

Domestication and Foreignization in the Finnish Translation of *Desperate*
Housewives

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Abstract

The topic of this study is domestication and foreignization in the Finnish DVD translation of the American television series *Desperate Housewives*. The aim of this study is to see which translation approach, domestication or foreignization, is preferred in the translation, and how they are used to solve the transferring of American cultural elements to the Finnish audience. The material for the analysis was the first season (23 episodes) of *Desperate Housewives*. The culture-bound elements of the original text found in the first season were categorized into four main categories: 1) *Culture*, 2) *Society*, 3) *Phrases and expressions*, and 4) *Money and measures*. The translation methods were identified and analyzed with the help of Pedersen's (2005) classification of translation methods. The division of the methods used in the translation was made based on Pedersen's (2005) and Van Poucke's (2012) divisions, and partly on the author's assessment on the domesticating or foreignizing effect of the method. Domesticating methods are substitution and generalization, and foreignizing methods are retention and direct translation. In addition to these, there are translation methods called specification and official equivalent, which are more ambiguous translation methods. The results of this study show that mainly domesticating methods were used to translate the culture-bound elements of the first season of *Desperate Housewives* into Finnish. However, it was shown that also foreignizing translation methods were used a fair number of times in the translated material. Sometimes a combination of different methods was used to translate a culture-bound element. However, the shift in the way which audiovisual media is consumed, as well as the change in translation conventions, indicate that this might not be the case if the study was conducted on a newer translated version of this, or any other, series. Even though the result of this study was that domestication is preferred in this particular translation, the new trend in translation would seem to be more foreignizing.

Tiivistelmä

Tämän tutkielman aiheena on vieraannuttavat ja kotouttavat käännostavat Täydelliset naiset sarjan DVD-julkaisun suomennoksessa. Tarkoituksena on tutkia, kumpaa käännosmenetelmää käänöksessä suositaan, ja miten niitä on käytetty amerikkalaisten kulttuurisidonnaisten elementtien tuomiseksi suomenkieliseen käänökseen. Tutkittavana materiaalina käytettiin sarjan ensimmäistä tuotantokautta (23 jaksoa). Alkuperäisen tekstin kulttuurisidonnaiset elementit on jaettu neljään kategoriaan: 1) kulttuuri, 2) yhteiskunta, 3) sanonnat ja ilmaisut, sekä 4) raha ja mitat. Käännosmenetelmän määriteltiin ja analysoitiin Pedersenin (2005) luokituksen avulla. Käännosmenetelmien jaottelu kotouttaviin ja vieraannuttaviin perustui Pedersenin (2005) ja Van Poucken (2012) jaotteluihin, mutta myös osittain kirjoittajan arvioon menetelmän kotouttavasta tai vieraannuttavasta vaikutuksesta. Kotouttavia menetelmiä ovat korvaaminen ja yleistys; vieraannuttavia ovat säilyttäminen ja suora käänös. Näiden lisäksi on kaksi käännosmenetelmää, jotka eivät itsessään sovi kumpaankaan luokkaan, vaan ovat moniselitteisempiä. Tämän tutkielman tulokset osoittavat, että kotouttavia menetelmiä käytettiin useammin kulttuurisidonnaisten elementtien käänökseen Täydelliset naiset sarjan ensimmäisen kauden suomennoksessa. Kuitenkin myös vieraannuttavia menetelmiä käytettiin usein. Joskus eri menetelmiä yhdisteltiin kulttuurisidonnaisen elementin käänöksessä. Siirtymä uudensuomalaisen median kulutustapoihin sekä muutos käänöskäytänteissä, kuitenkin viittaavat siihen, että tulokset voisivat olla erilaiset, mikäli tutkimuksen kohteena olisi jokin uudempi käänös tästä, tai mistä tahansa muusta, sarjasta. Vaikkakin tämän tutkielman tulos oli, että kotoutusta suosittiin Täydelliset naiset sarjan ensimmäisen tuotantokauden käänöksessä, käänöksen uusi trendi vaikuttaisi yleisesti olevan vieraannutus.

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1. Introduction

Translation is always a humane process influenced by the translator's own personality, ideologies and preferences. Translation is not an exact science, and therefore cannot be analyzed through the lens of what is a right or wrong type of translation. So, when we look at translation, and want to make a comprehensive analysis of it, we need to consider all the factors *behind* the translation: what is the source text (text that is translated), who has conducted the translation, what is the target language (language the material is translated into), and what reasons the translator might have had for making the choices they have made, etc. The relationship of all these factors is what ultimately comes to affect the results of the translation.

One of the fundamental relationships in translation work is that of the source culture and target culture. Source culture is the culture the original text originates from, and target culture is the culture the translation is targeted to. When the source language is connected to a culture that is very different from the target language's culture, the translator has to choose how much of culture specific elements (such as expressions, proverbs, humor etc.) of the source culture they want to include in the translation. Generally speaking, foreignization means that the translation is more faithful to the original source text, and the translator uses foreignizing translation methods when they choose to keep elements from that culture in their translation, even if those elements might seem foreign to the target audience. Domestication, on the other hand, occurs when the translation is adjusted to the target culture and those foreign elements from the source culture are either replaced in the translation with elements of the target culture, omitted from the translation, or in any other way made invisible to the audience. Most often translations are a mixture of both foreignization and domestication.

In audiovisual translation, the translation has to support the visual; the translation cannot contradict with what is seen on the screen, otherwise the contradictions might confuse those in the target audience who do not understand the source language. In the choice of domestication and foreignization in audiovisual translation, the translator needs to consider

the image, and what it presents, and make the decision with that in mind. The image might present an element that is unfamiliar to the audience, and if the translation replaces this unfamiliar element with an alternative from the target language and culture, it may produce a strong contradiction between the visual elements and the translation, and the audience is left with mixed signals from these two sources. This approach would be domesticating in nature. On the other hand, too much foreignization can also confuse the audience. If foreign elements are included in the translation without any explanation that would make them more comprehensible for the audience, the translation would be a failure and not fulfill its purpose. After all, the purpose of translation is to introduce material that is not comprehensible in its source language to an audience of the target language and make it comprehensible for them. Without achieving this purpose, the translation cannot be considered successful.

In a way, translation can be considered a constant battle of dominance between the source and the target cultures. As the cultures both have their own history, languages and norms, the translation cannot always remain faithful to both. These differences in the cultures affect the translator's work and sometimes creative solutions are needed to convey the message of the original work. The translator has to make constant decisions between foreignization and domestication and consider which weighs more: bringing the text to the reader or the reader to the text. When these two cultures clash, it results in *a crisis point* for the translator (Pedersen, 2005, p.1). Crisis points are the result of culture-bound elements not transferring to another culture in the translation. These are the elements that are somehow restricted to one or few cultures and tend to be more challenging to translate into a language, and conveyed to an audience, that is not related to the culture.

In Finland, subtitles are used widely for the translations of movies and television series, as they have also been used in the case of *Desperate Housewives*. Subtitled translation in audiovisual media provides its own challenges, as well as benefits. Despite of the many constrains subtitles are often perceived to have, for example in comparison to dubbing, they are an excellent way to retain as much of the original media as possible (image and voice), while still providing accessibility for viewers from a different language background. Subtitles as a translation medium also has an influence on the domestication or foreignization of the text, as we will come to see.

In this thesis I will study the use of domestication and foreignization in audiovisual translations of the American television series *Desperate Housewives*. The series is an excellent source for studying how aspects of American culture are conveyed with the translation to the Finnish audience, as it is particularly focused on depicting the American lifestyle and norms of the society. The aim of this thesis was to see whether the Finnish translations of this series *Desperate Housewives*, overall, prefer domestication or foreignization and how domestication or foreignization manifests in these translations. During the scope of the present study, we will see that certain tendencies to prefer the domesticating approach over the foreignizing one can be detected. Domestication is used more in the translation of the series. Still, foreignization is also used a fair amount, and we will see in the analysis how domestication and foreignization are used for different types of culture-bound elements, as they are categorized and analyzed based on those categories.

The thesis will start with the introduction of the theoretical framework of domestication and foreignization and providing an insight into the general concepts and people in this field. Next step is to introduce the material, the *Desperate Housewives* series, and why this series was chosen for this thesis, and the methodology of how the material will be handled and analyzed. Then I will provide a brief overview of a table that introduces findings in figures, followed by a further analysis of the material, where I also provide illustrative examples of the domestication and foreignization methods that are used, and I examine them at some depth. Finally, I will summarize and reflect on the findings in the discussion section and then introduce some final thoughts in the conclusion.

2. Theoretical framework

In this section of the thesis, I will introduce some central concept, studies and researchers related to domestication and foreignization in translation. As already mentioned before, domestication and foreignization are the two main approaches to translating foreign elements in a text, and those foreign elements can be called culture-bound elements. The two most prominent researchers in regards to the present study who will be discussed in the following sections are Lawrence Venuti, who is often considered a prominent figure in regards to domestication and foreignization in the translation field, and Jan Pedersen, whose approach to categorizing domesticating and foreignizing translation methods will be used in the present study to analyze the material.

2.1. Source and target cultures and culture-bound elements

Source and target text, language and cultures are central concepts, not only in domestication and foreignization, but in translation in general. *Source text* (ST) refers to “the text to be translated, sometimes also called ‘foreign text’” (Galumbo 2009, p. 108) and *target text* (TT) refers to “the translated text, or the product of translation.” (Galumbo 2009, p. 112). *Source language* (SL) and *target language* (TL) then naturally refer to the language pair in translation and *source culture* (SC) and *target culture* (TC) to the cultures these texts and languages are linked mainly to. Proficiency in target and source languages alone is not, therefore, enough to produce a good translation. The translator needs to have a good understanding of both the source culture and the target culture in order to make choices that convey the message of the source text to the target audience, since target audience might not be able to understand all the cultural elements of the source text. Those elements in the source text that usually cause the most trouble for translators, are typically called *culture-bound* elements, a term that I will also be using the present study. Leppihalme (2010) uses the term *realia* for such culture-bound elements that are extralinguistic, “referring to the surrounding physical and sociocultural reality ‘outside’ language, as opposed to intralinguistic translation problems, which arise from differences between source and target language systems and language usage” (p. 126). As *realia* is a rather controversial and more exclusive term than culture-bound elements, it will not be used in this study. Culture-bound elements arise as many cultures have their own unique languages and those languages have their own unique features, so not all elements in one language necessarily transfer to a

different language effortlessly. Culture-bound elements are not always easy to detect, it is rather up to the researcher, and to the translator, to determine whether something is a culture-bound element. Generally, it can be said that culture-bound elements need to be at least relatively foreign to the target audience and possibly create a challenge for the translator, so that they will have to use domesticating or foreignizing methods to get through that challenge. Culture-bound elements can be translated into a culture-bound elements of the target audience, or they can be translated in some other way, such as generalizing or explaining the culture-bound element to the target audience.

Galumbo (2009) describes culture-bound elements as “terms or expressions referring to elements or concepts that are closely associated with a certain language and culture, e.g. *sarong* in Malay, *tortilla* or *siesta* in Spanish, *five o’ clock tea* in English and other terms referring to geography, traditions, institutions and technologies” (p. 33). Culture-bound elements in source text then usually cause what Pedersen (2005) names *crisis points* for the translator (p. 1). Pedersen (2005) states that such culture-bound elements that form crisis points have in common that “they present translation problems; they constitute turning points, at which the translators have to make active decisions, and these points are thus indicative of overall strategy and to what norms the translator professes.” (p. 1) When a translator faces such a crisis point, they have to decide what sort of approach they take to solve this crisis. This then differs from unproblematic translation work in that there is usually no official equivalent in the target language to the culture-bound element, and solving this crisis point requires using more creativity and research than other elements in the translation work.

As we see, cultural phenomena do not always translate to the target culture as is. Some concepts can be so foreign in the target culture that they will affect the intelligibility of the translation and the audiences viewing experience if they are not translated carefully and professionally. Translators need tools to solve the translation problems, or crisis points, that culture-bound elements cause. In these crisis points there are two main paths a translator can choose from: foreignization and domestication. Whether the appropriate path is to use foreignizing or domesticating translation methods depends on the culture-bound phenomenon in question as well as the translator and their chosen approach. Next, I will discuss the different definitions of foreignization and domestication.

2.2. Domestication and foreignization

Domestication and *foreignization* are rather ambiguous terms. Koskinen (2012) describes the terms as follows: “in a fairly simplified manner, the former is often equated with reader-orientedness and the latter with staying close to the source text” (p. 14). What does “reader-orientedness” or “staying close to the source text” mean then exactly? This is where the perceptions of the terms differ from one scholar to another. This vague description is how domestication and foreignization are widely perceived, but as Koskinen (2012) states, it is a rather simplified way to describe these translation “techniques” and all in all not profound. Whether domestication and foreignization can be considered translation techniques at all is another debate. In many studies, however, different methods, as they will be called in the present study, of translating culture-bound elements are divided into domesticating and foreignizing methods, even if the definition and division of these two concepts is not always clear. In what follows, I will report on some of the discussion surrounding the two terms.

Palumbo (2009) defines domestication as “a global strategy of translation aimed at producing a transparent, fluent style in the TL” (p. 38) and foreignization as “a translation strategy aimed at rendering the ST conspicuous in the target text or, in other words, at avoiding the fluency that would mask it being a translation” (p. 48). These are, in a simple sense, what many, including Koskinen (2012), call Venutian interpretations of domestication and foreignization. To Lawrence Venuti, in whose work the terms mainly originate, the distinction between domestication and foreignization is not clear-cut. Venuti rather considers foreignization, in a way, ultimately a domesticating method of translation (Koskinen 2012, p. 15). To Venuti, domestication means preferring fluency and reader-orientedness in the translation over creating challenging and more complex translations that in some way disrupt the viewer’s reception (Koskinen 2012, p. 16). Domestication is therefore, according to Venuti, about making the translator invisible and creating ‘transparency’. The problem with the idea of an ‘invisible translator’ is, that it can create a false impression of bringing the exact words and meaning of the original text into the target language and even create an illusion that the *translation* is the original text (Palumbo, 2009, p. 38). Venuti (1992) criticizes this call for transparency in translation, as it often leads to severe domestication (p. 5). Especially in cases where the target language or culture is in some way a more dominant

and powerful than the source language or culture, domestication can be harmful and problematic (Venuti, 1992, p. 5). Domestication, according to Venuti (1992), appears in these cases to be used as a means of erasing foreign elements from the text and advancing the already dominating target culture's economic and social status (p. 5-6). Venuti's concern here is the Anglo-American culture's fear of differences emerging in foreign texts and the need to conceal and replace the foreign elements in English translations (Venuti, 1992, p. 5-6).

