	It influenced a little	9	9,2	9,2	78,6
	I can't assess	16	16,3	16,3	94,9
	It influenced significantly	5	5,1	5,1	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

custodian - language

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	14	14,3	14,3	14,3
	It influenced a little	16	16,3	16,3	30,6
	I can't assess	17	17,3	17,3	48,0
	It influenced significantly	29	29,6	29,6	77,6
	It had the biggest influence	22	22,4	22,4	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

custodian - culture

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	23	23,5	23,5	23,5
	It influenced a little	17	17,3	17,3	40,8
	I can't assess	24	24,5	24,5	65,3
	It influenced significantly	21	21,4	21,4	86,7
	It had the biggest influence	13	13,3	13,3	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

Cadillac of poker - subtitle

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	39	39,8	39,8	39,8
	It influenced a little	28	28,6	28,6	68,4
	I can't assess	4	4,1	4,1	72,4
	It influenced significantly	16	16,3	16,3	88,8
	It had the biggest influence	11	11,2	11,2	100,0

Total	98	100.0	100.0	
Total	90	100,0	100,0	

Cadillac of poker - scene

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	36	36,7	36,7	36,7
	It influenced a little	18	18,4	18,4	55,1
	I can't assess	13	13,3	13,3	68,4
	It influenced significantly	25	25,5	25,5	93,9
	It had the biggest influence	6	6,1	6,1	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

Cadillac of poker - acting

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	57	58,2	58,2	58,2
	It influenced a little	13	13,3	13,3	71,4
	I can't assess	19	19,4	19,4	90,8
	It influenced significantly	6	6,1	6,1	96,9
	It had the biggest influence	3	3,1	3,1	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

Cadillac of poker - language

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	8	8,2	8,2	8,2
	It influenced a little	8	8,2	8,2	16,3
	I can't assess	8	8,2	8,2	24,5
	It influenced significantly	34	34,7	34,7	59,2
	It had the biggest influence	40	40,8	40,8	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

Cadillac of poker - culture

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	6	6,1	6,1	6,1
	It influenced a little	4	4,1	4,1	10,2
	I can't assess	10	10,2	10,2	20,4
	It influenced significantly	21	21,4	21,4	41,8
	It had the biggest influence	57	58,2	58,2	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

The Channel - subtitle

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	39	39,8	39,8	39,8
	It influenced a little	21	21,4	21,4	61,2
	I can't assess	4	4,1	4,1	65,3
	It influenced significantly	16	16,3	16,3	81,6
	It had the biggest influence	18	18,4	18,4	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

The Channel - scene

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	36	36,7	36,7	36,7
	It influenced a little	25	25,5	25,5	62,2
	I can't assess	15	15,3	15,3	77,6
	It influenced significantly	19	19,4	19,4	96,9
	It had the biggest influence	3	3,1	3,1	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

The Channel - acting

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	74	75,5	75,5	75,5
	It influenced a little	7	7,1	7,1	82,7
	I can't assess	14	14,3	14,3	96,9
	It influenced significantly	3	3,1	3,1	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

The Channel - language

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	7	7,1	7,1	7,1
	It influenced a little	12	12,2	12,2	19,4
	I can't assess	18	18,4	18,4	37,8
	It influenced significantly	25	25,5	25,5	63,3
	It had the biggest influence	36	36,7	36,7	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

The Channel - culture

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	8	8,2	8,2	8,2
	It influenced a little	8	8,2	8,2	16,3
	I can't assess	8	8,2	8,2	24,5
	It influenced significantly	19	19,4	19,4	43,9
	It had the biggest influence	55	56,1	56,1	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

MP - subtitle

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	36	36,7	36,7	36,7
	It influenced a little	23	23,5	23,5	60,2
	I can't assess	8	8,2	8,2	68,4
	It influenced significantly	12	12,2	12,2	80,6
	It had the biggest influence	19	19,4	19,4	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

MP - scene

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	66	67,3	67,3	67,3
	It influenced a little	12	12,2	12,2	79,6
	I can't assess	12	12,2	12,2	91,8
	It influenced significantly	7	7,1	7,1	99,0
	It had the biggest influence	1	1,0	1,0	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

MP - acting

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	76	77,6	77,6	77,6
	It influenced a little	7	7,1	7,1	84,7
	I can't assess	13	13,3	13,3	98,0
	It influenced significantly	2	2,0	2,0	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

MP - language

			Cumulative
Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Percent

Valid	Didn't influence at all	14	14,3	14,3	14,3
	It influenced a little	13	13,3	13,3	27,6
	I can't assess	21	21,4	21,4	49,0
	It influenced significantly	31	31,6	31,6	80,6
	It had the biggest influence	19	19,4	19,4	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

MP - culture

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	8	8,2	8,2	8,2
	It influenced a little	9	9,2	9,2	17,3
	I can't assess	23	23,5	23,5	40,8
	It influenced significantly	19	19,4	19,4	60,2
	It had the biggest influence	39	39,8	39,8	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

Britannia - subtitle

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	53	54,1	54,1	54,1
	It influenced a little	10	10,2	10,2	64,3
	I can't assess	13	13,3	13,3	77,6
	It influenced significantly	16	16,3	16,3	93,9
	It had the biggest influence	6	6,1	6,1	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

Britannia - scene

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	53	54,1	54,1	54,1
	It influenced a little	15	15,3	15,3	69,4
	I can't assess	14	14,3	14,3	83,7
	It influenced significantly	7	7,1	7,1	90,8
	It had the biggest influence	9	9,2	9,2	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

Britannia - acting

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	67	68,4	68,4	68,4
	It influenced a little	3	3,1	3,1	71,4

I can't assess	22	22,4	22,4	93,9
It influenced significantly	5	5,1	5,1	99,0
It had the biggest influence	1	1,0	1,0	100,0
Total	98	100,0	100,0	

Britannia - language

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	29	29,6	29,6	29,6
	It influenced a little	9	9,2	9,2	38,8
	I can't assess	28	28,6	28,6	67,3
	It influenced significantly	20	20,4	20,4	87,8
	It had the biggest influence	12	12,2	12,2	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

Britannia - culture

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	24	24,5	24,5	24,5
	It influenced a little	6	6,1	6,1	30,6
	I can't assess	31	31,6	31,6	62,2
	It influenced significantly	17	17,3	17,3	79,6
	It had the biggest influence	20	20,4	20,4	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

pre-med - subtitle

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	23	23,5	23,5	23,5
	It influenced a little	18	18,4	18,4	41,8
	I can't assess	9	9,2	9,2	51,0
	It influenced significantly	18	18,4	18,4	69,4
	It had the biggest influence	30	30,6	30,6	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

pre-med - scene

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	41	41,8	41,8	41,8
	It influenced a little	15	15,3	15,3	57,1
	I can't assess	11	11,2	11,2	68,4
	It influenced significantly	25	25,5	25,5	93,9

It had the biggest influence	6	6,1	6,1	100,0
Total	98	100,0	100,0	

pre-med - acting

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	45	45,9	45,9	45,9
	It influenced a little	14	14,3	14,3	60,2
	I can't assess	16	16,3	16,3	76,5
	It influenced significantly	22	22,4	22,4	99,0
	It had the biggest influence	1	1,0	1,0	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

pre-med - language

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	7	7,1	7,1	7,1
	It influenced a little	12	12,2	12,2	19,4
	I can't assess	20	20,4	20,4	39,8
	It influenced significantly	35	35,7	35,7	75,5
	It had the biggest influence	24	24,5	24,5	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

pre-med - culture

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't influence at all	14	14,3	14,3	14,3
	It influenced a little	11	11,2	11,2	25,5
	I can't assess	20	20,4	20,4	45,9
	It influenced significantly	22	22,4	22,4	68,4
	It had the biggest influence	31	31,6	31,6	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

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		Frequency	Percent
Missing	System	98	100,0

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			Cumulative
Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Percent