Venuti sees foreignization as a method of translation that makes the translator more 'visible', instead of trying to hide the foreignness of the text and making it appear as though it is a product of the target culture (Palumbo, 2009, p. 48). Rather than creating 'colorless' translation, utilizing target language's own diversity to imply different nuances in the language is, according to Venuti, a better way of retelling the original text's contents in another language (Palumbo, 2009, p. 48). As Palumbo (2009) states, "[t]his way of translating may entail using more marked, unusual TL forms, archaisms, mixed registers and other aspects that might allow the 'otherness' of the original text to be felt by TL readers." (p. 48) In his later studies, Venuti seems to prefer other, more specified terms instead of foreignization, as suggested by Koskinen (2012): "while the translation studies community was absorbing these two concepts with enthusiasm, Venuti himself chose a new term. . . . Venuti in his 1998 book no longer talked about foreignizing, but about minoritizing and resistant translation" (p. 16). Venuti prefers emphasizing the alienation of the text (Koskinen, 2012, p. 16). In any case, we can say that foreignization is something that disrupts the fluency of the translation and the viewing/reading experience of the audience.

It can be difficult, especially with different and sometimes rather ambiguous descriptions of domestication and foreignization, to understand what these two terms mean in practice, as implied by Koskinen (2012, p. 14-15). For instance, the degree of foreignness can sometimes be hard to define. However, it can be said that something cannot be considered foreign if it is also well-known in the target culture, and foreignness is thus defined by the target culture; if an element is not familiar to the target audience, it is considered foreign. (Koskinen, 2012, p. 15). In the present thesis, the examples of translation are therefore chosen based on their foreignness compared to the Finnish culture. Even if the knowledge of different cultures may vary within the Finnish audience, in the present study the foreignness is defined with such a

viewer in mind who has no previous knowledge of the source culture and cannot therefore understand the culture-specific elements in the spoken language or in the translation.

The basic definitions of domestication and foreignization are usually derived from Venuti's work but how they are then further explained and interpreted, varies. Many modern studies of domestication and foreignization tend to use more distinct interpretations of the terms, for example, unlike Venuti, using them as two opposites of a spectrum rather than two, at times, overlapping concepts. Therefore, however we interpret domestication and foreignization, it can be said that there are some methods of translation that are more foreignizing and some that are more domesticating than others. The distinction between domestication and foreignization is still relevant in the translation field, as long as translation process requires the translator to make a decision in bringing the text to the reader or the reader to the text, and as long as such cultural elements that have not spread around the world exist. Domestication and foreignization are not only tools for translators to resolve difficult situations they may encounter, but they can also be used by the reader or viewer to assess the quality of the translation and the skills of the translator to some extent. If the translator is not familiar enough with the source culture or does not have time or skills to find the appropriate ways to translate culture-bound elements, the result can be seen in the translation. For example, if culture-bound elements are often omitted or left in the original form (foreignizing ways of translation) a lot, they might lack the time, skills or willingness to find alternative ways to translate those culture-bound elements. In the future, the division of domesticating and foreignizing translations might not be needed as much if cultural exchange increases and elements are shared from one culture to another. In line with Venuti's (1992) critique of dominant cultures overpowering minor cultures in translation (p. 5-6), Anglophone cultures might, as they are generally considered more influential, affect other cultures in a way that cultural elements of Anglophone cultures become commonplace in other cultures and languages to such an extent that they finally emerge into these cultures completely. In that case, the question of domestication and foreignization becomes less relevant.

For clarity's sake, I will regard domesticating and foreignizing methods mainly as ways to either conceal or retain cultural-bound elements in the translation. However, in the analysis, I will also consider Venuti's concept of fluency of the translation. Venuti's critique towards

domestication in terms of the target culture dominating the source culture is not very relevant to a study that discusses the translation from English to Finnish, since English is a more dominant language compared to Finnish. In today's context, it can be more fruitful to consider, though, how English language influences the Finnish translation, since the discussion of Anglophone cultures having increasing influence over other languages and cultures is more relevant than ever before. Anglophone media (mainly American and British) is widely consumed in Nordic countries, and it influences the cultures, language and behavior of the people, especially the youth, of said countries.

2.3 Subtitling

The two general approaches to translating audiovisual media (television series, movies etc.) are dubbing and subtitling. In most countries, dubbing is widely used for not only children's programs, but also adult-oriented programs and movies (Vertanen, 2007, p. 149-150). The Nordic countries, and a few other European countries with small populations, are an exception, in that subtitling is preferred over dubbing in other than children's entertainment (Vertanen, 2007, p. 149). One reason for subtitling being more popular in Finland, and other Nordic countries, is the fact that it is considered cheaper than dubbing (Vertanen, 2007, p.149-150). While dubbing requires the employment of translators, actors and other production staff, subtitling is usually an effort of one translator and therefore requires less time and resources.. Thus, countries with a smaller population, and audience, do not gain as much from using the costly method of dubbing as more populated countries like France, Germany and Spain do (Vertanen, 2007, p. 149-150). Subtitling in itself is more of a foreignizing method compared to dubbing, which in turn can be considered a rather domesticating method (Gambier, 2007, p. 89). Pedersen (2005) states that subtitling is *additive*, since it adds information to the source text (p. 13). Dubbing and literary translations, by contrast, *replace* the source text and therefore they do not have the same effect and responsibility as subtitling (Pedersen, 2005, p.13). Therefore, subtitles have to cooperate with other elements of the source material, like the picture, the dialog and other audio of the material. It cannot provide contradicting information or omit information that is vital for connecting the text with the picture. Pedersen (2005) calls the degree of overlap that these channels (picture, dialog, sounds etc.) have an 'Intersemiotic Redundancy' (p.13). If the

degree of overlap is high, the translator's job is usually easier and less accommodations are needed (Pedersen, 2005, p.13).

Subtitling comes with a lot of restrictions in terms of translation that the target audience may or may not be aware of. These restrictions affect the translation's outcome and sometimes can be behind the decisions of domestication or foreignization, and they are therefore worth discussing at some length in this thesis. Since subtitles must follow certain guidelines (e.g., by translation company or television channel), the translator's work is in many ways constrained. The translator has instructions and limitations that they need to strictly obey, as most of these guidelines have been created to guarantee a fluent viewing experience for the audience. Pedersen (2011) divides subtitling constraints into spatial and temporal constraints (p. 19). *Spatial constraints* are due to the limited space that subtitles can and should occupy on screen (Pedersen, 2011, p. 19). Usually, the length of subtitles is limited to a certain number of characters that fit into one line of subtitles (Pedersen, 2011, p. 19). One *temporal constraint*, then, is "the widely applied 12 cps rule, which means that there should be a display time of one second per 12 characters in the subtitles (equalling 36 characters for a full one-liner that would be displayed for three seconds)" (Pedersen, 2005 p. 14). Without these rules, the audience would find the subtitles disturbing rather than helpful. Size, length, duration and how much information the subtitles contain affect the viewing experience of the audience, and therefore translators usually follow the rules that have been established for the optimal viewing experience.

In addition to the spatial and temporal constraints, the intelligibility of subtitles needs to be considered when these rules are applied. As subtitles change on the screen rather fast, the meaning of what is being said needs to come across immediately. In the fast-paced audiovisual media, the viewer cannot linger on individual statements and their meanings for too long (Vertanen, 2007, p. 153). That is why the translator might have to use more standardized language, even when the situation might call for a more colorful alternative in order to match the original text, as harsh dialects and slang might be difficult to follow in subtitles (Vertanen, 2007, p. 153). Some other word-choices might also need compromising, as especially swear words might come off cruder in written form than in spoken form (Vertanen, 2007, p. 153). Especially in Finnish, swear words are considered to be very harsh,

so discretion is required from the translator, and they need to carefully weigh whether a literal translation is the best option when it comes to translating swear words. Therefore, subtitling sometimes requires more accommodation and modifying than other forms of translation.

The rules and limitations listed above are some of the main constraints that govern subtitling. We do not need to know and understand all of the rules and guidelines of subtitling to form an understanding of how subtitling works and how these guidelines affect the foreignization and domestication in translation. We do, however, need to be aware that such limitations exist, and they are one factor that contributes to the outcome of the translation. The limitations of time and space in subtitling can lead to omission of information, but it is the translator's job to identify and decide which pieces of information are important and which can be excluded in order both to obey the limitations of subtitling and to provide the viewer with enough information to be able to follow the storyline effortlessly. In context of domestication and foreignization, omitting some culture-bound elements that do not serve an important purpose in terms of the plotline or the visual image is one choice. Usually if there is no way to include the culture-bound elements seamlessly in the subtitled translations or the space is limited, omitting some information is the only option.

Despite its limitations, subtitling can also be considered to have some benefits that other translation mediums do not have. Kokkola (2007) states that subtitles can be used to include an explanation of culture-bound elements of the original dialog (p. 218). The spatial limitations of subtitling, however, also restrict this benefit. Koskinen (2007) also mentions that the image in audiovisual media helps the translator's job, as things that can also be perceived from the image do not necessarily need to be translated in the subtitles (p. 217-218).

2.4 Reception theory and audiovisual translation

One factor that greatly affects the translation and the translator's decision to use either domesticating or foreignizing methods in their work is the target audience, that is, who

watches or reads the translated product. As audiovisual translation is multimodal (visual, auditory and textual), the reception and the audience's experience are different from, for example, literary translation (Tuominen, 2007, p. 299).

According to Tuominen (2007), it is important that a translator knows their target audience, as it is difficult for a translator to estimate the knowledge the audience has of the source culture without any actual statistics of the audience (p. 296-297). The lack of information on the target audience then might lead to mistakes on the translator's part when it comes to using domestication or foreignization in the translation of culture-bound terms, if the translator has incorrectly presumed who the target audience are (Tuomien, 2007, p. 297). Tuominen (2007) finds not only the reception of culture-bound elements in language, but also the reception of culture-bound elements in the visual channel important when it comes to the reception of audiovisual media (p. 300). Afterall, culture-bound elements do not only arise in spoken language, but cultural aspect are part of a much larger entity, especially when audiovisual media is concerned. Tuominen (2007) also discusses the fact that subtitle conventions, such as using different fonts to depict the sounds within the media to come from different sources, affect the reception of the translation (p. 301).

It has been proven that the consumption of subtitled audiovisual media helps children acquire a new language, as the ST and TT appear together in the material, and the viewer can perceive both at the same time (Nikolić, 2018, p.184). The differences in the reception of culture-bound elements between older and younger viewers might also be an interesting topic to look more into. As younger people are nowadays more exposed to cultural influences than the older generation was in their youth, the ability to understand culture-bond elements, even when they are translated with foreignizing methods, might be different between different generations. Applying perception theory on translation and gathering information on the target audience would probably be beneficial in various ways.

2.5 Domestication and foreignization in English-to-Finnish and Finnish-to-English translation: three examples

These following papers have similar objectives as the present study, as they all discuss domestication and foreignization in translations from English to Finnish or from Finnish to English. Domesticating and foreignizing translation methods are discussed by Vänni (2017) in terms of an American television series *Gilmore Girls*, by Soininen (2012) regarding the English translations of Finnish children's books by Mauri Kunnas, and by Sorvari (2014) in her study of the Finnish and Swedish translations of the children's book *The BFG*. Only one of them is about audiovisual translation, like the present study, but they can all provide important information about the domesticating and foreignizing translation tendencies in Finland. These studies and their findings will be introduced next. Then, what can be concluded and, in terms of the present study, hypothesized will be discussed at the end.

Vänni (2017) has studied how the cultural references in the American television series *Gilmore Girls* have been translated into Finnish. According to Vänni (2017), the series is known for using a lot of cultural references that are characteristic to the series, which she calls Gilmore-isms (p. 14). The series also makes various references to real-life famous people and fictional characters among other phenomena related to popular culture, and in her thesis Vänni (2017) analyzes how those names and phenomena have been translated into Finnish. As one can expect, there are many different solutions that can be seen in the translations, and Vänni (2017) discusses those translation solutions and why the translator might have come to those solutions. Vänni (2007) categorizes the cultural references in the series and names the different translation techniques used for the cultural references and proper names. In her conclusion, Vänni (2007) finds that foreignization, and retention in particular, was most often used technique in the translations (p.68). Vänni (2007) suggests that cases of domestication and omission, when they were used, were mainly due to technical limitations, like lack of space, or readability and convenience (p. 68-69). According to Vänni (2007), the influence of English-speaking cultures to minor cultures becomes very apparent in the translations. (p. 68) The present study uses similar techniques when it comes to categorizing the culture-bound elements and identifying the techniques used in the translations, but the findings differ to some extent. While Vänni (2007) finds in her study that foreignization was used most in the translations, the results of the present study indicate that domestication is used more in the translation of culture-bound elements. It has to be noted, however, that Vänni (2007) focuses on the translation of proper names, and the focus point of this study is culture-bound elements in a wider sense.

Interestingly, another thesis conducted by Soininen (2012) presents somewhat different results when material is translated from Finnish to English. Soininen (2012) studies the use of domestication, foreignization and omission in translations of two Finnish children's books, *Koirien Kalevala* and *Seitsemän Koiraveljestä*. Soininen (2012) finds that both translations, done by two different translators, use mostly domestication as a method of translating culture-bound elements (p. 51). *The Canine Kalevala* (Koirien Kalevala) translation also used a good portion (21% of the translation of culture-bound elements) of omission as a translation method (Soininen, 2012, p. 18). She also states that *The Canine Kalevala* has more foreignization than *Seven Dog Brothers* (Seitsemän koiraveljestä), but seems to give less information on Finnish culture (Soininen, 2012, p. 59). More than anything else, Soininen (2012) finds the amount of omission used for translating culture-bound elements concerning when the source text is in minor language (Finnish) and target text in a more dominant language (English), and the material is targeted for children (p. 54).

Sorvari (2014), in turn, examines the use of domestication and foreignization in the Finnish and Swedish translations of *The BGF* by Roald Dahl in her study. She compares the translation choices of these two translations and how culture-specific elements have been translated into each language. Sorvari (2014) finds that Swedish and Finnish translations use both methods, but the Swedish one uses more foreignization than the Finnish one (p. 90). Sorvari (2014) mentions that the Finnish translation uses localizations, as the events of the book are situated to Finland instead of the original location UK, while the Swedish translation keeps the location same as the ST (p. 7). Therefore, the Finnish translation requires more alterations and brings the text closer to the TT readers than the Swedish translations (Sorvari, 2014, p. 91). In terms of different culture-specific items, Sorvari (2014) states that names in the book were domesticated in the Finnish translation and mostly foreignized in the Swedish translation (p. 39), for measures both translations use domestication (p. 43), food items were mostly domesticated in both translation (p. 50), and for allusions, Finnish translation uses domestication more and Swedish translation has mostly used foreignization (p. 82). In the end, Sorvari (2014) states that keeping foreign elements in translation seems to be the new trend, and in this regard, the Swedish translation is more progressive (p. 92).

The two studies by Vänni (2017) and Soininen (2012) suggest that domestication is used more in translations from Finnish into English than in translation from English into Finnish. The findings of Sorvari's (2014) study, however, differ from the other two studies, since domestication is used more in the Finnish translation of her study material. Some variety may probably occur depending on the translator and their individual preferences, as well as the material (literature or audiovisual, genre etc.) that is translated. The nature of culture-bound elements also seems to affect the translation methods, according to these three previous studies. Vänni (2017) mainly studies the translation of proper names, while Sorvari (2014) studies culture-bound elements in a wider sense, thus the findings of their studies show different results. Also, the target audience most likely affects the translator's choices, as translations for children (*The BFG* and Mauri Kunnas' books) uses more domestication, while *Gilmore Girls'* target audience is more mature, and foreignization is used more in the translation. However, Venuti's (1992) claims about dominant cultures, here Anglophone cultures, overpowering minor cultures and having more influence over them, would suggest that foreignization is more common in English-to-Finnish translations. We can then expect that the results of this study will be in line the majority of the previous research, and since this study discusses the translation of *Desperate Housewives* from English into Finnish, the expectation might be that foreignizing translation methods would be used more than domesticating methods. However, the findings of the present study somewhat differ from the expectations, as can be seen later in the analysis section of this study.

3. Material and methodology

In this section I will briefly introduce the series *Desperate Housewives* and how the material from this series was collected and categorized for the present study. The categories (Culture, society, Phrases and expressions, and Money and measures) and the way they are defined will be thoroughly introduced. Then I will discuss the translation methods, introduced by Pedersen (2005), that will be applied to the analysis of the translations.

3.1 *Desperate Housewives*, main themes and central characters of the series and categories of culture-bound elements

Desperate Housewives is an American television drama series produced by Marc Cherry, Tom Spezialy, and Michael Edelstein that follows the lives of the people of a fictional street named Wisteria Lane (Cherry, M., Spezialy, T., & Edelstein, M., 2004-2012). The show represents many aspects of American culture, often in an exaggerated manner, through the daily lives of the people living in the suburban neighborhood on Wisteria Lane. The lives of the suburban housewives and the secrets they hide behind their picture-perfect façade are the center of the storyline in the series. The appeal of the series is the contrast between the everyday life the suburban families lead from an outsider's point of view and the reality of what happens behind closed doors in their homes.

The central characters in the series are four housewives: Bree Van de Kamp, Susan Mayer, Lynette Scavo and Gabrielle Solis. In addition to these characters, their family members make a frequent appearance in the series. When some examples of the translations will be analyzed later in the present thesis, context will be provided to some of the scenes where these translations occur, so it is good to know a little something about the characters and their personalities beforehand.

Bree Van de Kamp is a stereotypical suburban housewife whose passion is to take care of her family and home. Her husband, Rex, is the provider of the family, while she is the homemaker. Bree's expertise includes lavish dishes and pastries as well as keeping her home and yard in an excellent condition to a point that it invokes envy in her neighbors. Her

republican political views are briefly introduced in the series, enforcing the image that she her values are traditional and conservative.

Susan Mayer is a single mom who is often considered a clumsy and accident-prone person by her neighbors and friends. She works as an illustrator for children's books, but her profession is rarely brought up in the series, and she seems to spend most of her time trying to pursue a romantic relationship with one of the neighbors, Mike Delfino, or with the other housewives. She does not represent the typical housewife in that not only she has a career, she also is not especially skilled in traditional housewife's chores like cooking.

Gabrielle Solis is a vain and wealthy housewife who prefers to spend her time shopping and socializing than doing housework. She is a former model but married a rich man, Carlos Solis, and gave up her career. During the years she has grown unhappy with her current life and has started an affair with her underage gardener.

Lynette Scavo used to be a successful businesswoman but quit her job after she and her husband started expecting their first children, twins. Since then, their family has grown with two more children and Lynette is slowly growing more and more weary of taking care of four children on her own, the three oldest of which also tend to cause a lot of trouble.

This series was chosen as a study material due to its depiction of American culture.

Desperate Housewives is rich in American suburban lifestyle –specific phenomena and language. The series provides an exaggerated, but also in many ways accurate, image of the culture and life associated to the middle-class families in a small suburb in the United States. The cultural elements of the series are primarily of American suburban lifestyle. With American culture come many distinct features and concepts foreign to those outside of the culture. All cultures have their own special features that can be noticed in certain areas of life, such as food, language, social roles, customs, appearances and worldviews. In *Desperate Housewives*, some of these features are what makes the series so unique in representing the 'American way of life'.

I have composed four categories of most prominent groups of culture-bound elements that arise in the series and its translation. These categories showcase some of the most common types of culture-bound elements that emerged in the material. The categories help to group together similar culture-bound elements and to examine whether some sort of consistency exists in the translations inside these categories. The categories are as follows:

- 1. Culture**
- 2. Society**
- 3. Phrases and expressions**
- 4. Money and measures**

Category 1. *Culture* comprises generic cultural phenomena, such as specific dishes and food items that are common in the source culture, traditions and customs. Category 2. *Society* consists of societal phenomena such as official administrations, workplace and social life related subjects and social roles that are considered appropriate for representatives of a particular gender or certain members of a community. Category 3. *Phrases and expressions* consists of linguistic phenomena like proverbs, idioms and expressions that may be difficult to translate into Finnish, either because they do not have an exact equivalent or because they otherwise present some challenge for the translator. Category 4. *Money and measures* includes translations of units of measure and currencies, which are different in the source and target cultures for such things as weight, length and cooking measure for example. Americans use pounds, feet and cups, while Finnish people use kilos, meters and deciliters in their everyday lives.

The category of *Culture* can be a bit hard to define, and the line between *Society* and *Culture* can become blurred, but in the present study, these two types of elements are divided into two groups. Łabendowicz (2012) introduces in her study various ways in which culture-bound elements can be analyzed (p. 7-13). Sergej Vlahov and Sider Florin have combined culture-bound elements (or *realia*) into three main groups: *Geography* (natural and man-made geography, native species etc.), *Ethnography* everyday life related concepts like food, work, art, measurements etc.) and *Politics and Society* (military, social and political life,

administrative terms etc.) (Łabendowicz, 2012, p. 7-8). Birgit Nedergaard-Larsen has divided them into four categories Geography (cultural and natural geography), History (historical people, events and buildings), Society (economy, organizations, politics and customs) and Culture (religion, education, media and leisure activity) ((Łabendowicz, 2012, p. 7-9). These two categorizations are the main source of inspiration for the categorization in the present study, but the categories are not directly drawn from either of these previously introduced categorizations. Especially the division between society and culture is defined differently in different categorizations, and I have also created my own determinations for both. I had also initially compiled these two categories into one, *Social and cultural phenomena*, but as the content of that category became too big and hard to analyze as one entity, a decision was made to divide it into two categories, *Culture* and *Society*.

Here, *Culture* will be defined as those elements that are not particularly regulated or monitored, but more spontaneously and informally included into the daily life of people, but element that are, at least to some extent, culturally exclusive. Such elements include, for example, cultural cuisine (food items, dishes, ingredients), some traditions that are not associated with any regulated activity, sports, and concepts and terms that are associated with lifestyle and culture. This category may be a bit hard to grasp, but perhaps it is easier to comprehend in comparison to the definition of the *Society* category.

Even though most Finnish people might think they are familiar with the American culture and its peculiarities, there are many cultural elements that can still be considered foreign to the average Finnish viewer and in comparison to the Finnish culture. References to different food items and dishes that are particularly American or otherwise culturally restricted are the most common cultural elements in *Desperate Housewives*. Some dishes have a very deep-rooted cultural association, and they are relatively unknown to the Finnish audience, even lacking Finnish names, such as *macaroni and cheese*, *root beer* and *bear claws*. One character in particular, Bree Van de Kamp, is very rigorous about cooking elegant meals and the names those dishes often come up in the episodes in various contexts. Many of these dishes and ingredients are challenging to translate into Finnish, even if some dish names are not originally English and might have non-English names, they might still be more familiar to English-speaking viewers than to Finnish viewers.

Social phenomena present themselves in many forms in the series. In the category of *Society*, mainly such elements as social roles and norms, professional or social life related terms, as well as official, political and legal practices and vocabulary are included. Such practices that are somehow organized or regulated, as well as the unsaid rules and expectations of social life are included in this category. Geographical places and locations are also within this category. References to American social roles and norms are very common in *Desperate Housewives*. Even today, the traditional roles of husband and wife in United States are relatively strong compared to how the roles in Europe, for example, have slowly become more equal and less strict. Even if most of the terms can be effortlessly translated into Finnish, they might still seem somewhat foreign to the modern-day Finnish people. In this way, being a housewife can be considered a culture-bound phenomenon; some traits and expectations that are associated with being a housewife are very fixed into the American society. One of the terms that can be very close to, almost being synonymous with, the term ‘housewife’ is ‘soccer mom’. This term is not usually familiar to Finnish viewers and does not have a proper Finnish equivalent. The term ‘soccer mom’ emerges in one of the translation examples.

There are multiple different terms that can be used here to refer to the somewhat same linguistic phenomena: idiom, figure of speech, expression, saying, phrase etc. I will be using all of these quite interchangeably to refer to the same type of phenomena. Nonetheless, I will be discussing phrases that do not have a literal meaning of their own, or even they do, they can be interpreted to have an indirect meaning as well. Penttilä and Muikku-Werner (2012) define idioms as “a language-specific multiword, conventionalized expression whose meaning is not combination of its parts” (p. 124). Penttilä and Muikku-Werner (2012) also state that idioms have something called *core meaning*, and in addition to that, especially figurative idioms, can have additional meanings that bring out the cultural aspects of the idiom’s components (p. 124).

In most Anglophone media, units of measure or currencies arise in the text, and there are variety of ways to translate them. In the next section, the translation methods will be discussed in more detail, but it is important to note that the translation of units of measure or

currencies is not as simple as one might imagine, and that there is sometimes a fine line between separating which translation method is used in the translation. Pedersen (2007) states that official equivalent can sometimes be mixed, or confused, with cultural substitution, since the line between the two is rather blurry, and depends on whether the substitution is encouraged on some official level or not (p.36). At least in Scandinavian countries the norm is to translate units of measure into local units, and I would assume that this is also the most common practice by Finnish translators, as American units of measures are probably difficult to comprehend for most Finns (Pedersen, 2007, p.36). Therefore, when units of measurement are translated into units used in Finland, the method is considered to be official equivalent in the present study.

It is good to remember, as Leppihalme (2010) states, that “[c]oncepts may cross linguistic and cultural borders; loanwords or calques are introduced into the target language via for example trans-mission of international news (tsunami, hijab) (p. 126)”, and thus the line between familiar and foreign can become blurred. With the help of television media, movies and social media, the spread of culture-bound elements has escalated. For example, we can see a steady increase in the North American content in the Finnish television in the report on the Finnish television program supply provided by the Finnish Ministry of Transport and Communications (Juntunen and Koskenniemi, 2013, p. 33; Juntunen and Lagus 2015, p. 29; Vähämaa et al., 2011, p. 29), which means that the Finnish audience is more and more exposed to the North American culture. The total hours of American television series broadcasting on Finnish television channels increased from 404 hours a week in 2010 to 532 hours a week in 2012, and on 2014, the hours per week were 662 (Juntunen and Koskenniemi, 2013, p. 33; Juntunen and Lagus 2015, p. 29; Vähämaa et al., 2011, p. 29). The percentage of North American programs being broadcasted on Finnish television in 2014 was 45%, while Finnish programs comprised 32% of the total amount of programs aired on Finnish television (Juntunen and Lagus 2015, p. 29). In 2010, the corresponding numbers were 34 % and 39 % (Vähämaa et al., 2011, p. 29), which means the amount of North American content has surpassed the Finnish content of Finnish television in just 4 years. 2015 was the most recent report I was able to find for the present study. However, all generations are not on the same level when it comes to understanding culture-bound elements from different cultures, particularly Anglophone cultures, and as internet generates new expressions of its own, even source culture’s older generations are not familiar with all of the

new lingo. Hence, we can, at least for now, still speak of culture-bound elements and attempt to categorize them.

3.2. Translations and method of analysis

I have watched the first season of the series and the material to be analyzed is comprised of the translations from these episodes (23 in total). The original English subtitles as well as the translated Finnish subtitles are derived from the Finnish DVD release of *Desperate Housewife*. There is no information of the translator nor the translation company on the DVD case nor in the opening or ending credits of the episodes, so the translator's identity will remain a mystery. The original subtitles sometimes differ from what is actually said by the characters in the series. I do not know if this is due to capacity limitations in the subtitles or the change of dialog by the director or the actors and the actresses themselves, but the changes are mostly minor. If there is a significant change or change that somehow affects the Finnish translation, I will note that in the analysis. Although the source material for the translations analyzed in the present study are from a television series, the word 'text' will be used to discuss the translations. After all, the Finnish subtitles are still a text, and, from a certain aspect, so are the original lines spoken in the series.

In the analysis part of the present study, some chosen examples from the collected material will be discussed to showcase the translation methods that were used. Pedersen's (2005) classification of 'strategies for rendering ECRs' (Extralinguistic Culture-bound References) are utilized to identify the culture-bound components in the translation examples in this thesis. Pedersen (2007) describes ECRs as "expressions that refer to entities outside language, such as names of people, places, institutions, food, customs etc., which a person may not know, even if s/he knows the language in question" (p. 31). Nevertheless, similar translation methods can be found to be utilized for other culture-bound elements. Pedersen (2005) also suggests that the classification of the methods could possibly be modified to use in studies of intralinguistic culture-bound references, such as slang and idioms (p. 2). To refer to these methods or strategies, I will be talking about *translation methods*.

The methods Pedersen (2005) identifies are as follows: 1) official equivalent, 2) retention, 3) specification (incl. explication and addition), 4) direct translation (incl. calque and shift), 5) generalization, 6) omission and 7) substitution (incl. cultural substitution and paraphrase). I will next present these strategies in more detail.

Official equivalent is rather self-explanatory: some higher authority has decided on the official equivalent that should be used or the equivalent has in some other way established its place as the standard translation (Pedersen, 2005, p. 3). When there is an existing official equivalent in the target culture to the source culture's concept, it is usually used in the translation (Pedersen, 2005, p. 3). This includes translating the units of measure into the system that is used in the target culture (Pedersen, 2007 p. 36), for example translating a measurement given in feet in the ST into meters in the TT. Exceptions do, however, occur, when time or space limitations, for example, so require (Pedersen, 2005, p. 3). A general example of official equivalent could be the Finnish translation *Tunteita ja tuoksuja*, as the series has been known since it premiered on the Finnish channel *Mtv3*, of the name of the American television soap opera *The Young and the Restless*.