-				
Valid 20	1	1,0	1,0	1,0
21	2	2,0	2,0	3,1
22	1	1,0	1,0	4,1
23	2	2,0	2,0	6,1
24	1	1,0	1,0	7,1
25	3	3,1	3,1	10,2
26	4	4,1	4,1	14,3
27	9	9,2	9,2	23,5
28	8	8,2	8,2	31,6
29	7	7,1	7,1	38,8
30	4	4,1	4,1	42,9
31	6	6,1	6,1	49,0
32	6	6,1	6,1	55,1
33	6	6,1	6,1	61,2
34	8	8,2	8,2	69,4
35	8	8,2	8,2	77,6
36	5	5,1	5,1	82,7
37	4	4,1	4,1	86,7
38	5	5,1	5,1	91,8
39	3	3,1	3,1	94,9
40	2	2,0	2,0	96,9
41	1	1,0	1,0	98,0
42	2	2,0	2,0	100,0
Total	98	100,0	100,0	

Material 4 - Descriptives

		N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error	95% Confiden Me		Minimum	Maximum
						Lower Bound	Upper Bound		
Influence of subtitle on	1,00	38	97,9211	25,86909	4,19652	89,4181	106,4240	47,00	167,00
the total result	2,00	24	107,5417	32,94261	6,72438	93,6312	121,4521	55,00	176,00
	3,00	36	138,2222	36,44339	6,07390	125,8916	150,5529	65,00	204,00
	Total	98	115,0816	36,33143	3,67003	107,7976	122,3656	47,00	204,00
The influence of context	1,00	38	90,2632	29,60796	4,80305	80,5313	99,9951	49,00	155,00
	2,00	24	91,7500	29,95250	6,11403	79,1022	104,3978	51,00	161,00
	3,00	36	116,0000	34,16180	5,69363	104,4413	127,5587	57,00	176,00
	Total	98	100,0816	33,42438	3,37637	93,3805	106,7828	49,00	176,00
The influence of acting	1,00	38	75,8684	29,52065	4,78888	66,1652	85,5716	44,00	161,00
	2,00	24	78,1667	34,08387	6,95734	63,7743	92,5590	44,00	149,00
	3,00	36	88,0833	28,40863	4,73477	78,4712	97,6954	44,00	151,00
	Total	98	80,9184	30,49579	3,08054	74,8043	87,0324	44,00	161,00
The influence of the	1,00	38	169,2632	23,19795	3,76321	161,6382	176,8881	115,00	209,00
knowledge of English	2,00	24	157,5000	27,45114	5,60344	145,9084	169,0916	102,00	212,00
language	3,00	36	161,9167	23,68770	3,94795	153,9019	169,9314	88,00	198,00

	Total	98	163,6837	24,68256	2,49332	158,7351	168,6322	88,00	212,00
The influence of the	1,00	38	161,8421	31,26567	5,07196	151,5653	172,1189	88,00	212,00
knowledge of British	2,00	24	144,6667	31,72938	6,47673	131,2685	158,0648	76,00	211,00
and American Culture	3,00	36	147,0833	33,76336	5,62723	135,6595	158,5072	52,00	192,00
	Total	98	152,2143	32,91045	3,32446	145,6162	158,8124	52,00	212,00

Material 5- Correlations

		TSUM	The infleuence of subtitle on the overall result	The infleuence of the scene on the overall result	The infleuence of acting on the overall result	The infleuence of language on the overall result	The infleuence of culture on the overall result
TSUM	Pearson Correlation	1	-,447(**)	-,337(**)	-,339(**)	,401(**)	,436(**)
	Sig. (2-tailed)		,000	,001	,001	,000	,000
	Sum of Squares and Cross-products	2312,051	-7689,612	-5335,612	-4896,388	4692,622	6798,643
	Covariance	23,836	-79,274	-55,006	-50,478	48,378	70,089
	N	98	98	98	98	98	98
Influence of subtitle on	Pearson Correlation	-,447(**)	1	,656(**)	,505(**)	-,280(**)	-,214(*)
the total result	Sig. (2-tailed)	,000		,000	,000	,005	,034
	Sum of Squares and Cross-products	-7689,612	128037,347	77287,347	54295,653	-24342,469	-24803,714
	Covariance	-79,274	1319,973	796,777	559,749	-250,953	-255,708
	N	98	98	98	98	98	98
The influence of context	Pearson Correlation	-,337(**)	,656(**)	1	,799(**)	-,104	-,023
	Sig. (2-tailed)	,001	,000		,000	,310	,825
	Sum of Squares and Cross-products	-5335,612	77287,347	108367,347	79001,653	-8298,469	-2420,714
	Covariance	-55,006	796,777	1117,189	814,450	-85,551	-24,956
	N	98	98	98	98	98	98
The influence of acting	Pearson Correlation	-,339(**)	,505(**)	,799(**)	1	-,082	,004
	Sig. (2-tailed)	,001	,000	,000		,424	,968
	Sum of Squares and Cross-products	-4896,388	54295,653	79001,653	90209,347	-5965,531	399,714

	Covariance	-50,478	559,749	814,450	929,993	-61,500	4,121
	N	98	98	98	98	98	98
The influence of the	Pearson Correlation	,401(**)	-,280(**)	-,104	-,082	1	,681(**)
knowledge of English	Sig. (2-tailed)	,000	,005	,310	,424		,000
language	Sum of Squares and Cross-products	4692,622	-24342,469	-8298,469	-5965,531	59095,194	53695,643
	Covariance	48,378	-250,953	-85,551	-61,500	609,229	553,563
	N	98	98	98	98	98	98
The influence of the	Pearson Correlation	,436(**)	-,214(*)	-,023	,004	,681(**)	1
knowledge of British	Sig. (2-tailed)	,000	,034	,825	,968	,000	
an American culture	Sum of Squares and Cross-products	6798,643	-24803,714	-2420,714	399,714	53695,643	105060,500
	Covariance	70,089	-255,708	-24,956	4,121	553,563	1083,098
	N	98	98	98	98	98	98

^{**} Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Material 6 - Differences between the "corrects" and the "incorrects"

Army brat		N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
army brat - subtitle	incorrect	57	2,89	1,398	,185
	correct	41	2,66	1,442	,225
army brat - scene	incorrect	57	2,93	1,361	,180
	correct	41	2,51	1,362	,213
army brat - acting	incorrect	57	2,35	1,126	,149
	correct	41	1,90	1,114	,174
army brat - language	incorrect	57	3,67	1,024	,136
	correct	41	3,78	1,275	,199
army brat - culture	incorrect	57	3,18	1,182	,157
	correct	41	3,24	1,392	,217

Chip shop		N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
chip shop - subtitle	incorrect	35	4,11	1,078	,182
	correct	63	3,16	1,439	,181
chip shop - scene	incorrect	35	2,69	1,278	,216
	correct	63	2,48	1,162	,146
chip shop - acting	incorrect	35	2,03	1,150	,194
	correct	63	2,03	,999	,126
chip shop - language	incorrect	35	2,89	1,132	,191
	correct	63	3,73	1,035	,130
chip shop - culture	incorrect	35	2,60	1,218	,206
	correct	63	3,14	1,176	,148

Tea		N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
tea - subtitle	incorrect	45	4,36	,957	,143
	correct	53	3,30	1,381	,190
tea - scene	incorrect	45	2,69	1,125	,168
	correct	53	2,32	1,356	,186
tea - acting	incorrect	45	2,18	,984	,147
	correct	53	2,00	1,127	,155
tea - language	incorrect	45	2,69	1,240	,185
	correct	53	3,47	1,219	,167
tea - culture	incorrect	45	2,69	1,184	,176
	correct	53	3,21	1,183	,162

Juvenile detention ce	ntre	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
juvenile d c - subtitle	incorrect	22	3,55	1,405	,300
	correct	76	2,41	1,397	,160
juvenile d c - scene	incorrect	22	2,50	1,300	,277
	correct	76	2,63	1,335	,153
juvenile d c - acting	incorrect	22	1,86	1,037	,221
	correct	76	1,89	1,040	,119
juvenile d c - language	incorrect	22	3,27	1,162	,248
	correct	76	4,50	,721	,083
juvenile d c - culture	incorrect	22	2,59	1,054	,225
	correct	76	3,54	1,301	,149

To arraign		N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
to arraign - subtitle	incorrect	28	3,82	1,307	,247
	correct	70	2,93	1,563	,187
to arraign - scene	incorrect	28	2,64	1,339	,253
	correct	70	2,79	1,413	,169
to arraign - acting	incorrect	28	2,11	1,197	,226
	correct	70	1,64	,885	,106
to arraign - language	incorrect	28	2,96	1,036	,196
	correct	70	3,77	1,230	,147
to arraign - culture	incorrect	28	2,79	1,197	,226
	correct	70	3,07	1,407	,168

Bail		N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
bail - subtitle	incorrect	9	2,44	1,810	,603
	correct	89	2,30	1,385	,147
bail - scene	incorrect	9	2,11	1,691	,564
	correct	89	2,87	1,447	,153
bail - acting	incorrect	9	1,56	,882	,294
	correct	89	2,12	1,195	,127
bail - language	incorrect	9	3,78	1,481	,494
	correct	89	4,45	,989	,105
bail - culture	incorrect	9	3,00	1,581	,527
	correct	89	3,69	1,337	,142

Mortgage		N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
mortgage - subtitle	incorrect	23	3,61	1,672	,349

	correct	75	2,43	1,526	,176
mortgage - scene	incorrect	23	2,22	1,347	,281
	correct	75	2,01	1,191	,138
mortgage - acting	incorrect	23	2,04	1,147	,239
	correct	75	1,83	1,045	,121
mortgage - language	incorrect	23	3,22	1,313	,274
	correct	75	4,59	,790	,091
mortgage - culture	incorrect	23	2,61	1,033	,215
	correct	75	3,67	1,256	,145

Cod		N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
cod - subtitle	incorrect	43	4,00	1,447	,221
	correct	55	3,11	1,536	,207
cod - scene	incorrect	43	2,35	1,213	,185
	correct	55	2,36	1,095	,148
cod - acting	incorrect	43	2,14	1,014	,155
	correct	55	1,96	1,053	,142
cod - language	incorrect	43	2,65	1,152	,176
	correct	55	3,75	1,236	,167
cod - culture	incorrect	43	2,44	1,181	,180
	correct	55	2,69	1,386	,187

People		N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
people - subtitle	incorrect	38	2,24	1,384	,225
	correct	60	1,97	1,178	,152
people - scene	incorrect		,	•	·
people - scelle	IIICOITECI	38	3,74	1,288	,209
	correct	60	3,30	1,442	,186
people - acting	incorrect	38	2,74	1,178	,191
	correct	60	2,32	1,359	,175
people - language	incorrect	38	3,68	1,254	,203
	correct	60	3,68	1,295	,167
people - culture	incorrect	38	3,34	1,214	,197
	correct	60	3,60	1,304	,168

Criminal guy		N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Criminal guy - subtitle	incorrect	38	3,76	1,567	,254
	correct	60	2,57	1,544	,199
Criminal guy - scene	incorrect	38	2,63	1,324	,215
	correct	60	2,57	1,419	,183
Criminal guy - acting	incorrect	38	2,21	1,298	,211

	correct	60	1,95	1,016	,131
Criminal guy - language	incorrect	38	3,03	1,305	,212
igaaaga	correct	60	4,03	1,025	,132
Criminal guy - culture	incorrect	38	2,79	1,455	,236
	correct	60	3,88	1,027	,133

Grand Jury		N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
grand jury - subtitle	incorrect	78	3,56	1,632	,185
	correct	20	3,35	1,755	,393
grand jury - scene	incorrect	78	3,00	1,405	,159
	correct	20	2,10	1,210	,270
grand jury - acting	incorrect	78	1,59	,986	,112
	correct	20	1,10	,447	,100
grand jury - language	incorrect	78	2,83	1,211	,137
	correct	20	3,60	1,536	,343
grand jury - culture	incorrect	78	2,76	1,175	,133
	correct	20	3,05	1,356	,303

Beat up		N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
beat-up - subtitle	incorrect	10	3,80	1,687	,533
	correct	88	2,48	1,531	,163
beat-up - scene	incorrect	10	2,90	1,595	,504
	correct	88	1,76	1,114	,119
beat-up - acting	incorrect	10	2,50	1,179	,373
	correct	88	1,65	,983	,105
beat-up - language	incorrect	10	3,60	1,350	,427
	correct	88	4,27	1,152	,123
beat-up - culture	incorrect	10	3,00	1,155	,365
	correct	88	3,25	1,400	,149

Tyre jack		N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Tyre jack - subtitle	incorrect	51	4,31	1,175	,164
	correct	47	2,40	1,556	,227
Tyre jack - scene	incorrect	51	2,14	1,233	,173
	correct	47	1,62	1,095	,160
Tyre jack - acting	incorrect	51	1,92	,977	,137
	correct	47	1,51	,882	,129
Tyre jack - language	incorrect	51	2,41	1,186	,166

	correct	47	4,02	1,294	,189
Tyre jack - culture	incorrect	51	2,08	,956	,134
	correct	47	3,28	1,410	,206

94		N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
94 - subtitle	incorrect	46	4,39	1,125	,166
	correct	52	3,31	1,502	,208
94 - scene	incorrect	46	2,00	1,095	,162
	correct	52	2,02	1,213	,168
94 - acting	incorrect	46	1,80	,980	,145
	correct	52	1,58	,957	,133
94 - language	incorrect	46	2,11	1,038	,153
	correct	52	3,10	1,404	,195
94 - culture	incorrect	46	2,52	1,260	,186
	correct	52	3,42	1,460	,202

Fatso		N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
fatso - subtitle	incorrect	7	4,00	1,528	,577
	correct	91	2,00	1,282	,134
fatso - scene	incorrect	7	2,57	1,272	,481
	correct	91	1,99	1,169	,123
fatso - acting	incorrect	7	2,86	1,345	,508
	correct	91	1,82	1,091	,114
fatso - language	incorrect	7	3,14	1,574	,595
	correct	91	4,54	,821	,086
fatso - culture	incorrect	7	2,71	1,704	,644
	correct	91	3,45	1,385	,145

Founding father		N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
founding father - subtitle	incorrect	34	3,85	1,417	,243
	correct	64	2,42	1,499	,187
founding father - scene	incorrect	34	2,88	1,320	,226
	correct	64	2,06	1,344	,168
founding father - acting	incorrect	34	2,09	1,083	,186
	correct	64	1,75	1,054	,132
founding father - language	incorrect	34	2,97	1,314	,225
	correct	64	4,31	,990	,124
founding father - culture	incorrect	34	3,15	1,329	,228
	correct	64	4,14	1,246	,156

Finders-keepers		N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Finders-keepers - subtitle	incorrect	1	1,00		
	correct	97	2,09	1,393	,141
Finders-keepers - scene	incorrect	1	1,00		
	correct	97	2,35	1,354	,138
Finders-keepers - acting	incorrect	1	1,00		
	correct	97	2,20	1,255	,127
Finders-keepers - language	incorrect	1	5,00		
	correct	97	4,61	,785	,080,
Finders-keepers - culture	incorrect	1	3,00		
	correct	97	3,67	1,313	,133

Federal Reserve		N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Federal Reserve - subtitle	incorrect	43	3,81	1,239	,189
	correct	55	2,40	1,328	,179
Federal Reserve - scene	incorrect	43	2,63	1,291	,197
	correct	55	2,00	1,089	,147
Federal Reserve - acting	incorrect	43	2,19	1,075	,164
	correct	55	1,87	1,090	,147
Federal Reserve - language	incorrect	43	3,28	1,221	,186
	correct	55	4,04	1,105	,149
Federal Reserve - culture	incorrect	43	3,09	1,250	,191
	correct	55	4,15	1,239	,167

Federal offence		N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Federal offence - subtitle	incorrect	28	3,96	1,201	,227
	correct	70	2,14	1,300	,155
Federal offence - scene	incorrect	28	2,57	1,260	,238
	correct	70	2,00	1,049	,125
Federal offence - acting	incorrect	28	2,25	1,143	,216
	correct	70	1,97	1,076	,129
Federal offence - language	incorrect	28	3,29	1,213	,229
	correct	70	4,47	,775	,093
Federal offence - culture	incorrect	28	3,21	1,287	,243
	correct	70	4,13	1,166	,139