Retention means retaining the source texts original component as is, with no changes other than sometimes using italics or quotation marks to mark it in the subtitles (Pedersen, 2005, p. 4). For example, an American food item that is virtually unknown to the Finnish audience, like *tater tots*, is not translated or explained in any way but instead retained in its original English form.

In *specification*, the translator adds information to the retained form of source text component to make it more accessible to the audience (Pedersen, 2005, p. 4). *Explication* is a form of specification that Pedersen (2005) describes as “the spelling out of an acronym or abbreviation (often combined with other strategies), the adding of someone's first name or the completion of an official name (p. 5)”. *Addition*, in turn, means adding information about the culture-bound element that can easily be associated with that component but is not mentioned in the source text. (Pedersen, 2005, p. 5) Examples of these, respectively, would

be *J.Lo* in ST spelled out in the TT as *Jennifer Lopez* and *Starbucks* in ST being extended to *Starbucks –kahvila* (café) in the TT.

Direct translations can be *calques* or *shifted* direct translations (Pedersen, 2005, p. 5).

Calques convey a more foreignizing experience to the audience by providing a very literal translation, whereas shifted translation is a softer approach, in terms of how foreignizing the effect is, as some optional shifts are performed on the direct translation (Pedersen, 2005, p. 5). A Calque would be, for an example, if the American food item ‘cornbread’ directly to *maissileipä* in Finnish. It is hard to understand what Pedersen (2005) exactly means by “optional shifts on the ST ECR that makes the ECR more unobtrusive” (p. 5), but I assume it means some minor changes that do not change the key elements of the original culture-bound element, like translating ‘mac and cheese’ to *juustomakaroni* (lit. cheese macaroni) in Finnish. The translation is quite literal, but some changes are performed on the structure of the term, such as changing the order of the words and omitting ‘and’.

The *generalization* method means replacing a very specific element in the source text into something more general in the target text (Pedersen, 2005, p. 6). Generalization occurs, when, for example, a brand name is substituted by a general term (Pedersen, 2005, p. 6). Such an example would be changing the name of *Fenty Beauty* (a makeup brand launched by pop-singer Rihanna) mascara to ‘ripsiväri’ (mascara) in the Finnish subtitles.

Substitution is removing the culture-bound element of the source text and replacing it with something different (Pedersen, 2005, p. 6). *Cultural substitution* means that in place of the original element used in the source text, another culture-bound element is used, which can be either from the source or the target culture (Pedersen, 2005, p. 6-7). Paraphrasing is divided into *paraphrasing with sense transfer* and *situational paraphrasing* (Pedersen, 2005, p. 8-9). Paraphrasing with sense transfer takes place when “the ST ECR is removed, but its sense or relevant connotations are kept by using a paraphrase” (Pedersen, 2005 p. 8). Situational paraphrasing refers to removing the source texts culture-bound element and replacing it with something that is completely irrelevant to the original element but fits the situation (Pedersen, 2005, p. 9). Pedersen (2005) mentions that situational paraphrasing is often used when

translating puns containing culture-bound elements (p. 9). Cultural substitution would take place in a translation, for example, if the English dish called ‘black pudding’ was replaced by the Finnish *mustamakkara* (lit. black sausage) in the translation. Even if the dishes are similar both in appearance and ingredients to an extent, they are still two different cultural dishes originating from different cultures and therefore the translation method would be a cultural substitution. Paraphrasing with sense transfer would be, for example, substituting the English saying ‘cross the stream where it is shallowest’ with *tehdä helpoimman kautta* (approx. use the easiest method) in Finnish. This idiom has a Finnish equivalent as well, which is *mennä mistä aita on matalin* (approx. Go where the fence is lowest), but if it is not used, but just the meaning is conveyed, the method is paraphrase with sense transfer. Since situational paraphrase is often used for puns, it is best to give an example where a pun is translated with this method. *Desperate Housewives* is not known for puns, so I will cite one scene in the American sitcom *Modern Family* (Lloyd-Levitan Productions et al., 2009-2020) and its Finnish translation provided by Netflix to demonstrate this method. Two characters, Claire and Phil, of the series are discussing the tendency of the mother to be overbearing towards the children. Original English text is normal font and Finnish is in cursive.

Example

Claire: You think I smother our children?

Phil: It’s not your fault, honey. Mother is part of the word. You never hear anyone being “sfathered” to death.

Claire: *Häiritseenkö minä?*

Phil: *Ei se ole sinun vikasi. Sanassa ”häiritä” on melkein ”äiti”. Ei kukaan koskaan sano ”hisätä”.*

Modern Family Season 1 – Episode 18

In this example, the translator has created a new pun to replace the original one in the translation. The word *häiritä* means ‘to disturb’ in English, and an attempt is made to connect this word to the Finnish word for ‘mother’, *äiti*, to produce a similar pun to the original. As

the original pun is substituted with a Finnish pun in the translation and the same sense is not completely conveyed, but it fits the situation, the method is situational paraphrase.

Omission means completely deleting the original culture-bound element and providing no replacement (Pedersen, 2005, p.9). This method might need to be used when translator has no other choice left in terms of strategies to use (Pedersen, 2005, p.9). For example, if the ST contains a pun that is impossible to transfer to the TT, they might opt to leave it out entirely. Although sometimes omission can also be used as the ‘easy way out’, Pedersen (2005) notes that the use of this method does not automatically indicate that the translator is incompetent, as omission is sometimes the only option available (p. 9).

These translation methods are sometimes considered a continuum. Penttilä and Muikku-Werner (2012) arrange translation methods from most foreignizing to most domesticating in the following order: retention, specification, direct translation, generalization, substitution and omission (p. 126). Van Poucke (2012), in turn, has classified the translation methods as strong foreignization (retention), moderate foreignization (direct translation), moderate domestication (generalization and substitution) and strong domestication (omission) (p. 145-147). As Van Poucke (2012) classifies specification to be moderate foreignization, and that too only when “the form of the original is retained but extra additional information is added to them in order to explain the meaning of a culture-specific item, without substituting it by more familiar item in the TC (p. 145)”, I will not consider specification unambiguously foreignizing or domesticating in nature. I would, however, consider specification a complex method that can be considered either depending on the circumstances and how it is applied. Van Poucke (2012) also classifies official equivalent as translation methods that uses moderate foreignization (p.145), while Pedersen (2005) places it outside of the foreignizing/domesticating methods spectrum, as “the process is bureaucratic rather than linguistic” (p. 3-4). In the present study, official equivalent is also considered a stand-alone category, or described as leaning more towards domestication of foreignization depending on the case. I will partly apply Van Poucke’s (2012) and Pedersen’s (2005) division of domesticating and foreignizing methods to the present study, but I will not be considering the degree of foreignization or domestication, as I do not find it relevant in terms of the present study.

The next section will introduce a table that includes the categories and the translation methods used to translate these categorized culture-bound elements into Finnish. The table presents the distribution of the translation methods used for the culture-bound elements of each category.

4. Overview

In this section, the statistical findings of the study material and an overview of the main findings will be introduced. First, we will look at a table that presents the methods used in the material by category. Then some general observations will be addressed.

In Table 1, I have calculated the number of translations in each category and how often each translation method has been used. The table shows the distribution of translation methods between the categories, as well as the total number of translations per category and per translation method. The horizontal column headings mark the translation methods, while the vertical line headings mark the categories the translations have been divided into. In addition to the translation methods introduced by Pedersen (2005), I have included one more column with the heading *Other*, where I have placed one translation that does not technically fit into any of these methods, and that has been chosen for this study for other reasons. This example will be discussed in detail later in the thesis. The right most column and line represent the total amount of examples in each category. Some translations did not fit unambiguously into one category, which is why some have been marked inside brackets. In the Table 1, these translations are present in both categories that they can be counted in, and this has been taken into account in the total number of the translation methods, so that no translation appears twice in the totals.

Table 1

	Official equivalent	Retention	Specification	Direct translation	Generalization	Substitution	Omission	Other	TOTAL
CULTURE	3	3	1	2	4	5			18
SOCIETY	4	6	4	3	8	5			30
PHRASES AND EXPRESSIONS	2		2	11		22		1	28
MONEY AND MEASURES	1	1		6		2			10
TOTAL	10	11	7	11	12	34	0	1	86

As we can observe in **Table 1**, the most used method for translations by far is substitution, and it is mostly used to translate *Phrases and expressions*. Most used method of translation for *Society* is generalization and for *Money and measures* is direct translation. *Culture* has a more even distribution, but substitution is used slightly more than other methods.

Surprisingly, omission did not arise as a translation method in the material. The table does not show the sub-categories of each translation method, but I will explain the translation methods used in the translations in more detail as I discuss the examples within the categories.

Then, in terms of foreignizing and domesticating translation methods, Van Poucke's (2012) division of foreignizing and domesticating methods will be partially applied to analyze Table 1 to distinguish which type of methods have been used more in each category. As was already mentioned in section 3.2., specification can also be considered either foreignizing or domesticating, depending on the situation, and therefore translations that use specification should then be individually discussed and analyzed to determine whether the method used was domesticating or foreignizing. Similarly, Official equivalent is considered neither foreignizing nor domesticating method per se. Therefore, excluding the translations using specification or official equivalent in the research materials of this study, domesticating methods (46 in total) are used more than foreignizing methods (22 in total) (see Table 1). In all other categories except for *Money and measure* domesticating methods were used more than foreignizing methods. In *Culture* domesticating methods are used eight times and foreignizing methods five times, and in the *Society* category domesticating methods are used slightly more (14 in total) than foreignizing methods (9 in total). Foreignizing methods are used only once to translate *Phrases and expression*, while domesticating methods (solely substitution) are used 22 times. The category of *Money and measures* does not have as much material as the other categories but, according to Table 1, foreignizing methods are used more (7 in total) than domesticating methods (2 in total).

In the analysis section of the present study, examples of the translation methods will be presented by category and a further discussion of the findings will be conducted.

5. Analysis

In this section I will introduce the findings of this study. First, I will discuss the distribution of the translations by category and by translation method, as well as how the methods are distributed between different categories. Then, in the bulk of this section, I will go on to take a closer look at some illustrative cases of different translation methods from each category.

The following sections include examples of different translation methods used in each category. Examples will be given of all the translation methods used for the translations of each category by translation group (domestication or foreignization), starting with domesticating methods. Each group will start with the most used translation methods, and at the end, a short summary will be given of the findings. Then, examples of the other translation method group will be look at, and the analysis of each category concludes with a summary of the findings.

5.1 Culture

As stated previously in the method section of the present study, this category includes cultural phenomena such as food, some traditions tied to culture, sports and other cultural concepts. These phenomena are elements that are tightly bound to the culture and can seem foreign to those outside the culture, especially those who are not familiar with the culture. In translation, it is always important to assume that the audience is not familiar with the source culture and language, even if other cultures and their phenomena have been made more accessible due to media and internet, and the fact that communication and sharing of cultural information between people from different cultures has become commonplace.

Next, I will discuss the many methods that were used to translate these cultural phenomena into Finnish, starting with domestication and the most used method, substitution, and some case examples of it and then address examples where generalization was used. After discussing domesticating methods, the analysis continues with the discussion of examples of the foreignizing methods, retention and direct translation, both of which were used in this category. As official equivalent and specification were also used for the translation of the

culture-bound elements in this category, examples of them will also be provided and they will be discussed. In the end, I will analyze whether there is some pattern to be detected in terms of the type of situations where domesticating and foreignizing methods were used.

5.1.1 Domesticating translation methods in the category *Culture*

As substitution was the most used method in this group, as well as overall for the culture-bound elements in this category, examples of it will be analyzed first. The first example, #1a, presents two cases where coffee and pastry related elements of the original text are replaced by elements that fit more into Finnish culture and language, the translation method therefore being substitution. The lines in regular font are the original English text, and the Finnish translation is in italics. The focus elements in both texts are in bold. The source season and episode are presented at the end of the example.

#1a

We could do it gently. We could tell him about it over **coffee and pastry**.

- That'll be fun. "We have proof your wife killed herself over a dark secret. Another **bear claw**?"

*Voisimme tehdä sen varovasti. Kutsua hänet **pullakahville**.*

– *Tosi kivaa. "Voimme todistaa, että vaimosi kuolemaan liittyy salaisuus. Otahan **korvapuusti**.*

Desperate Housewives Season 1 – Episode 2

In this example #1a, the two American cuisine related terms have been translated with the use of substitution. 'Coffee and pastry' has been replaced by *pullakahvi* (approx. baked roll and coffee) and 'bear claw' is substituted by a pastry more familiar to the Finnish audience, *korvapuusti* (cinnamonroll). Even if 'coffee and pastry' does not have a strong cultural connotation, the Finnish term *pullakahvi* is very bound to Finnish culture, and using, for example, a direct translation (*kahvi ja leivonnainen*) would be less fluent sounding in this situation. Usually, however, the culture-bound element in the source text is the determining

factor. In this example the focus is also not solely on ‘coffee and pastry’, so it can be considered acceptable to include this element in the analysis alongside another element, that is more culture-bound. This other term, ‘bear claw’, is rather unknown pastry to Finnish people and does not have an official Finnish translation. Therefore, in both cases, the translation method is cultural substitution, that is, the cultural items of SC are replaced by items of TC.

Since food items are so often translated with substitution, another example regarding American cuisine will be discussed next. In example #1b, another American pastry is translated with the use of substitution, but the substitution is more unconventional.

#1b

Shouldn't you be making **brownies** for your friends

*Eikö sinun pitäisi leipoa **pikkuleipiä** ystävillesi?*

Desperate Housewives Season 1 – Episode 2

The approach in example #1b is slightly different to the previous example. Instead of using a Finnish blanket term for pastries (*leivos*) in the translation, ‘brownies’ is substituted with generic word for cookies in Finnish, *pikkuleivät*. This is a rather peculiar choice, since a more appropriate alternatives are also available. In the recent years, brownies have become somewhat familiar to Finnish people as well, so retaining the word ‘brownies’ is not totally unjustifiable either. Nonetheless, other suitable alternatives also exist in the Finnish language, like replacing ‘brownies’ with a rather similar Finnish pastry *mokkapalat* (approx. mocha squares), whereupon the method would be a cultural substitution. We cannot really speak of generalization in regards to the translation in example #1b, as ‘brownies’ cannot be generalized as ‘cookies’, so I have determined the translation method to be general substitution method. Similar trend to the examples #1a and #1b can be seen in the translation of other pastries, as they are often translated with either substitution or generalization.

Next, another example of substitution being used as a translation method will be introduced, but the culture-bound element in the example, #1c, is a different type of cultural phenomenon, sports.

#1c

He'll be bringing in more money, but he's gonna miss the birthdays, **baseball games**, first steps. But that's the trade-off. Right?