M. I. T.		N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
M.I.T subtitle	incorrect	42	1,24	,617	,095
	correct	56	1,13	,429	,057
M.I.T scene	incorrect	42	1,79	1,025	,158
	correct	56	1,46	,972	,130
M.I.T acting	incorrect	42	1,60	,857	,132
	correct	56	1,43	,892	,119
M.I.T language	incorrect	42	2,71	1,154	,178
	correct	56	3,09	1,517	,203
M.I.T culture	incorrect	42	3,00	1,148	,177
	correct	56	3,73	1,421	,190

fingers to the bone		N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
fingers to the bone - subtitle	incorrect	18	4,11	1,367	,322
	correct	80	2,39	1,428	,160
fingers to the bone - scene	incorrect	18	2,89	1,231	,290
	correct	80	1,95	1,221	,137
fingers to the bone - acting	incorrect	18	2,61	1,145	,270
	correct	80	2,00	1,243	,139
fingers to the bone - language	incorrect	18	2,67	1,188	,280
	correct	80	4,13	1,095	,122
fingers to the bone - culture	incorrect	18	2,61	1,145	,270
	correct	80	3,21	1,375	,154

school		N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
school - subtitle	incorrect	61	3,90	1,136	,145
	correct	37	2,89	1,468	,241
school - scene	incorrect	61	2,98	1,478	,189
	correct	37	3,00	1,312	,216
school - acting	incorrect	61	2,11	1,127	,144
	correct	37	1,95	1,177	,194
school - language	incorrect	61	2,92	1,256	,161
	correct	37	4,08	1,233	,203
school - culture	incorrect	61	2,98	1,204	,154
	correct	37	3,70	1,244	,205

				Std. Error
Bum	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Mean

bum - subtitle	incorrect	6	3,50	1,975	,806
	correct	92	2,16	1,393	,145
bum - scene	incorrect	6	3,00	1,095	,447
	correct	92	2,13	1,260	,131
bum - acting	incorrect	6	2,33	1,366	,558
	correct	92	2,00	1,186	,124
bum - language	incorrect	6	2,83	1,722	,703
	correct	92	4,42	,986	,103
bum - culture	incorrect	6	2,67	1,366	,558
	correct	92	3,63	1,404	,146

50 K		N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
50 K - subtitle	incorrect	11	4,64	,674	,203
	correct	87	2,15	1,385	,149
50 K - scene	incorrect	11	2,55	1,695	,511
	correct	87	1,87	1,108	,119
50 K - acting	incorrect	11	1,82	1,079	,325
	correct	87	1,86	1,112	,119
50 K - language	incorrect	11	2,18	1,079	,325
	correct	87	4,31	1,015	,109
50 K - culture	incorrect	11	2,27	1,191	,359
	correct	87	3,93	1,283	,138

Betty Ford		N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Betty Ford - subtitle	incorrect	40	4,40	,955	,151
	correct	58	2,19	1,395	,183
Betty Ford - scene	incorrect	40	2,28	1,240	,196
	correct	58	2,02	1,177	,155
Betty Ford - acting	incorrect	40	1,75	,981	,155
	correct	58	1,71	,955	,125
Betty Ford - language	incorrect	40	1,98	1,074	,170
	correct	58	3,62	1,473	,193
Betty Ford - culture	incorrect	40	2,10	,982	,155
	correct	58	4,36	1,135	,149

To order out		N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
to order out - subtitle	incorrect	4	4,25	,957	,479
	correct	94	2,11	1,291	,133
to order out - scene	incorrect	4	3,25	1,500	,750

	correct	94	1,81	,965	,100
to order out - acting	incorrect	4	2,50	,577	,289
	correct	94	1,67	,966	,100
to order out - language	incorrect	4	2,00	1,155	,577
	correct	94	4,56	,649	,067
to order out - culture	incorrect	4	1,50	1,000	,500
	correct	94	3,76	1,259	,130

To concoct		N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
to concoct - subtitle	incorrect	14	4,07	1,385	,370
	correct	84	2,43	1,515	,165
to concoct - scene	incorrect	14	3,00	1,617	,432
	correct	84	2,49	1,322	,144
to concoct - acting	incorrect	14	2,36	1,336	,357
	correct	84	1,75	1,040	,113
to concoct - language	incorrect	14	2,79	1,477	,395
	correct	84	4,14	1,132	,123
to concoct - culture	incorrect	14	2,14	1,292	,345
	correct	84	2,96	1,366	,149

Brain-breaker		N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
brain-breaker - subtitle	incorrect	13	3,92	1,441	,400
	correct	85	2,29	1,495	,162
brain-breaker - scene	incorrect	13	2,85	1,573	,436
	correct	85	2,35	1,343	,146
brain-breaker - acting	incorrect	13	1,92	1,256	,348
	correct	85	1,76	1,043	,113
brain-breaker - language	incorrect	13	3,08	1,441	,400
	correct	85	4,40	,759	,082
brain-breaker - culture	incorrect	13	2,69	1,182	,328
	correct	85	3,25	1,471	,160

Everyman		N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
everyman - subtitle	incorrect	3	3,33	1,155	,667
	correct	95	2,08	1,243	,128
everyman - scene	incorrect	3	2,33	1,528	,882
	correct	95	2,14	1,260	,129
everyman - acting	incorrect	3	2,33	1,528	,882
	correct	95	1,73	,972	,100
everyman - language	incorrect	3	2,67	1,528	,882

	correct	95	4,31	,900	,092
everyman - culture	incorrect	3	2,00	1,000	,577
	correct	95	3,61	1,299	,133

American Dream		N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
American Dream - subtitle	incorrect	28	1,57	,920	,174
	correct	70	1,40	,788	,094
American Dream - scene	incorrect	28	1,79	,787,	,149
	correct	70	2,11	1,269	,152
American Dream - acting	incorrect	28	1,64	,870	,164
	correct	70	1,67	1,018	,122
American Dream - language	incorrect	28	4,07	1,120	,212
	correct	70	3,97	1,090	,130
American Dream - culture	incorrect	28	4,14	,891	,168
	correct	70	4,29	,919	,110

To make getaway		N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
getaway - subtitle	incorrect	5	2,20	1,304	,583
	correct	93	2,11	1,355	,141
getaway - scene	incorrect	5	3,60	1,342	,600
	correct	93	2,60	1,360	,141
getaway - acting	incorrect	5	2,60	1,140	,510
	correct	93	2,00	1,142	,118
getaway - language	incorrect	5	4,00	,707	,316
	correct	93	4,39	,808,	,084
getaway - culture	incorrect	5	2,60	,894	,400
	correct	93	3,34	1,355	,141

Subway		N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
subway - subtitle	incorrect	2	4,50	,707	,500
	correct	96	1,90	1,285	,131
subway - scene	incorrect	2	1,00	,000	,000
	correct	96	2,10	1,294	,132
subway - acting	incorrect	2	1,00	,000	,000
	correct	96	1,68	1,061	,108
subway - language	incorrect	2	2,50	2,121	1,500
	correct	96	4,66	,613	,063
subway - culture	incorrect	2	2,50	2,121	1,500

correct	96	4,19	1,069	,109
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Union army		N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Union army - subtitle	incorrect	16	4,00	1,265	,316
	correct	82	2,44	1,483	,164
Union army - scene	incorrect	16	1,81	,981	,245
	correct	82	1,82	1,079	,119
Union army - acting	incorrect	16	1,56	,892	,223
	correct	82	1,70	,990	,109
Union army - language	incorrect	16	2,88	1,310	,328
	correct	82	3,66	1,345	,148
Union army - culture	incorrect	16	2,94	1,289	,322
	correct	82	4,35	1,082	,119

Uncle Tom		N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Uncle Tom - subtitle	incorrect	57	1,74	1,218	,161
	correct	41	1,76	1,241	,194
Uncle Tom - scene	incorrect	57	1,79	1,114	,148
	correct	41	1,66	1,087	,170
Uncle Tom - acting	incorrect	57	1,68	1,055	,140
	correct	41	1,73	1,184	,185
Uncle Tom - language	incorrect	57	2,28	1,278	,169
	correct	41	3,02	1,458	,228
Uncle Tom - culture	incorrect	57	2,61	1,386	,184
	correct	41	4,15	1,195	,187

The Garden		N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
The Garden - subtitle	incorrect	40	2,90	1,598	,253
	correct	58	1,98	1,383	,182
The Garden - scene	incorrect	40	2,03	1,330	,210
	correct	58	2,02	1,235	,162
The Garden - acting	incorrect	40	1,60	,928	,147
	correct	58	1,72	,988	,130
The Garden - language	incorrect	40	2,88	1,137	,180
	correct	58	3,24	1,443	,189
The Garden - culture	incorrect	40	3,25	1,316	,208
	correct	58	4,29	1,076	,141

Honest Abe		N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Honest Abe - subtitle	incorrect	26	3,31	1,594	,313
	correct	72	1,64	,924	,109
Honest Abe - scene	incorrect	26	3,54	1,529	,300
	correct	72	2,79	1,556	,183
Honest Abe - acting	incorrect	26	2,62	1,169	,229
	correct	72	1,63	,985	,116
Honest Abe - language	incorrect	26	2,96	1,148	,225
	correct	72	3,22	1,386	,163
Honest Abe - culture	incorrect	26	3,31	1,011	,198
	correct	72	4,25	1,071	,126

Civil War		N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Civil War - subtitle	incorrect	2	3,00	1,414	1,000
	correct	96	2,09	1,415	,144
Civil War - scene	incorrect	2	1,00	,000	,000
	correct	96	1,80	1,202	,123
Civil War - acting	incorrect	2	1,00	,000	,000
	correct	96	1,51	,918	,094
Civil War - language	incorrect	2	4,00	,000	,000
	correct	96	4,22	1,007	,103
Civil War - culture	incorrect	2	4,00	,000	,000
	correct	96	4,50	,940	,096

Trust fund		N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
trust fund - subtitle	incorrect	5	2,00	1,732	,775
	correct	93	2,13	1,236	,128
trust fund - scene	incorrect	5	2,80	1,304	,583
	correct	93	1,94	1,159	,120
trust fund - acting	incorrect	5	2,20	1,095	,490
	correct	93	1,55	,915	,095
trust fund - language	incorrect	5	3,20	1,483	,663
	correct	93	4,22	,870	,090
trust fund - culture	incorrect	5	3,60	1,342	,600
	correct	93	3,53	1,290	,134

Custodian		N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
custodian - subtitle	incorrect	40	4,35	1,189	,188
	correct	58	2,86	1,583	,208
custodian - scene	incorrect	40	2,50	1,281	,203
	correct	58	1,86	1,220	,160
custodian - acting	incorrect	40	1,60	,982	,155
	correct	58	1,55	,921	,121
custodian - language	incorrect	40	2,38	1,192	,188
	correct	58	3,93	1,090	,143
custodian - culture	incorrect	40	2,35	1,231	,195
	correct	58	3,17	1,353	,178

Group Statistics

Cadillac		N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Cadillac - subtitle	incorrect	3	4,00	1,732	1,000
	correct	95	2,25	1,391	,143
Cadillac - scene	incorrect	3	3,00	1,000	,577
	correct	95	2,44	1,382	,142
Cadillac - acting	incorrect	3	2,33	1,528	,882
	correct	95	1,81	1,123	,115
Cadillac - language	incorrect	3	2,00	1,732	1,000
	correct	95	3,98	1,194	,122
Cadillac - culture	incorrect	3	2,33	2,309	1,333
	correct	95	4,27	1,086	,111

		N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
The Channel - subtitle	incorrect	10	4,20	1,229	,389
	correct	88	2,33	1,506	,161
The Channel - scene	incorrect	10	2,90	1,370	,433
	correct	88	2,19	1,202	,128
The Channel - acting	incorrect	10	1,50	,707	,224
	correct	88	1,44	,869	,093
The Channel - language	incorrect	10	2,60	1,265	,400
	correct	88	3,85	1,218	,130
The Channel - culture	incorrect	10	2,30	1,567	,496
	correct	88	4,27	1,122	,120

MP		N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
MP - subtitle	incorrect	24	3,67	1,373	,280
	correct	74	2,18	1,437	,167
MP - scene	incorrect	24	2,38	1,313	,268

	correct	74	1,38	,771	,090
MP - acting	incorrect	24	1,67	,868	,177
	correct	74	1,31	,757	,088
MP - language	incorrect	24	2,50	1,180	,241
	correct	74	3,54	1,263	,147
MP - culture	incorrect	24	2,67	1,274	,260
	correct	74	4,08	1,107	,129

Britannia		N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Britannia - subtitle	incorrect	67	2,18	1,392	,170
	correct	31	1,94	1,340	,241
Britannia - scene	incorrect	67	2,06	1,336	,163
	correct	31	1,94	1,389	,249
Britannia - acting	incorrect	67	1,66	1,038	,127
	correct	31	1,71	1,101	,198
Britannia - language	incorrect	67	2,70	1,360	,166
	correct	31	2,90	1,469	,264
Britannia - culture	incorrect	67	2,78	1,324	,162
	correct	31	3,58	1,523	,273

Pre-med		N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
pre-med - subtitle	incorrect	48	3,96	1,288	,186
	correct	50	2,36	1,467	,208
pre-med - scene	incorrect	48	2,73	1,425	,206
	correct	50	2,06	1,316	,186
pre-med - acting	incorrect	48	2,56	1,287	,186
	correct	50	1,82	1,137	,161
pre-med - language	incorrect	48	3,04	1,010	,146
	correct	50	4,10	1,129	,160
pre-med - culture	incorrect	48	2,73	1,267	,183
	correct	50	4,16	1,167	,165

Material 7 - Three groups compared to variables

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							Lower	Upper		

Bound

Bound

Descriptives

Subtitle	English	38	97,9211	25,86909	4,19652	89,4181	106,4240	47,00	167,00
	Germ/Swedish	24	107,5417	32,94261	6,72438	93,6312	121,4521	55,00	176,00
	Sociology	36	138,2222	36,44339	6,07390	125,8916	150,5529	65,00	204,00
	Total	98	115,0816	36,33143	3,67003	107,7976	122,3656	47,00	204,00
Context	English	38	90,2632	29,60796	4,80305	80,5313	99,9951	49,00	155,00
	Germ/Swedish	24	91,7500	29,95250	6,11403	79,1022	104,3978	51,00	161,00
	Sociology	36	116,0000	34,16180	5,69363	104,4413	127,5587	57,00	176,00
	Total	98	100,0816	33,42438	3,37637	93,3805	106,7828	49,00	176,00
Acting	English	38	75,8684	29,52065	4,78888	66,1652	85,5716	44,00	161,00
	Germ/Swedish	24	78,1667	34,08387	6,95734	63,7743	92,5590	44,00	149,00
	Sociology	36	88,0833	28,40863	4,73477	78,4712	97,6954	44,00	151,00
	Total	98	80,9184	30,49579	3,08054	74,8043	87,0324	44,00	161,00
Language	English	38	169,2632	23,19795	3,76321	161,6382	176,8881	115,00	209,00
	Germ/Swedish	24	157,5000	27,45114	5,60344	145,9084	169,0916	102,00	212,00
	Sociology	36	161,9167	23,68770	3,94795	153,9019	169,9314	88,00	198,00
	Total	98	163,6837	24,68256	2,49332	158,7351	168,6322	88,00	212,00
Culture	English	38	161,8421	31,26567	5,07196	151,5653	172,1189	88,00	212,00
	Germ/Swedish	24	144,6667	31,72938	6,47673	131,2685	158,0648	76,00	211,00
	Sociology	36	147,0833	33,76336	5,62723	135,6595	158,5072	52,00	192,00
	Total	98	152,2143	32,91045	3,32446	145,6162	158,8124	52,00	212,00

Test of Homogeneity of Variances

	Levene Statistic	df1	df2	Sig.
Subtitle	3,459	2	95	,035

Context	,550	2	95	,579
Acting	1,010	2	95	,368
Language	,319	2	95	,727
Culture	,132	2	95	,876