*Hän tienaa enemmän, mutta häneltä jää kokematta syntymäpäivät, **pesismatsit**, ensimmäiset askeleet. Mutta se on valintakysymys. Vai mitä?*

Desperate Housewives Season 1 – Episode 15

Example #1b present a case where American sport to is substituted by a Finnish sport in the translation. Although 'baseball' and *pesäpallo* (Finnish baseball), or *pesis* for short, are rather similar ball games, they are still different sports and that have different names. In Finnish translations, 'baseball' is usually retained in its original form, and the official translation for 'baseball' in Finnish is therefore *baseball*. Using *pesis* instead of 'baseball' creates a domesticating effect, as the association to the Finnish audience given by *pesis* is different from what 'baseball' would give. *Pesis* brings the text closer to the audience by presenting something familiar to them in the translation instead of the using the official translation, for example. Hence in example #1b, cultural substitution is used in the target text (*pesis*) for the English term in the source text ('baseball'), as retention/official equivalent would have been more accurate method here.

Since substitution was the most used methods of translation in this category, the cases where it was used were observed more closely to see if there is any pattern that can be detected, like mostly certain type of elements being translated with substitution. As it turns out, substitution was mostly used for food items and dishes, but not exclusively, as example #1c shows. Other than substitution, generalization is used a few times to translate food items and dishes, and retention, direct translation and specification are each used once for word related to American cuisine. Therefore, as generalization another domesticating method, as well as the second

most used translation method in this category, two examples featuring generalization will be discussed next.

The first example, #1d, presents two cases where food items are translated with the use of generalization.

#1d

You boys want some **peanut brittle**?

Maistuuko pojille maapähkinäkaramelli?

Desperate Housewives Season 1 – Episode 14

He likes to stay at home with a plate of spaghetti and mug of **root beer**.

Hän haluaa olla kotona spagettilautasen ja yrttijuoman kanssa.

Desperate Housewives Season 1 – Episode 21

Here, in example #1d, two food items have been translated in a similar manner. These cases are discussed together in the same example since the culture-bound elements and approaches in the translations are very similar. ‘Peanut brittle’ is translated as *maapähkinä karamelli* (lit. peanut caramel), while the closest Finnish alternative for brittle would be *krokantti*. Brittle can be considered a sub-category of caramel, which is why this translation method can be considered to be a generalization. Similarly, ‘root beer’ is sometimes translated to Finnish as *juuriolut* (lit. root beer) or *inkivääriolut* (lit. ginger beer), but instead of using either of these alternatives, the translator made a rather unexpected choice to use *yrttijuoma* (lit. herbal drink) in the translation. ‘Root beer’ in itself is a rather vague concept as a drink, as it can be made of various different ingredients, including herbs (Merriam-Webster, 2021). As *yrttijuoma* is a generic term that can refer to any herbal drink, and root beer can contain herbs, the method used in the translation is considered to be generalization.

5.1.2 Foreignizing translation methods in the category *Culture*

Next, some cases of foreignizing translation methods used in the category *Culture* will be discussed. Both foreignizing methods (direct translation and retention) are used in the material and examples will be presented of each method, and they will be examined to see if there are any specific kind of situations where these methods are used the most. Since retention was the most used foreignizing method in this category, examples of it will be analyzed first.

The first foreignizing example, #1e, features a particularly American term that is originally a type of job but has evolved to be refer to particular lifestyle with its stereotypical clothing and other characteristics in the Western United States.

#1e

I'm taking you out tonight. There's this **cowboy bar** you need to see.

*Vien sinut illalla ulos. Sinun pitää nähdä yksi **cowboy-baari**.*

Desperate Housewives Season 1 – Episode 7

Example #1e presents a culture-bound term that is strongly connected to American lifestyle, especially in the West. 'Cowboy' is a rather well-known concept all over the world nowadays, due to cowboys being features in movies and comic books. There are Finnish equivalents that are sometimes used (*lehmipoika, karjapaimen*), but retention is perhaps still the most used method for the term in translations. As this term is very well-known all over the world, the foreignizing effect is not strong, and the decision to retain the word in the subtitles is acceptable. Since 'cowboy' is used as an identifier to describe a themed bar, *lehmipoika*, for example, might seem strange and not work as well in the context. Nevertheless, the translation method in example #1e is retention, as the culture-bound element is retained as is in the translation.

Next, an example of direct translation will be discussed. In the example, #1f, direct translation is used in a scene that introduces one of the main characters of the series, Susan Mayer. The culture-bound element in the example is another food dish.

#1f

Susan Mayer, who lives across the street, brought **macaroni and cheese**.

Susan Mayer, joka asuu kadun toisella puolella, toi juustomakaronia.

Desperate Housewives Season 1 – Episode 1

Unlike in example #1e, the retention in this example, #1f, is not as conventional. ‘Macaroni and cheese’ is a very distinctly American dish, often appearing in American media and social media as an all-American meal, and it is also considered a rather simple dish. The first appearance of the character, Susan Mayer, in this scene is already meant to imply that Susan Mayer is not a good cook, and therefore chooses a simple dish to bring to her friend’s wake. Therefore, the translation of this dish has significance to the way the character is presented to the audience. Although the dish has slowly made its way into other cultures, and on their dinner tables, it is still strongly associated with American culture. In example #1f, a foreignizing translation method is utilized by translating ‘macaroni and cheese’ rather directly to *juustomakaroni* (cheese macaroni). This dish is not widely known in Finland, and therefore a more domesticating method could also have been used, for example, by replacing macaroni and cheese with a dish more familiar to the Finnish audience.

5.1.3 Official equivalent and specification in the category *Culture*

Finally, in this section we will look at examples of official equivalent and specification, as they do not unambiguously fit into the division of domesticating or foreignizing methods. Two examples of official equivalent being used as a translation method will be discussed, followed by discussion of the only case where specification was used.

First example to be analyzed is example #1g, where official equivalent is used to translate an American dining establishment.

#1g

He took me out to a **diner** and, uh... we stayed up 'til two in the morning talking about big government, gun control, and illegal immigration.

*Hän vei minut **ruokabaariin** ja... juttelimme kahteen saakka hallituksen kontrollista, aserajoituksista ja laittomasta maahanmuutosta.*

Desperate Housewives Season 1 – Episode 13

Example #1g introduces a case where a firmly American concept has an official Finnish translation, but the translation itself might still not be very familiar to the Finnish audience, or at least work very well to describe the phenomenon to the audience. There is an official translation of 'diner' in Finnish (*ruokabaari*), even though the kind of an establishment it represents is relatively foreign to Finnish people, and this official equivalent is used in example #1g. The word 'diner' is likely to be more familiar to Finnish people than its Finnish equivalent, which means that in this case the method of official equivalent has a foreignizing effect. People who have any knowledge of American culture would most likely know what a 'diner' is, even if they had never been to one themselves, as they are not part of Finnish culture. There are a few diners in Finland, but they are not established into the culture. Indeed, based on my own experiences, diners in Finland are usually American themed and very exaggeratingly imitate the atmosphere and interior design of the diners in the United States.

Another case where official equivalent is used, but might not work the best in the situation, is discussed next. Example #1h features a less directly noticeable culture-bound element, as some context is needed to understand the crisis point present in this case.

#1h

He chopped down one of our **pine trees**?

*Hän kaatoi yhden meidän **männyistämme**?*

Desperate Housewives Season 1 – Episode 5

To understand the culture-bound element present in example #1h, some background information is required of the context. In the scene where this line is uttered, a teenager breaks into the Van de Kamp family's house and decorates their living room with a Christmas theme, also chopping and decorating one of the trees from their yard. In The United States, the Christmas tree does not have to be any specific type of tree, as also suggested by the more generic term compared to the Finnish one. In Finland, the Christmas tree is called *joulukuusi* (lit. Christmas spruce), and as the name suggests the tree is traditionally a spruce. Therefore, a pine tree functioning as a Christmas tree, as suggested by the translation (*mänty*=pine) seems very foreign to Finns. Even though the Christmas tree is briefly shown in the scene, it may still confuse the Finnish audience as to what the pine tree was cut for, as there is no connection between 'pine tree' and a Christmas tree for Finnish people. Therefore, even though at first glance it might seem that no crisis point was present in the example, the scene where the line was uttered is what shows the cultural meaning of this case.

The last example #1i, to be analyzed in this section presents a case of specification in the translation of a food dish.

#1i

Thank you. What's this?

- **Sausage puttanesca.**

Kiitos. Mitä tässä on?

- **"Puttanan makkarapataa"**

Desperate Housewives Season 1 – Episode 1

Example #1i features the only case where specification is used in this category, and it was used to specify to the Finnish audience what type of dish 'sausage puttanesca' is. It is hard,

for me, to perceive how well-known this dish is in The United States, as it seems to be originally Italian, but it can be assumed that it is at least better known for the American audience than for the Finnish audience, as the original does not have any specifying elements. The Finnish translation *puttanan makkarapata* (lit. puttana's sausage stew/casserole) adds *pata* (stew/casserole) to specify the type of the dish. Since this specification is in some way latent in the dish's name, I deem it an explicitation, a subcategory of specification.

5.1.4 Summary of *Culture*

Substitution (5 in total) is the most used method to translate cultural phenomena in this category, *Culture*, and generalization (4 in total), another domesticating method, is the second most used translation method. Domesticating methods are used 9 times, while foreignizing methods are used 5 times for the culture-bound elements in this category. All in all, the distribution is quite even between different translation methods, whether domesticating or foreignizing. However, specification is an exception, as it was only used once. This shows that cultural phenomena are translated with various methods, omission being the only translation method not used at all. There was no consistency in how certain type of phenomena were translated, even if some preferences can be detected, like in the translations of food items where substitution was used a lot. Phenomena related to culture are varying and so seem to be the methods to translate them with. There are no large differences between the numbers of translation methods used (seen in Table 1) and definite deductions of the tendency to use one or another translation method are hard to make. Domesticating methods were, however, used slightly more in this category and, as we will later see, domesticating methods are overall preferred in the translations.

5.2 Society

References to social life, traditions and customs are frequent in *Desperate Housewives*. Since the series is particularly focused on the American lifestyle and traditional gender roles and customs, many such phenomena might be unfamiliar or at least seem very distant to Finnish people, since Northern Europe is widely considered as valuing equality and being progressive in this regard. Many legal and professional terms that do not have a proper Finnish equivalent

also came up in the material, some of which will also be discussed in this category. Many unconventional translation methods were also used, and a closer look will also be taken at them.

As all translation methods, except for omission, are used for the translations in this category, examples of all of them will be analyzed. In this category, domesticating methods are used slightly more, and generalization is the most used method. The analysis of this category will begin with examples of generalization, and then the other domesticating method, substitution, will be discussed. Then, the analysis will continue with examples of the foreignizing methods direct translation, and the analysis of this category will conclude with examples of official equivalent and specification and a summary of the findings within this category.

5.2.1 Domesticating translation methods in the category *Society*

Since generalization was the most used domesticating translation method in this category, the analysis will begin with three examples where it was used to translate culture-bound elements. Then, two examples of substitution will be presented and discussed.

In the first example, #2a, there are two culture-bound elements related to social roles and norms. The first is translated with generalization and the second with direct translation, and rather than looking at this direct translation separately or ignoring it, it will be exceptionally discussed alongside with the case where generalization was used.

#2a

The blackmailer's probably someone you know. A neighbour, milkman, **pool boy, soccer mom.**

*Kiristäjä on varmaankin joku tuttu. Naapuri, maitomies, **altaan siivoaja, futismamma.***

Desperate Housewives Season 1 – Episode 7

Some cases in the material depict such work or social roles that are uncommon or non-existent in Finland. Example #2a contains two possible culture-bound elements that refer to representatives of particular groups of people: ‘Pool boy’ which is translated as *altaan siivoaja* (pool cleaner) and ‘soccer mom’ which is translated as *futismamma* (lit. soccer mama). The first translation seems to be a variation of generalization, as instead of ‘boy’, the Finnish word for cleaner is used, which is a gender-neutral term and has a more professional connotation. A more direct translation would be *allaspoika* (lit. pool boy), which is a rather foreignizing translation as private pools are not common in Finland and it certainly is not common to hire someone to take care of your private pool. ‘Soccer mom’ is translated more directly, with a few shifts, like using a colloquial word for soccer (*futis*, rather than *jalkapallo*) and a more informal word for ‘mom’ (*mamma*, instead of *äiti*). Therefore, the method is identified as a direct translation, but with some optional shifts, making it a shifted direct translation (Pedersen, 2005, p.5).

The next example, #2b, includes a term for a profession that is virtually non-existent in Finland.

#2b

Do you remember when our **cable guy** was beaten up?

Muistatko, kun sähkömies hakattiin?

Desperate Housewives Season 1 – Episode 22

The term ‘cable guy’ comes up a few times in the series, but since it is translated the same way in all instances, it is only counted once in the material. ‘Cable guy’ usually refers to someone who works in cable television services, usually installing and maintaining cable television connections. In Finland the profession, and the services provided by such professionals, does not exist. Rather than cables, satellites, and nowadays internet services, are used to provide additional paid television channels. Therefore, *sähkömies* (electrician) is used in the translation, which however does not convey the exact same mental image as a ‘cable guy’. While an electrician works with electrical wiring in a wider sense, a cable guy is specialized in one type of services regarding cable television. Therefore, the translation

method in example #2b is generalization. A more descriptive translation for ‘cable guy’ could be, for example, ‘asentaja’ or ‘asennusmies’ (installer) which would be more specific and faithful to the source text. However, in this instance the translator chose to use a more domesticating approach.

The last example of generalization, #2c, shows a culture-bound element related to society that is a bit different to the previous examples.

#2c

Rex and I have been members of the **Fairview Country Club** for years and lately it seems to have lost some of its exclusivity.

*Olemme Rexin kanssa olleet **kerhon** jäseniä vuosia. Viime aikoina se on alkanut menettää hohtoaan.*

Desperate Housewives Season 1 – Episode 16

Associations and clubs are included in this category, and example #2c shows one element that is mentioned a few times in the first season of the *Desperate Housewives*. In Merriam-Webster (2021) dictionary a country club is described as a “suburban club for social life and recreation”. Finland does not have the exact same concept of country clubs, but the decision to reduce the term to just club (*kerho*) in the Finnish translation seems too vague and does not provide the viewer any information of the nature of the club. Here ‘Fairview’ is added as a specifier in the ST, but there are other occurrences where the country club is discussed again without this addition. The Finnish translation could definitely use some specification as well, but since such is not provided, the translation method in example #2c is generalization, even if the result is not very informative for the target audience.

Generalization being the most used translation method in this category, it is important to take a closer look at the overall picture of the use of the method. However, generalization seems to be used for a variety of different elements, and no pattern can be detected in the way it is used

in the translations. Cases of generalization include social roles and norms, professions, associations, religious traditions etc., so there is no consistency in the use. Sometimes when generalization is used for some term, it is translated with a different method on another other occasion.