ANOVA

		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Subtitle	Between Groups	31832,403	2	15916,202	15,717	,000
	Within Groups	96204,944	95	1012,684		
	Total	128037,347	97			
Context	Between Groups	14451,479	2	7225,739	7,309	,001
	Within Groups	93915,868	95	988,588		
	Total	108367,347	97			
Acting	Between Groups	2998,922	2	1499,461	1,633	,201
	Within Groups	87210,425	95	918,004		
	Total	90209,347	97			
Language	Between Groups	2213,075	2	1106,538	1,848	,163
	Within Groups	56882,118	95	598,759		
	Total	59095,194	97			
Culture	Between Groups	5837,364	2	2918,682	2,794	,066
	Within Groups	99223,136	95	1044,454		
	Total	105060,500	97			

Post Hoc Tests

Multiple Comparisons

Dependent Variable	(I) studijska 1	grupa (J) studijska grupa 1	Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.	Con	95% fidence terval			
						ower ound	Upper Bound			
Subtitle	Scheffe	English	Germ/Swedish		-9,6206	1 8	,29727	,513	-30,2547	11,0135
			Sociology	-40,	30117(*	7	,40133	,000	-58,7072	-21,8952
	Germ/Swedish English		English		9,6206	1 8	,29727	,513	-11,0135	30,2547
				-30,	68056(*	8	,38602	,002	-51,5353	-9,8258
		Sociology	English	40,	30117(*	7	,40133	,000	21,8952	58,7072
			Germ/Swedish	30,	68056(*	8	,38602	,002	9,8258	51,5353
	Bonferroni	English	Germ/Swedish		-9,6206	1 8	,29727	,747	-29,8420	10,6008
			Sociology	-40,	-40,30117(*)		,40133	,000	-58,3390	-22,2633
		Germ/Swedish	English		9,6206	1 8	,29727	,747	-10,6008	29,8420
			Sociology	-30,	68056(*	8	,38602	,001	-51,1182	-10,2429
		Sociology	English	40,	30117(*	7	,40133	,000	22,2633	58,3390
			Germ/Swedish	30,	68056(*	8	,38602	,001	10,2429	51,1182
Context	Scheffe	English	Germ/Swedish		-1,4868	4 8	,19797	,984	-21,8740	18,9003
			Sociology	-25,	73684(*	7	,31275	,003	-43,9226	-7,5511
		Germ/Swedish	English		1,4868	4 8	,19797	,984	-18,9003	21,8740
			Sociology	-24,	25000(*	8	,28565	,017	-44,8552	-3,6448
		Sociology	English	25,	73684(*	7	,31275	,003	7,5511	43,9226
			Germ/Swedish	24,	25000(*	8	,28565	,017	3,6448	44,8552
	Bonferroni	English	Germ/Swedish		-1,4868	4 8	,19797	1,000	-21,4662	18,4925
			Sociology	-25,	73684(*	7	,31275	,002	-43,5588	-7,9149
		Germ/Swedish	English		1,4868	4 8	,19797	1,000	-18,4925	21,4662

							i	i i	
			Sociology	-24,25000(*)	8,28565	,013	-44,4430	-4,0570	İ
		Sociology	English	25,73684(*)	7,31275	,002	7,9149	43,5588	i
			Germ/Swedish	24,25000(*)	8,28565	,013	4,0570	44,4430	i
Acting	Scheffe	English	Germ/Swedish	-2,29825	7,89989	,959	-21,9441	17,3476	
			Sociology	-12,21491	7,04685	,228	-29,7394	5,3096	
		Germ/Swedish	English	2,29825	7,89989	,959	-17,3476	21,9441	i
			Sociology	-9,91667	7,98438	,465	-29,7726	9,9393	İ
		Sociology	English	12,21491	7,04685	,228	-5,3096	29,7394	i
			Germ/Swedish	9,91667	7,98438	,465	-9,9393	29,7726	
	Bonferroni	English	Germ/Swedish	-2,29825	7,89989	1,000	-21,5511	16,9546	
			Sociology	-12,21491	7,04685	,259	-29,3889	4,9590	İ
		Germ/Swedish	English	2,29825	7,89989	1,000	-16,9546	21,5511	i
			Sociology	-9,91667	7,98438	,652	-29,3755	9,5421	
		Sociology	English	12,21491	7,04685	,259	-4,9590	29,3889	İ
			Germ/Swedish	9,91667	7,98438	,652	-9,5421	29,3755	i
Language	Scheffe	English	Germ/Swedish	11,76316	6,38006	,188	-4,1031	27,6294	İ
			Sociology	7,34649	5,69114	,438	-6,8065	21,4995	i
		Germ/Swedish	English	-11,76316	6,38006	,188	-27,6294	4,1031	
			Sociology	-4,41667	6,44829	,791	-20,4526	11,6193	i
		Sociology	English	-7,34649	5,69114	,438	-21,4995	6,8065	i
			Germ/Swedish	4,41667	6,44829	,791	-11,6193	20,4526	i
	Bonferroni	English	Germ/Swedish	11,76316	6,38006	,205	-3,7857	27,3121	
			Sociology	7,34649	5,69114	,600	-6,5234	21,2164	i
		Germ/Swedish	English	-11,76316	6,38006	,205	-27,3121	3,7857	i
			Sociology	-4,41667	6,44829	1,000	-20,1319	11,2985	İ
		Sociology	English	-7,34649	5,69114	,600	-21,2164	6,5234	i
			Germ/Swedish	4,41667	6,44829	1,000	-11,2985	20,1319	
Culture	Scheffe	English	Germ/Swedish	17,17544	8,42642	,131	-3,7798	38,1307	İ
			Sociology	14,75877	7,51653	,151	-3,9337	33,4513	ĺ
		Germ/Swedish	English	-17,17544	8,42642	,131	-38,1307	3,7798	l
			Sociology	-2,41667	8,51654	,961	-23,5961	18,7627	l
		Sociology	English	-14,75877	7,51653	,151	-33,4513	3,9337	

Bonferroni	English	Germ/Swedish Germ/Swedish Sociology	2,41667 17,17544 14,75877	8,51654 8,42642 7,51653	,961 ,133 ,158	-18,7627 -3,3607 -3,5598	23,5961 37,7116 33,0774
	Germ/Swedish	English	-17,17544	8,42642	,133	-37,7116	3,3607
		Sociology	-2,41667	8,51654	1,000	-23,1724	18,3391
	Sociology	English	-14,75877	7,51653	,158	-33,0774	3,5598
		Germ/Swedish	2,41667	8,51654	1,000	-18,3391	23,1724

^{*} The mean difference is significant at the .05 level.

Oneway

Notes

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	Cases Used	Statistics for each analysis are based on cases with no missing data for any variable in the analysis.						

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Descriptives

Utjecaj titla na ukupan rezultat

					95% Confidence Interval for Mean			
	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error	Lower Bound	Upper Bound	Minimum	Maximum
anglistika	38	97,9211	25,86909	4,19652	89,4181	106,4240	47,00	167,00
germanistika	24	107,5417	32,94261	6,72438	93,6312	121,4521	55,00	176,00
sociologija	36	138,2222	36,44339	6,07390	125,8916	150,5529	65,00	204,00
Total	98	115,0816	36,33143	3,67003	107,7976	122,3656	47,00	204,00

Test of Homogeneity of Variances

Utjecaj titla na ukupan rezultat

Levene Statistic	df1	df2	Sig.
3,459	2	95	,035

ANOVA

Utjecaj titla na ukupan rezultat

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	31832,403	2	15916,202	15,717	,000
Within Groups	96204,944	95	1012,684		
Total	128037,347	97			

Post Hoc Tests

Multiple Comparisons

Dependent Variable: Utjecaj titla na ukupan rezultat

(I) studijska grupa		(J) studijs	(J) studijska grupa		Mean Difference (I-J)		Sig.	95% Confidence	e Interval	
8		Germ/S		-9.6206	Std. Error 1 8,29727	,747	-29.8420		6008	
			Sociology		40,30117(*	- 7.40133	,000	-58,3390	•	,2633
	Germ/S	Germ/Swedish English			9,6206	1 8,29727	,747	-10,6008	29,	,8420
	Sociol		Sociolo	gy	30,68056(*	8,38602	,001	-51,1182	-10,	,2429
	Sociolo	gy	English		40,30117(*	7,40133	,000	22,2633	58,	,3390
			Germ/S	wedish	30,68056(*	8,38602	,001	10,2429	51,	,1182
Tamhane	English	l	Germ/S	wedish	-9,6206	1 7,92642	,547	-29,3599	10,	,1187
		So		gy	40,30117(*	7,38262	,000	-58,4110	-22,	,1913
	Germ/S	wedish	English		9,6206	7,92642	,547	-10,1187	29,	,3599

I		Sociology	- 30,68056(*)	9,06143	,004	-53,0252	-8,3359
	Sociology	English	40,30117(*)	7,38262	,000	22,1913	58,4110
		Germ/Swedish	30,68056(*)	9,06143	,004	8,3359	53,0252

^{*} The mean difference is significant at the .05 level.

Material 8 – T Test - Gender

Group Statistics

		N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Subtitle	male	31	108,0000	33,05753	5,93731
	female	67	118,3582	37,53370	4,58547
Context	male	31	92,9355	29,25513	5,25438
	female	67	103,3881	34,89723	4,26338
Acting	male	31	78,6452	30,14692	5,41455
	female	67	81,9701	30,82451	3,76581
Language	male	31	162,4516	23,71896	4,26005
	female	67	164,2537	25,27086	3,08733
Culture	male	31	156,8387	29,20513	5,24540
	female	67	150,0746	34,48817	4,21340

Independent Samples Test

Levene's T	Test	
for Equality	ty of	
Variance	t-test for Equality of Means	

		F	Sig.	t	df	Sig. (2-t	tailed)	Mean Difference		Std. Error Difference	Inte	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
											Lowe	er Upp	er
Subtitle	Equal variances assumed	,949	,332	-1,317	96	,191	-10,3	5821	7,8620	06 -25,9642	27	5,24786	
Oraștant	Equal variances not assumed			-1,381	65,818	,172	-10,3	5821	7,5018	-25,3369	96	4,62055	
Context	Equal variances assumed	3,421	,067	-1,448	96	,151	-10,45	5258	7,2196	-24,783	53	3,87838	
Action	Equal variances not assumed			-1,545	68,925	,127	-10,4	5258	6,7664	-23,951	53	3,04638	
Acting	Equal variances assumed	,081	,776	-,500	96	,618	-3,32	2499	6,6499	98 -16,5250	9	9,87511	
Languaga	Equal variances not assumed			-,504	59,694	,616	-3,32	2499	6,5953	-16,5190)5	9,86907	
Language	Equal variances assumed Equal	,008	,928	-,335	96	,739	-1,80	0212	5,3862	-12,4936	33	3,88940	
	variances not assumed			-,343	62,013	,733	-1,80	0212	5,261	-12,3189	95	3,71471	
Culture	Equal variances assumed	1,000	,320	,946	96	,347	6,76	6408	7,1526	-7,433	76 2	0,96193	
	Equal variances not assumed			1,005	68,282	,318	6,76	6408	6,7280	-6,660	57 2	0,18874	

${\bf Material~9-years~of~learning~of~English~correlations}$

Correlations

		ucjezuksk	TSUM	Utjecaj titla na ukupan rezultat	Utjecaj konteksta na ukupno razumijevanje	Utjecaj glume na ukupan rezultat	Utjecaj poznavanja jezika na ukupan rezultat	Utjecaj poznavanje britanske i američke kulture na ukupan rezultat
years of learning of English	Pearson Correlation	1	,302(**)	-,172	-,125	-,108	,289(**)	,258(*)
	Sig. (2-tailed)		,003	,090	,221	,290	,004	,010
	N	98	98	98	98	98	98	98
TSUM	Pearson Correlation	,302(**)	1	-,447(**)	-,337(**)	-,339(**)	,401(**)	,436(**)
	Sig. (2-tailed)	,003		,000	,001	,001	,000	,000
	N	98	98	98	98	98	98	98
Subtitle	Pearson Correlation	-,172	-,447(**)	1	,656(**)	,505(**)	-,280(**)	-,214(*)
	Sig. (2-tailed)	,090	,000		,000	,000	,005	,034
	N	98	98	98	98	98	98	98
Context	Pearson Correlation	-,125	-,337(**)	,656(**)	1	,799(**)	-,104	-,023
	Sig. (2-tailed)	,221	,001	,000		,000	,310	,825
	N	98	98	98	98	98	98	98
Acting	Pearson Correlation	-,108	-,339(**)	,505(**)	,799(**)	1	-,082	,004
	Sig. (2-tailed)	,290	,001	,000	,000		,424	,968
	N	98	98	98	98	98	98	98
Language	Pearson Correlation	,289(**)	,401(**)	-,280(**)	-,104	-,082	1	,681(**)
	Sig. (2-tailed)	,004	,000	,005	,310	,424		,000
	N	98	98	98	98	98	98	98
Culture	Pearson Correlation	,258(*)	,436(**)	-,214(*)	-,023	,004	,681(**)	1

Sig. (2-tailed)	,010	,000	,034	,825	,968	,000	
N	98	98	98	98	98	98	98

^{**} Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).



Curriculum Vitae

Name: Kristijan

Surname: Nikolić

Date of birth: February 1st, 1975

Citizenship: Croatian

Kristijan Nikolić, Vincenta iz Kastva 1, 10000 Zagreb, Croatia

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E-mail: kristijan.nikolic@zg.t-com.hr

Education:

Grammar school/gimnazija/ (1993)

University diploma in English Language and Literature (MA), Faculty of Philosophy, University of Zagreb, Croatia (1999)

Postgraduate, doctoral studies in translation (AVT – subtitling) at the University of Vienna, Austria (2006 - 2012).

Work Experience:

My main (subtitling) clients are HRT (Croatian Radio and Television) and SDI Media. I have a teaching tenure at the Department of English, Faculty of Philosophy, University of Zagreb, Croatia, where I teach translation, British and American Culture, but also other courses such as introduction to English grammar.

1998 - Translation and subtitling of films, series, documentaries, news and music programmes for the HRT (Croatian Radio and Television), Zagreb, Croatia. I have been working for the HRT for 13 years now. I have subtitled around 300 films among many other projects. For more information on HRT visit http://www.hrt.hr. My most recent subtitling project (end of 2010, beginning of 2011) for HRT was an Australian TV-series *Packed to the Rafters*, seasons 1 and 2.

1998 - 2002 various consecutive interpretation jobs

- 1999 Translation of fiction. I have translated for Profil International, Zagreb, Croatia. For more information on the published translations visit the web-pages of the Croatian National Library (NSK). Under "ključne riječi" choose "autor", insert "Nikolić, Kristijan". http://www.nsk.hr/opac-crolist/crolist.html.
- 1999 Translation of research articles from the fields of art, history and culture from Croatian into English. Some of them have been published, both in Croatia and overseas.
- 2001 English language lecturer, Department of English, Faculty of Philosophy, University of Zagreb, Croatia. I am teaching a course English translation and English Language III (cultures of the English speaking world). For more information on the Department and the Faculty visit www.ffzg.hr/anglistika. For more information on the University visit: http://www.unizg.hr/.
- 2002 2005 Business English lecturer, Zagreb School of Economics and Management, Croatia. I taught two courses. The first one covered general economic English and the second one was focused on business English.
- 2006 Lecturer at an MA programme in conference interpretation at the University of Zagreb.
- 2004 2006 Translation and subtitling of films and TV-series for commercial and cable networks NOVA TV, RTL Croatia, HBO (www.novatv.hr; www.rtl.hr; www.hbo-croatia.com through an agency *Mediatranslations*.
- 2004 2006 Translation of films for *Softitler*, Los Angeles, USA. (www.softitler.com) and *ECI subtitling UK*.
- 2005 2006 Translation of books for the Geneva Centre for Democratic Control of Armed Forces.
- 2005 Technical translations of user manuals for a Danish translation Agency called *Avanti Gruppen*.
- 2006 2007 Website localization, Wizzair, Hungary.
- 2006 Translation of users' manuals into Croatian for the company UPS, Taiwan.
- 2006 2008 Translation of documents and EU directives for the Croatian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and European Integration.