Substitution was also used in this category, and as it is also a domesticating method, the analysis will continue with examples where substitution is used. The first example to be discussed, #2d, shows the differences between the American and Finnish school systems.

#2d

So what do we do? **Public school** is out unless we move to a new district.

*Mitä me sitten teemme? **Normaali koulu** löytyy vain jos muutamme.*

Desperate Housewives Season 1 – Episode 5

In the scene where the line in example #2d is taken from, two characters, Tom and Lynette Scavo, are discussing their children's education and the possibility of enrolling them to a private school. In the United States, public school refers to the government-run free education, while private schools are more exclusive and take tuition fees. The official translation for public school in Finnish seems to be just *koulu* (lit. school) (MOT Pro Englanti, 2021). In the example #2d, it is however translated as *normaali koulu* (lit. regular school), which seems to be a convenient translation. Considering that the characters are discussing public school in contrast to private school, the connection is easy to make as to what is meant by 'regular school'. As private schools are very rare in Finland, the concepts of 'public schools' and 'private schools' are culture-bound. The translation method in example #2d for the culture-bound element is, thus, substitution, as the work 'public' is substituted with *normaali* in the Finnish translation.

The next example, #2e, also uses substitution as a translation method, but in a different way.

#2e

How about “**Boise**”?

What’s the matter with “**Boise**”?

- We’re gonna be doing psychological role-playing, and a funny word like “**Boise**” will ruin the mood.

*Miten olisi **Taka-Hikiä**?*

*Mikä vika **Taka-Hikiässä** on?*

- *Tämä on psykologinen roolileikki, ja hassu nimi, kuten **Taka-Hikiä** voi pilata tunnelman.*

Desperate Housewives Season 1 – Episode 14

The humor in this scene lies in the use of a funny sounding word in a serious situation, so the Finnish translation should somehow attempt to create the same effect. ‘Boise’ is the capital of the state of Utah in the United States. In the Finnish translation, ‘Boise’ is substituted by a Finnish term that roughly refers to a remote and backward place, *Taka-Hikiä*. Although the ST and TT provide very different terms and the humorous effects have different nuances, the main point of the humorous effect the original is carried to the translation. Example #2e represents, therefore, a classic case of cultural substitute, where the source culture’s element is substituted with an element from the target culture.

5.2.2 Foreignizing translation methods in the category *Society*

After discussing the domesticating methods emerging in the translations in this category, some examples presenting the foreignizing methods found in the material will be presented and analyzed. The foreignizing methods retention and direct translations were both used in the translations of this category, but since one case of direct translation already came up and was discussed already in example #2a, and as there were very few cases of direct translation, I will not be discussing any cases of direct translations in this section. Instead, four cases of retention will be discussed next.

Example #2f features an acronym, which appeared a few times in the series, and the chosen translation method here is retention.

#2f

This is why I joined the **NRA**. When Rex started those conferences, I wanted it in the back of his mind that he had a wife with a loaded Smith and Wesson.

Siksi liityinkin NRA:han. Kun Rex alkoi käydä lääkäripäivillä, halusin hänen muistavan, että kotona on vaimo, jolla on Smith & Wesson latingissa.

Desperate Housewives Season 1 – Episode 1

Associations, unions and societies that mostly, or sometimes only, exist in America, are culture-bound elements, and in the present study they are categorized as society related concepts. Here in example #1e, ‘NRA’ is retained into the translation as is, and no modifications, additions or other changes of the kind have been performed. This can be considered as a strongly foreignizing method, since Finnish viewers are likely not familiar with the ‘National Rifle Association’ of the United States (Merriam-Webster, 2021). Alternative methods that could be used to translate NRA, that would be more domesticating, would be generalization or specification. Then again, collecting firearms as a hobby is not a very common hobby in Finland, so someone being a member of an association or club that focuses on guns might still seem somewhat foreign to Finns. Instead of using some form of generalization or specification, as we will see is used for the other acronyms, the concept is left as it is in the subtitles, that is retained.

Other cases where retention is used are presented in the next example #2g, where business is discussed.

#2g

Just working out some of these new contracts. Hammering out some of the little things, the minor details. **Overhead**, shipping costs...

*Käymme tässä läpi uusia sopimuksia. Hiotaan pikkujuttuja, yksityiskohtia. **Overheadia** ja lähetykskujuja...*

Desperate Housewives Season 1 – Episode 13

Well, Peterson's on cloud nine. He discovered some inside scoop on the Metro account. The bad news is, we have to re-do the entire **presentation**.

*Peterson on onnensa kukkuloilla. Hän löysi porsaanreiän Metron tilistä. Ikävä uutinen on se, että **presentaatio** menee uusiksi.*

Desperate Housewives Season 1 – Episode 20

Maybe due to the scene and the subject of the discussion, retention was used to depict the characters using typical business jargon in both cases of this example. Both terms, 'overhead' and 'presentation', have Finnish equivalents but in the example #2g retention was used. A suitable Finnish equivalent for 'overhead' in this case could be, for example, *yleiskustannukset* (overhead costs), since the topic of discussion is contracts and finances. In the other case, a loaned version of 'presentation' (*presentaatio*) is used, even though an original Finnish equivalent (*esitelmä*) also exists. Pedersen (2005) mentions that the culture-specific element "can also be adjusted slightly to meet TL conventions, by adjusting the spelling or dropping an article" (p.4), as has happened with the word 'presentation' as it is adjusted to better fit into the Finnish language, which is why this can be considered a case of retention.

The next example, #2h, features a case of retention used for a geographical element.

#2h

Since the ice queen isn't doing anything to memorialise her sister, I have decided to carry Martha's ashes up to **Torch Lake** and scatter them myself.

*Koska jääkuningatar ei järjestä mitään hautajaisia sisarelleen, olen päättänyt viedä Marthan tuhkat **Torch Lakelle** ja levittää ne sinne itse.*

Desperate Housewives Season 1 – Episode 12

Geographical elements are included in this category, since they do not really belong to any other category, such as *Culture*. I would assume that such elements as lakes, streets and national parks, for example, would be translated with some type of specification, unless they are very famous around the world. In example #2h, there is however no specification, and the element has been retained as is. ‘Torch Lake’ is probably not very well known in Finland, and those viewers who do not understand English at all would not know what type of location is in question. Therefore, an addition of *järvi* (lake) might be beneficial to some Finnish viewers. But as there is no additions of modifications performed on the word in the translation, the method used in example #2h is retention.

Retention is the second most used translation method in this category, and it seems to be mainly used for business and legal jargon. As we can see in the examples, a couple other types of elements are also retained, but business jargon covers the majority of cases where retention was used.

5.2.3 Official equivalent and specification in the category *Society*

Finally, some examples of the two ambiguous translation methods, official equivalent and specification, will be analyzed, starting with an example of official equivalent. I find the cases where specification is used very interesting, so all of four of them that occurred in this category will be discussed. But first, we will start with an example of official equivalent.

Example #2i contains, similarly to #2d, a culture-bound element that showcases the differences in the Finnish and American education systems, as well as a case that is connected to social roles.

#2i

John announced he was turning down his **college scholarship**.

*John ilmoitti hylkäävänsä **stipendin** collegeen.*

Desperate Housewives Season 1 – Episode 13

There are a few ingredients in example #2i that are somewhat culture specific. The official translation for the American term college is *college* in Finnish, but the concept itself might not be completely clear to the Finnish audience. A domesticating method could also be acceptable, since it does not make too much of a difference in terms of the plot if, for example, college was substituted with *yliopisto* (university). Scholarships for college or university are also not familiar to Finns, since higher education is also technically free in Finland with very small tuition fees. Even though ‘scholarship’ does not cause a crisis point for the translator per se, it might still sound strange when translated into Finnish to the Finnish audience. *Stipendi* is usually a smaller grant than a scholarship, and as going to university does not cost much in Finland, the Finnish audience might not understand the significance of a college scholarship. Nonetheless, the translation method used in example #2i is official equivalent, but the effect of the translation here is rather foreignizing.

Next, we will look at another case of official equivalent, presented in example #2j. This time official equivalent is used to for translating a culture-bound element that depicts the social norms of the American society.

#2j

The incredibly satisfying role of **full-time mother**.

*Syvästi tyydyttävän **kotiäidin** roolin.*

Desperate Housewives Season 1 – Episode 4

In example #2j, the culture-bound element changes a lot in structure when translated into Finnish. Translating ‘full-time mother’ as *kotiäiti* (lit. home mom), however, seems very reasonable, since it might seem weird if the method was a direct translation, for example, and a mother is called *kokoaikainen* (full-time) in Finnish. Would the opposite of full-time mother

then be a part-time (*osa-aikainen* in Finnish) mother? It is not very common for a mother to fully leave working life behind and pursue a full-time motherhood in Finland, and even if you are working, motherhood is still not considered something you can do either full or part-time. That is probably why a direct translation was not an option in this case. *Kotiäiti* is not an extremely foreignizing method to translate the term, as the concept of a housewife or stay-at-home mom are understood, even if it is not as common in modern day Finland. Nevertheless, official equivalent is the translation method used in example #2j, and the effect here is probably more domesticating than foreignizing.

Finally, examples of all of the cases of specification in this category will be analyzed and discussed, starting with two cases where acronyms were translated with the use of specification, example #2k.

#2k

I had a gig once, checking on this **PTA mom** who was hell-bent on landing her daughter a spot on the parade float. She fed antifreeze to half the homecoming committee.

Kerran oli keikka, jossa yksi vanhempainyhdistyksen äiti oli päättänyt saada tyttärellensä paikan kulkueen lavalta. Hän juotti pakkasnestettä melkein koko juhlakomitealle.

Desperate Housewives Season 1 - Episode 7

We're **WASPs**, Dr Goldfine. Not acknowledging the elephant in the room is what we do best.

Olemme anglo-saksiprotestantteja. Osaamme hyvin olla näkemättä virtahepoa olohuoneessa.

Desperate Housewives Season 1 – Episode 14

Here in example #2k we have two cases of acronyms that have been translated into Finnish with spelling out the acronym, which makes these cases of explicitations, a sub-category of specification. ‘PTA mom’ is translated as *vanhempainyhdistyksen äiti*, which is a direct translation as well. ‘WASPs’ (White Anglo-Saxon Protestants) is otherwise translated directly into Finnish while spelling out the acronym, but the first letter that stands for

‘white’ (*valkoinen* in Finnish) has been excluded from the translation. Due to this change, the reference to class and privilege that the original holds is also omitted, and the translation therefore only refers to the religious background of the characters (Merriam-Webster, 2021). Pedersen (2005) lists specification as being an interventional method, which could mean that it is more of a domesticating method, and here it does seem to apply (p. 9). Because of the omission of the first letter of the acronym, the second case can also be seen to employ partial omission as a translation method. The main translation method in both cases is, however, specification.

This next example presents the same line that was discussed earlier in this category, in example #2f, but the focus point is different in example #2l.

#2l

This is why I joined the NRA. When Rex started **those conferences**, I wanted it in the back of his mind that he had a wife with a loaded Smith and Wesson.

Siksi liityinkin NRA:han. Kun Rex alkoi käydä lääkäripäivillä, halusin hänen muistavan, että kotona on vaimo, jolla on Smith & Wesson latingissa.

Desperate Housewives Season 1 – Episode 1

Cases of specification are rarer, excluding omission that is not used at all, than other translation methods, so it is always interesting to analyze examples where it is used. The fact that Bree Van de Kamp’s, the character uttering the line in example #2l, is a doctor, is mentioned early on in the series, so the specification is not unfounded but nevertheless rather peculiar. ‘Conference’ is a common term in its loaned, but slightly modified, form in Finnish (*konferenssi*). ‘Lääkäripäivät’ on the other hand refers to a specific convention for medical professionals. Thus, the conferences are specified in the translation to be conferences for medical professionals, not any other kind of conferences. In this case, specification seems to be more of a domesticating method rather than foreignizing, since the specification creates familiarity to the Finnish viewers by bringing a Finnish term and clarification to the target text, rather than just adding on to an unfamiliar element.

The last case, presented in example #21, is a legal term that is translated with the use of specification. In this scene, Gabriel and Carlos Solis are discussing changing the terms of their nuptial agreement.

#21

What's that?

-It's called a **post-nuptial agreement**. It's a legal document...

I know what a **post-nup** is.

And the post-nup changes the terms of **the pre-nup**, so...

Mikä se on?

-Se on avioehto. Se on laillinen asiakirja...

Tiedän, mikä avioehto on.

Tämä avioehto astuu ennen avioliittoa tehdyn tilalle eli...?

Desperate Housewives Season 1 – Episode 18

Example #21 features two legal terms that require specification to be differentiated in Finnish. There are no separate terms for 'prenuptial' and 'postnuptial' agreements in Finnish, and the concept of postnuptial agreement is in fact quite foreign to Finns. The Finnish term *avioehto* (nuptial agreement in English) usually refers to prenuptial agreement. Here 'post-nuptial agreement' is translated as *avioehto* and 'pre-nup' is specified as *ennen avioliittoa tehty* (*avioehto*) which roughly translates as 'nuptial agreement made before marriage'. As specification is needed to make differentiate these two terms to the Finnish term, the translation method used here is specification.

5.2.4 Summary of *Society*

Domesticating methods (13 in total) are used slightly more than foreignizing translation methods (10 in total) in this category. Interestingly, generalization (8 in total), a domesticating translation method, is used the most, but the second most used method is retention (6 in total), a foreignizing translation method. Retention (6 in total) is also used

more in this category than in any other category, which could mean that societal phenomena can be quite hard to convert to another language. Retention is also often used for business jargon, maybe to more clearly connect the scene and discussion to the business field. Sometimes the line between retention and official equivalent is hard to distinguish, as some English terms have become also part of Finnish language. The least used translation method in this category is direct translation (3 in total), a foreignizing method. Specification and official equivalent are both used four times, more than in other categories. The cases in this category are some of the most interesting ones and show a great variety. The distribution between different translation methods in this category, similarly to the *Culture* category, is rather even.

5.3 Phrases and expressions

Phrases and expressions are one of the most distinct examples of culture-specific elements in language. They can be rather challenging to translate in terms of conveying all the subtleties of the original to the target audience. Not only is it important to transfer the meaning of the expression to the target language, but sometimes the use of an expression might have other connotations, such as acting as a pun, or some element of it might in some other way be relevant in the context, and that relevancy is lost if the elements of the expression are changed. Some expressions translate ‘effortlessly’ into the target language when the same expression is found in the target culture, but even then, some minor adjustments might be necessary. *Desperate Housewives* served as a good source for expressions, idioms and phrases, as this category was the second largest in quantity.

The analysis of this category will start with several examples of substitution, as it was the only domesticating method used, as well as the most used translation method in this category. Then, since there are no cases of generalization, the analysis will continue with the discussion of the foreignizing translation methods, and in this category, they were used only once in a case of direct translation. In one case the translation method is marked to be *other*, as I find it more likely to be a case of mistranslation than any of the listed methods. I will discuss this case last in the same section as official equivalent and specification. As some of the examples

require context to be understood and analyzed more profoundly, I will also give a brief description of the scenes before moving on to analyzing the example in question.

5.3.1 Domesticating translation methods in the category *Phrases and expressions*

Substitution is the most used translation method of this category, and since it is also the only domesticating method used in this category, there is room and need to discuss it extensively, and thus multiple examples will be analyzed to get a good image of how and why substitution is used in this category.

The first example, #3a, I will discuss is a case of paraphrase with sense transfer, a sub-category of substitution. In this scene, a friend of Gabriel Solis' former gardener comes to offer his services to her, also implying that he knows of the affair that she had with the former gardener.

#3a

You want to mow my lawn for free?

- Mow your lawn. Water your flowers. **Trim your bushes.** I could do everything John did for you.

Haluatko leikata nurmikon ilmaiseksi?

- *Leikata nurmikon. Kastella kukat. **Kyntää vakoa.** Voin tehdä ihan saman, minkä John teki*

Desperate Housewives Season 1 – Episode 15

It is very rarely that both the meaning as well as other connotations of the original expression are successfully transferred to the target language. In example #3a, the euphemism 'trim someone's bushes' is replaced in the translation with a similar Finnish euphemism, *kyntää vakoa* (lit. plow a furrow). Both are gardening/cultivation related phrases that are used as a metaphor for having sexual intercourse. This is one of the few cases where the expression in the source text was replaced with an expression in the target text, and the expression also 'seamlessly' fit into the context. It is a lucky coincidence that both the source and target language have an expression that fits into the context of offering gardening services while

implying that sexual favors would be part of that service as well. Understandably, this is not often the case, and combined with the fact that translators work is often limited and restricted in many ways, time and space wise as suggested by Vertanen (2007), it is not hard to imagine that they sometimes have to make quick decisions, and the priority is then to convey the core meaning of the message. Nonetheless, the translation method in example #3a is paraphrase with sense transfer, a sub-category of substitution.

Example #3b presents a more common way substitution is used as a translation method in the material, that is, to convey the meaning of the idiom, but not substituting it with another idiom from the target culture. Here the context of the text is not extremely important, but let it be said that in this scene, one character, Rex Van de Kamp is telling someone else about the marital problems between him and his wife. They are both from a conservative background, so it could be that the euphemism is used to soften, and maybe somehow cover, the serious nature of the subject.

#3b

See, I recently engaged in some **extra-curricular activity**,
and now Bree's doing anything she can to make me suffer.

*Minulla oli vähän aikaa sitten **avioliiton ulkopuolinen suhde**,
ja nyt Bree tekee kaikkensa kostaakseen minulle.*

Desperate Housewives Season 1 – Episode 11

In example #3b another euphemism is translated with substitution. The concept of 'extra-curricular activities' is more commonly used for after school activities, such as sports, but here the expression is used as a euphemism to refer to someone having an extramarital affair behind their spouse's back (Merriam-Webster, 2021). The same expression, or anything similar, does not exist in Finnish language, and the translator chooses to instead convey the meaning of the expression to the audience, as *avioliiton ulkopuolinen suhde*, when directly translated, means 'extramarital affair'. The translator opts for the 'less interesting' way of

translation, and the meaning is conveyed, but the humorous effect of the original expression is lost. The translation method in example #3b is then a paraphrase with sense transfer.

The next example to be discussed, #3c, does not have any proper equivalent or even similar expressions in Finnish.

#3c

Unfortunately for Lynette, there would be **no rest for the weary**.

Lynetten harmiksi levon hetki ei löytynyt.

Desperate Housewives Season 1 – Episode 8

In example #3c, an English proverb is included in the scene to describe the struggle of one character, Lynette Scavo. Similar method is used quite a lot in the series, as different proverbs and expressions are used in the narration to add a humorous or emphasizing effect to set the scene or describe what a character is feeling or experiencing. In example #3c, ‘no rest for the weary’ is used to emphasize the despair Lynette feels as all her attempts to relax or sleep are disturbed. Unfortunately, there does not seem to be any official equivalent or translation for the proverb, and the translator has opted to substitute the proverb with an explanatory phrase *levon hetki ei löytynyt* (lit. a moment for rest was not found). This is, therefore, another case of paraphrase with sense transfer, since the meaning of the original proverb is delivered to the Finnish audience, even if some of the humorous effect has been lost.

The next example features a line that is also present in another example, #2j, but the focus point is different.

#3d

We're WASPs, Dr Goldfine. Not acknowledging **the elephant in the room** is what we do best. *Olemme anglo-saksiprotestantteja. Osaamme hyvin olla näkemättä **virtahepoa olohuoneessa.***

Desperate Housewives Season 1 – Episode 14

The phrase in example #3d could also be considered a case of official equivalent, but since any of the official dictionaries I viewed do not recognize the Finnish translation in this example, it is categorized as substitution in the present study. The Finnish translation is very similar and close to the original expression in structure, but the key nouns in the phrase have been changed. Elephant is replaced by *virtahepo* (hippopotamus in English), and room is specified to *olohuone* (living room in English). In a way, the translation strategy here is, therefore, a combination of substitution and specification, but here it is, for clarity's sake, considered more of a substitution. The Finnish translation is an occasionally used expression, but as it does not seem to be an official translation, the method here is determined to be substitution.

The next case of substitution, example #3e, presents a particularly difficult expression to translate.

#3e

Since she was a little girl, Susan Mayer wanted to be **a mother in the worst way.**

And from the first day she brought Julie home from the hospital... She was.

*Pikkutyöstä asti Susan Mayer halusi **kipeästi äidiksi.***

Ja siitä päivästä saakka, kun hän toi Julien kotiin sairaalasta, hän oli.

Desperate Housewives Season 1 – Episode 20

As was mentioned before, humorous expressions with double meanings can be hard to translate, as the likelihood to find an equivalent that conveys all the aspects of the original to

the target audience is small. In example #3e, the expression ‘a mother in the worst way’ refers to Susan Mayer dreaming of being a mother since she was little, but it also refers to her being a clumsy mother who often fails to keep her daughter safe. This secondary meaning is hard to convey into Finnish. *Kipeästi* roughly translates as ‘desperately’ in English, so it cannot be said the secondary meaning is successfully transferred into the translation. The translation method in #3e is therefore just substitution.

Most of the cases of substitution in this category are those of *paraphrase with sense transfer*, where the phrase has been reduced from a figurative idiom to just conveying the same meaning in a more direct manner. That is to say, the expressions of the source text have not been substituted with an expression of the target language, but rather the meaning of the expression is translated and conveyed into Finnish.

5.3.2 Foreignizing translation methods the category *Phrases and expressions*

Foreignizing methods are only used once in this category, and it was a case of direct translation. That case is not entirely translated directly, but since it is partly a direct translation and the overall effect is foreignizing, it fits into this section. The case of direct translation is presented here in example #3e.

#3f

Don’t worry. Edie’s a **beggar** now, which means she **can’t be a chooser**.

Ei se mitään. Edie on **kerjäläinen eikä, sellaiset voi olla koppavia**.

Desperate Housewives Season 1 – Episode 2

‘Beggar’ is directly translated as *kerjäläinen* (lit. beggar) into Finnish, but the rest of the proverb is slightly modified. The Finnish translation *Edie on kerjäläinen, eikä sellaiset voi olla koppavia*, roughly translates as ‘Edie is a beggar, and such people cannot be arrogant’ in English. The translation method here could therefore be a shifted direct translation, as some optional changes are performed. Alternative categorization for this method would be a

combination of direct translation and substitution, as the latter part of the expression is substituted in the Finnish translation.

The lack of foreignizing translation methods in this category is not surprising. Retention is not really a good solution for translating phrases and expressions, as a big chunk of English text in the middle of translation would gravely disturb the viewing experience for the Finnish audience. Direct translation also rarely works, as many expressions are idiomatic, and seem weird and confusing if translated literally. However, this one example, #3f, shows that combining foreignizing methods with other translation methods might be more sensible and common than using foreignizing methods alone for phrases and expressions.

5.3.3 Official equivalent, specification and other in the category *Phrases and expressions*

Here one case of official equivalent, one of specification and one where the method is something else than any of the conventional domesticating or foreignizing translation methods.

Example #3g contains two different methods, official equivalent and direct translation, being used to describe the expression. Although the second bolded part in the example is not an expression, per se, it is still in a way a continuation of the expression, as one side character in the series, Mrs. Huber, is first making a subtle threat at another character, Susan, and then further explaining the background of the expression to her.

#3g

I was just thinking of that expression, “**I’ll make mincemeat out of you.**” Mincemeat used to be an entrée of mostly chopped meat, so it was like saying, “I’ll chop you up into little bits.”

But that was centuries ago. **Today mincemeat is mostly made of fruit, spices and rum.**

*Ajattelin sanontaa “**teen sinusta hakkelusta.**” Hakkelus tarkoitti ennen vain liharuokaa eli sanottiin: “**Hakkaan sinut palasiksi.**” Mutta se oli ennen vanhaan. Nykyään **hakkelus tehdään hedelmistä, mausteista ja rommista.***

Desperate Housewives Season 1 – Episode 4

The official equivalent of ‘mincemeat’ is either *hakkelus* (mincemeat) or *jauheliha* (minced meat), and since such an expression as ‘make mincemeat out of someone’ is also found in Finnish (*tehdä jostakusta hakkelusta*), it is safe to say the method used here is official equivalent. However, when the description of ‘mincemeat’ (*hakkelus*) is provided later in the text, the method is more likely to be direct translation. *Hakkelus* is a general term for any finely chopped ingredients in Finland, and it is not specified as something ‘made of fruit, spices and rum’ (suomisanakirja, 2021). This description of mincemeat is not, however, really part of the expression, and thus it cannot be counted in the total number translation methods used for phrases and expressions but is instead counted in the category of *Culture*. The main translation method in the example #3g is therefore official equivalent.

Last, I wanted to include one case where an expression has been translated incorrectly, in example #3h. It seems very unlikely that the expression has been intentionally translated to imply something completely different than what the original does. In this scene, it is important to know that the character uttering the line, Bree Van de Kamp, is, especially in the first season of the series, considered a very traditional and conservative woman. She respects traditional values and manners and prefers to exercise a certain level of discretion and good manners and expects the same behavior from others. However, she has recently found out that her husband had an extramarital affair, and she wants to retaliate, as well as to make him jealous, by pretending to go on a romantic date with another man.

#3h

It’s a romantic date with a single man. I intend to **French the hell out of him**.

*Romanttiset treffit vapaan miehen kanssa. Ajattelin **ottaa häneltä suihin**.*

Desperate Housewives Season 1 – Episode 11

The Finnish translation does not seem to fit the scene nor the Bree Van de Kamp’s character. Merriam-Webster's (2021) online dictionary defines ‘French kiss’ as “an open-mouth kiss

usually involving tongue-to-tongue contact”. This is what most people would understand in this context as well. Therefore, the choice to translate ‘French the hell out of him’ as *ottaa häneltä suihin*, which refers to performing oral sex, seems very odd. Either the translator has mistaken the meaning of the original expression, or the translator does not completely understand what *ottaa suihin* refers to. Here we need to understand that *ottaa suihin* literally means ‘take into mouth(s)’, so it is possible that the translator is not aware of the real meaning of this idiom, but misunderstands it as something similar to French kiss, where the tongue is used in kissing. An online Finnish dictionary, (suomisanakirja 2021) also defines *ottaa suihin* as the act of performing oral sex. If the change is intentional, however, this could be a case of substitution with situational paraphrase, where the original element is replaced by something that does not necessarily have similar meaning, but it fits the situation (Pedersen, 2005, p.9). However, this seems highly unlikely, since the translator would intentionally make a very drastic change to the text, which is not necessary, and which does not fit the character whose line it is. For the character of Bree Van de Kamp to make the kind of statement that is attributed to her in the Finnish subtitles, feels very out of character, even if she is trying to make her husband jealous. In effect, part of the scene’s humor lies in Bree, known as a very conservative woman, thinking that a good pay back at a cheating husband is to make out with a date, and that it is the most immoral thing she can do while still being officially married. Therefore, the translation method is considered a case of mistranslation in example #3h.

5.3.4 Summary of *Phrases and expressions*

Substitution (22 in total) is overwhelmingly most used translation method for phrases and expressions. Similar results can be expected of all the future studies of the translation methods for phrases and expressions, as hinted by Penttilä and Muikku-Werner (2012), who discuss domestication and foreignization in the translation of figurative idioms and state that the expected strategy to translate an idiom is substitution (p. 125). While Penttilä and Muikku-Werner (2012) also note that in real life this is not always the case (p.125), the results of the present study reinforce their previous statement, as substitution is the single most used method of translation for expression and phrases, with only a couple exceptions. Substitution is generally considered a domesticating method, so we can say that domesticating methods were used the most to translate phrases and expressions (Penttilä and

Muikku-Werner, 2012, p. 126; Van Poucke, 2012, p. 146). Specification and official equivalent are both used twice in this category, and direct translation, a foreignizing method, was only used once. Other than these translation methods, one case of mistranslation also appeared in the material.

To conclude the analysis of the translation methods used to translate phrases and expressions, we can say that mostly domesticating methods were used, and more specifically, as already suggested by Penttilä and Muikku-Werner (2012), substitution. The line between different translation methods is sometimes difficult to draw when it comes to phrases and expressions. In some cases, it is up to interpretation which method has been used, good arguments can be made to support any of them. Nevertheless, the fact that substitution is, as proven by the present study as well, the most used, and perhaps also the most effective, way of translating phrases and expressions, holds true.

5.4 Money and measures

The United States uses measurement units different from the units that are in use in Finland. The translator can usually choose one of the two options: either translate the units directly into Finnish and give the viewer the original foreign units (e.g. 'mile'=*mäili*) or the translator can convert the units into measurement units used in Finland (e.g. converting miles into kilometers). Same applies to currencies. Sometimes, as we will see, some other methods can also be used to translate money and measures, but it is not very common. As previously mentioned in section 3, I will follow Pedersen's (2005) classification of the translation of units of measure and currencies. Hence, when units of measurement or currencies are translated into units used in Finland, I will consider them as cases of official equivalent.

5.4.1 Domesticating translation methods in *Money and measures*

Out of domesticating methods, substitution is used twice in the translations, and generalization is not used at all. Therefore, the two cases of substitution that were found will both be discussed in this section.

Example #4a presents a substitution where American measurement units have been substituted with something other than Finnish measurement units. Similarly, substitution is also used for the other case, but this time to translate an expression that includes currency.