2006 – SDI Media Scandinavia and SDI Media UK, subtitling of television programmes broadcast at Viasat History, Viasat Explorer, Viasat TV1000, Sony AXN, Universal Channel, and at the cinema (films, TV series and documentaries)

2007 – 2009 Translations for Pliva Ltd (Croatia).

2008 – Translations for Avanti Gruppen (Denmark)

2008 – 2009 Subtitling projects for Bg Text (Bulgaria)

Memberships:

Croatian Association of Film Translators

ESIST- European Association for Studies in Screen Translation – member of the executive board since 2008 (www.esist.org)

Croatian Association of Technical and Scientific Translators.

Research: Research in screen translation, subtitling in particular. Attending conferences in screen translation. Articles published both in Croatia and overseas, organizing conference *Media for All 5* in Dubrovnik, Croatia, in 2013

Publications in English (journal articles and a book chapter)

Nikolić, Kristijan. 2005. "The Differences in Subtitling Between Public and Private Television", in *Translating Today*, Issue 4, pp. 33-36.

Nikolić, Kristijan. 2009. "Translation Strategies in Subtitling". In *Foreign Language Movies Dubbing vs. Subtitling*, (eds.) Goldstein, Angelika, and Golubović, Biljana. Hamburg. Verlag dr. Kovač. 151-167.

Nikolić, Kristijan. 2010. "The Subtitling Profession in Croatia". In *New Insights intoAudiovisual Translation and Media Accessibility: Media for All 2*, (eds.)

Díaz Cintas, Jorge, Matamala, Anna, and Neves, Josélia. Amsterdam and Philadelphia. Rodopi. 99-108.

Publications in Croatian:

Nikolić, Kristijan. 2004. "Studirati engleski ne znači učiti ga" (To study English doesn't mean to learn it). In *Školski list*. Number 29. Zagreb. Školska knjiga.

Book reviews:

Nikolić, Kristijan. 2004. *Oxford English Grammar*. In *Školski list*. Number 28. Zagreb. Školska knjiga.

Translations of research articles by other authors:

Janeković, Zdenka. 2004. "Gradation of Differences: Ethnic and Religious Minorities in Medieval Dubrovnik". In *Historical Urban Studies*.

Rafolt, Leo. 2004. "America and non-European World in the Plays of Kosor's "Parisian Cycle". In *Neohelicon*.

Translations of fiction (novels and a collection of short stories):

Chambers, Aidan. 2003. *The Present Takers* (Otimačice darova). Zagreb. Profil Internacional.

Cheek, Mavis. 2003. *Sex Life of My Aunt* (Seksualni život moje ujne). Zagreb. Profil Internacional.

Amoury, Heather. 2004. *The Kite Rider, Profil Internacional*, (Letač zmaja). Zagreb. Profil Internacional.

Auster, Paul. 2005. *I Thought My Father Was God* (Priče iz američkog života). Profil Internacional.

Translations of non-fiction (books):

Kerrod, Robin. 2004. *The Way Science Works* (Upoznajmo znanost). Zagreb. Profil Internacional.

Gilić, Nikica. 2006. 3-2-1, Kreni!, Zbornik radova u povodu 70. rođendana Ante Petrlića. Zagreb. FF Press.

Conferences attended, with presentations:

Saarbrücken, Germany. 2005. *Marie Curie* scholarship. Presentation: *Subtitling for Private and Public TV*.

Leiria, Portugal. 2007. Media for All 2. Presentation: Subtitling as a Profession.

Berlin, Germany. 2008. Languages and the Media 2008. Presentation: Identity of Croatian as a Language in Subtitling.

Zagreb, Croatia, 2008. (Invited lecture). *Proz.com*. regional conference. Lecture: *Translating for the Media in Croatia and overseas*.

Conferences attended, without presentations:

Berlin, Germany, 2006. Languages and the Media 2006.

Ljubljana, Slovenia, 2006. International colloquium on research in Translation Studies. Filozofska fakulteta, Ljubljana.

Montpellier, France. 2008. Audiovisual Translation - Multidisciplinary Approaches.

Berlin, Germany. 2010. Languages and the Media 2010.

Maribor, Slovenia. 2009. Challenges of Translation Studies in the Globalized World.

Conferences to follow:

London, UK. 2011. *Media for All 4*. Presentation: Pros and cons of subtitling with templates.

Organization of future conferences:

Dubrovnik, Croatia. 2013. Media for All 5.

Translations for television and cinema (English-Croatian):

I have translated about 2000 different units (films, TV series, talk show, interviews and documentaries) of translations for the media, mostly for TV, but also cinema, into subtitles. This is a partial listing of translated films, some TV series and a talk show:

Selected films:

25th Hour
A Guy Thing
Almost Perfect Bank Robbery
Askari
Based on an Untrue Story
Big and Hairy
Billy Bathgate
Black Cadillac
Black Knight
Border Line
Breakfast with Einstein
Brian's Song
Buffalo Soldiers
Cadet Kelly
Camilla
Change of Heart
Cheaters
Chronicles of Narnia, The
Copycat
Corrina Corrina
Curse of the Talisman, The
Dante's Peak
Day Lincoln was Shot, The
Dead in the Water
Deep Six, The
Detour
Diary of a City Priest
Disney's the Kid
Dogs of War
Domestic Disturbance
Dreamchild
Durango
Elmer Gantry
Enemy Gold
Extrene Prejudice
Eye for an Eye
Fatal Instinct
Fierce Animals

Forbidden Territory
Forever Lulu
Foxfire
Gentle Ben
Gipsy Moths
Girl for Girl
Gotti
Hardball
High Crimes
Hired Heard
Honey
I'll Take You There
In Crowd, The
In Dreams
Jennifer 8
Jim Jones Story 1&2
Just the Ticket
Keep the Faith Baby
Key to Sex
Kids
Ladies Night
Lady in Question, The
Lesson Before Dying, A
Live from Baghdad
Love in Limbo
Matchmaker, The
Missing
Molly
Mr. Accident
Mr. St. Nick
Music of Chance, The
Night People
No Looking Back
One Woman's Courage
Paradise Road
Passage to Marseilles
People Under the Stairs, The
Petulia
Pixel Perfect
Pleasantville
Puckoon
Quadrophenia
Right Temptation
Ruby Bridges
Saving Grace
Sex Court
Shattered lies

Sliver
South Central
Spooky House
Stealing Sinatra
Summer in the Suburb, A
To Dance with the White Dog
To Save a Child
Tourist Trap
Understanding Jane
V.I. Warshawski
Violent Saturday
Virgin Suicides, The
Voyeur Dreams
We're Back! A Dinosaur's Story
We're No Angels
Wild Horses
Wind
Winning London
Youngblood Hawke
Jackie Brown
Johnny Belinda
In America
Land of the Blind
Acid House, The
Alien 3
Alien Resurrection
American Graffiti
Azúcar Amarga
Bandit Queen
Barb Wire
Barton Fink
Beach, The
Bumer 2
City Of Ghosts
Cotton Club, The
Crazy as Hell
Crazy for Love
Crazy/Beautiful
Crucible, The
Detroit City Rock
Dragonheart
Grand Canyon
Home Alone
Home Alone 2
Johns Johns
Kiss Before Dying
Kontakt
rxontaxt

Kremen
Ladybird, Ladybird
Ledgend of Johnny Lingo
Man on the Moon
Meteor Man
Misery
Mississippi Burning
Much Ado About Nothing
Nine Months
Nixon
Once in the Life
Outlaw Josey Wales
Robocop 2
Ruby
Rumble Fish
Scarface
Shop of Dreams
Sid And Nancy
Siege, The
Subject Two
Thin Red Line
To Live and Die in LA
War Of The Roses

TV series:

Karen Sisco

Walker: Texas Ranger

The Practice

Alias

Dream Team

Skins

Thief

Las Vegas

Gunrush

The Rotter's Club

The Class

Angela's Eyes

A talk show:

Oprah Show (about 200 shows).