#4a

Or how about a neighbour that lives **a few feet away**?

*Vaiko naapuri, joka asuu **aivan vieressä**?*

Desperate Housewives Season 1 – Episode 4

We're gonna pay you back **every cent**. I promise.

*Maksamme takaisin **joka kolikon**. Lupaen sen.*

Desperate Housewives Season 1 – Episode 16

It is not very common to leave the measurement unit completely out of the translation, but in the first case of example #4a, no units of measure are used in the translation. The expression of 'few feet away' is replaced by *aivan vieressä* (lit. just next to something in English). Since the original element is also vague, it seems perfectly fine to use a vague equivalent in the translation. A closer equivalent, and perhaps a more 'official', would have been to use 'muutaman metrin päässä' (lit. a few meters away) in the translation. In the other case, *joka kolikon* (lit. every coin in English) is used as a translation, instead of *joka sentin*, which would be a literal translation of 'every cent'. *Joka sentin* would also be an appropriate alternative in Finnish, since euro (subunit cent) was already the currency in Finland at the time when *Desperate Housewives* first started airing. As no measurement or currency units were used in either of the translations, the method in both cases seems to be substitution.

5.4.2 Foreignizing translation methods in *Money and measures*

Since direct translation is the foreignizing method that is used the most for the translations in this category, the analysis of foreignizing methods starts with the introduction of two examples where it is used as a translation method. Then, one case where retention is used will be discussed.

The next example, #4b, presents a case of direct translation performed on clothing sizes, and it was the only case of clothing sizes being discussed that occurred in the first season of the series.

#4b

Size eight? Ha. She always told me she was a **size six**.

Koko kahdeksan? Hah! Hän sanoi olevansa kokoa kuusi.

Desperate Housewives Season 1 – Episode 1

Clothing sizes are measured differently in different continents, and sometimes even amongst the countries within one continent, and they are often not exactly defined in comparison to one another, so it can be challenging to find the right translation for them. This particular way of marking clothing sizes, presented in example #4b, is rather unknown to Finnish people but is widely used in The United States. If these sizes were converted to European sizes, they would be, approximately, 36 or 38 and 34 or 36, respectively. Of course, the sizing varies greatly within Europe and from manufacturer to another, so deciding on an exact translation in Finnish would also be challenging. However, the American sizes are virtually unknown to Europeans, so this choice of translation is highly foreignizing. As these sizes are not really in use in Finland, or Europe in general, the translation method in example #4b is direct translation.

The next example, #4c, is also a case of direct translation, and this time the translated element is a sum of money.

#4c

Of course. I made **\$10,000** a day. I don't expect to make that here.

Tietenkin. Tienasin siellä 10 tuhatta päivässä. En kuvittele pääseväni samaan.

Desperate Housewives Season 1 – Episode 11

Some optional changes are performed on the translation in example #4c. The word for thousand in Finnish (*tuhat*) is used instead of the number, and no identifier for the currency is used, like in the original ('\$'). Otherwise, the translation is direct, as the sum is not converted into the currency used in Finland (euro). This is not a case of retention, since the sum is not retained as is, and the sum is partly translated, but it could be a case of partial omission for the deletion of the currency unit. The other sums of money that are discussed in the first season of the series are also directly translated, as opposed to converting. The reason for this might be that the sums are not meant to be exact in the original, and if they are converted, they might seem a bit out of place in the scene. For example, \$10,1000 would be 8,259.6115 Euros in the current rate. Another option for translating these types of sums could be substitution, where a more estimated number is used, like in the original, for example translating \$10,000 as *tuhansia euroja* (thousands of euros). In the ST, the topic of discussion is how much one character of the series, Gabriel Solis, used to make as famous model on average, so the translation does not need to be exact, just giving the target audience an estimate of an equivalent pay would be enough. But, since such approach was not used in the translation, the translation method used in this case is direct translation.

Example #4d presents a case of another foreignizing method, retention, used to translate money.

#4d

He's better be, cos when I'm finished with you, you won't have **a cent** (to your name).

Paras ollakin. Kun tämä on ohi, sinulle ei jää centtiäkään.

Desperate Housewives Season 1 – Episode 7

The original uttered line ends with ‘you won’t have a cent to your name’, but in the English subtitles ‘your name’ is omitted, which is why it is in brackets in example #4d. Therefore, this case is not counted in the phrases and expressions category, which it also is. The peculiar thing about this translation is, that the word ‘cent’ is partially retained, and only obligatory changes are made to make the word fit into a Finnish sentence. This is not a case of a direct translation, as the proper translation for the American subunit cent is *sentti* (with an S, not C) in Finnish. It is unclear as to why the subunit has been retained in its (almost) original spelling, when a Finnish spelling would have been perfectly fine in the context. That is why, the translation method in #4d is counted as retention.

5.4.3 Official equivalent in the category *Money and Measure*

There was only one case of *official equivalent* in the category of *Money and measures*, presented here in example #4e.

#4e

She lives **50 feet away**, for God’s sake.

Hänhän asuu 15 metrin päässä.

Desperate Housewives Season 1 – Episode 1

As a reminder, in the present study a translation is considered an official equivalent if the units of measure or currencies of the target culture are used. ‘50 feet away’ is translated to *15 metrin päässä* (lit. 15 meters away) in example #4e. ‘50 meters’ is therefore converted to the measurement unit used in Finland (meters), which makes this a case of an official equivalent being used in the translation. It is interesting that this is the only case where official equivalent is used in the translation of money and measures. Although, this is the only case where feet are used in this material, and thus it cannot be said whether this is the general policy (translating feet to meters) in the translation of the series, or just one occasion.

5.4.4 Summary of *Money and measures*

Surprisingly, direct translation (5 in total), a foreignizing method, is the most used translation method for money and units of measure. Substitution is the only domesticating method used, and it too is only used twice. Retention, a foreignizing method, is also used twice, which means that foreignizing translation methods (7 in total) are used more than domesticating methods (2 in total). The use of official equivalents seems more domesticating in terms of measurement and currency units, since using target culture's currency or units of measure instead of original units brings the text to the reader rather than the other way around. If official equivalent is considered a domesticating method here, the total of number of domesticating methods (3 in total in this case) being used is still less than foreignizing methods. As mentioned before, Pedersen (2007) states that the official guideline in Scandinavia is to translate feet to meters (p.36) and it could be presumed that similar, if not compulsory then at least recommended, guidelines would also be in use in Finland. Therefore, it is surprising that official equivalent is only used once in the translations. The results of the findings are probably affected by the fact that rather than units of measure, money came up in the series more frequently. Still, similar guidelines could be used for money as is generally used for units of measure (converting them to Finnish units), since the value of dollars might not be very familiar to the Finnish audience.

Measurement units and currencies are not a very common appearance in the first season of the series, or at least they were not easy to notice, which is why this is the smallest category in number of cases. It can be assumed, though, that for money, direct translation, sometimes in combination of other methods, would be used in the other seasons and episodes as well, since it is the policy the translator seems to follow. For units of measure, the methods are more variable, and it is hard to predict which method the translator chooses for each element. In cases where measurement and currency units are vague rather than exact figures (example #4a), substitution seems to be a valid option for a translation method.

6. Discussion

To summarize the findings of the present study, domesticating methods are used more than foreignizing methods, and as we can see in Table 1, substitution is the overall most used method. Substitution is also the most used method within the categories *Culture* and *Phrases and expressions*. As *Society* is the largest category in terms of number of cases, it also shows most variation in the translation methods used. Generalization, a domesticating translation method, was the second most used translation method, and was most used in the category *Society*. However, generalization was not used to translate any culture-bound elements in the categories *Phrases and expressions* and *Money and measures*. Out of foreignizing translation methods, retention is most used in the category *Society*, and direct translation is most used in the category *Money and measures*. Some surprises were encountered in the analysis of the material. What is most surprising, is that omission is not used at all in the Finnish translations. *Money and measure* also yielded surprising results, as official equivalent is, against the predictions, not used much in the translations of currency and units of measurement. *Money and measures* is also the only category where foreignizing translations are used more than domesticating translations in general. All in all, the analysis provided useful information and statistics on the way domesticating and foreignizing methods are used in translation, or at least have been used so far, as the trend might be changing.

The reason for domestication being favored in the translation might be time period when the translation was conducted. Even though I did not manage to find information on the translator or the translation company that conducted the Finnish translation of the DVD publication, the year when the DVD was first published in Finland is 2006 (Academic, 2021). Domesticating methods might have been used more in older translations, while the newer trend seems to favor foreignizing methods, based on, for example, the translation provided by the *Disney+* streaming service. I observed some changes in these two translated versions, the DVD release translation and the *Disney+* translation, in terms of the culture-bound elements. For example, the phrase ‘I’ll make mincemeat out of you’, that also featured in example #3g in the analysis section of the present study, is completely retained in the subtitles provided by *Disney+*. I found the decision to retain this expression interesting, since it is a rather long element to be left untouched in the translation, and the effect it very foreignizing. Comparing these two translations could yield interesting information on the differences between translations

conducted for different platforms as well as the change in translation methods and conventions throughout the years.

Other than the time period when the translation was conducted, little can be speculated about the translator's motivations to use domesticating methods. As mentioned earlier in the present thesis, the decision to use domestication or foreignization in translation is an individual preference. Affecting factors could also be speculated based on the translator's age, their earlier work, the company they work for and the conventions and guidelines of that company etc. Unfortunately, as mentioned before, I could not find any information on the translator or the translation company on the DVD case or included within the episodes while viewing them. This is a very unfortunate, as translator's work is already rather invisible, and when their name is not even mentioned in the produced material, they do not receive any recognition for their work.

The present study concludes with the next section, **7. Conclusion**, where some final thoughts and a conclusion are presented.

7. Conclusion

The goal of the present thesis was to see whether domesticating or foreignizing translation methods were preferred in the Finnish DVD release translation of an American television series *Desperate Housewives*. To conduct this study, material was collected of the first season translations of the series, it was categorized, and the methods used were calculated according to each category, as well as in total, and presented in Table 1. The analysis of the material consisted of presenting and discussing some illustrative cases and deductions that could be made on the basis of the findings. The expectation was that foreignizing methods would be used more, as suggested by some previous studies and Venuti's (1992) claims of more dominant cultures, such as Anglophone cultures, having more influence on smaller cultures. This assumption, however, proved to be somewhat incorrect, as domesticating methods were used over twice as much as foreignizing methods in the material. Domestication and foreignization can be explained by stating that the domesticating methods bring the text to the reader, while foreignizing methods bring the reader to the text. In addition to domesticating and foreignizing methods, official equivalent and specification, methods that are not distinctly one or the other, are also used a good number of times in the material.

The findings suggest that, in addition to domestication (46 in total) being the most used method of translation for culture-bound elements in the first season of *Desperate Housewives*, substitution (34 in total), which is recognizably a domesticating method, is the most used individual translation method by far. It was used often in all categories, but overwhelmingly most to translate phrases and expressions. As stated already, Penttilä and Muikku-Werner (2012) also insinuate in their paper that substitution is usually the expected and recommended translation method for translating figurative idioms (p. 125), and it seems to hold true in the scope of the present study as well. It is interesting, though, that the third domesticating method, omission, was not used in any of the material gathered for this study. As stated before, omission can be a justifiable method in certain cases (Pedersen, 2005, p. 9), but the translator had found in this case a way to translate every element. Out of foreignizing methods, retention and direct translations were both used the same number of times (11 in total). Specification, which is not in itself considered domesticating or foreignizing, but depends on the case and how it is used, was used the least out of all translation methods.

The series *Desperate Housewives* was initially chosen as the study material for the present thesis, since I have previously watched the series a few times and it was already a rather familiar material for me to study. *Desperate Housewives* depicts the daily lives of American housewives, and I have always found its portrayal of social roles and American lifestyle, although it is sometimes exaggerated for humorous effect, to be fascinating. As I am interested in translation, audiovisual translation in particular, I wanted to analyze the translation of a television series for my thesis. Since *Desperate Housewives* is one of my all-time favorite television series, the idea was born to analyze the culture-bound elements of the series, as the concept of the series provides a good premise for culture-bound elements. I do not think there are many modern television series that focus as well on American culture and lifestyle as *Desperate Housewives* does.

The expectation was, based on my previous viewing experiences of the series, to especially find many references to social roles and norms that would create crisis points for the translator, but those expectations were not met entirely. Of course, it is not guaranteed that I have managed to notice and collect all culture-bound elements for various reasons. My approach was to watch the episodes with Finnish subtitles and closely listen to the original audio to detect culture-bound elements in the original. Sometimes I checked the English subtitles to confirm the culture-bound element, but it is entirely possible that I missed some elements. Nevertheless, I anticipated to find even more references to social roles and norms that would have created a crisis point for the translator, but I did encounter various other types of culture-bound elements that proved to be fruitful for the research. For example, food items and dishes are frequently mentioned in the series, and many of them lack a proper Finnish equivalent. It was interesting to see how different translation methods were applied to solve the crisis point these culture-bound elements provided, and how domesticating methods, especially substitution, was often used for food items and dishes. Also, phrases and expressions proved to be more frequent than I had anticipated, and I have surely still missed some while collecting the material.

The categories for the thesis were formed on the basis of the gathered translations and not completely based on any pre-existing categories. The division is rather artificial in case of

Culture and Society, and there are certainly other ways some of the translation cases could have been categorized. The categories of the culture-bound elements could also themselves have been different. There are many ways to categorize culture-bound elements, as shown by Łabendowicz (2012) in her thesis (p. 7-13). These different categorizations have been a source of inspiration in the present thesis, but they do not function as a direct base for the categorization here. During the time of working on the present study, the categories have gone through a change. The initial categorization did not suit the purpose of this study very well, and I had to make some changes, and only *Phrases and expressions* and *Money and measures* have remained the same in concept. *Culture* and *Society* were divided into two different categories from the initial *Social and cultural phenomena* category, and the contents of one category, *Others*, was distributed to those two new categories. The first category was too crowded and dividing it into two categories and dismantling and dividing the *Others* category made the analysis more balanced. With the new categories, the results of the study are easier to see, as it changes the structure of the categories and analysis to be clearer. The results of this study would have been different with the initial categories, and maybe harder to comprehend.

An interesting basis for similar studies could be to analyze whether differences would occur when two or more different translations by different translators, and also from different time periods, of the same source text are compared. While conducting this study, I came across different translated versions of *Desperate Housewives*, but did not have the time or resources to thoroughly study more versions than one for this research. The initial translated version I considered for the study was that of *Mtv3* channel, since it was airing on television at the time when I started working on the present thesis. Collecting the material on the basis of *Mtv3*'s translation proved to be too difficult, however, and I opted to use the translation of the published DVD collection of the first season of the series instead. Channels and streaming services tend to create their own translations for the series upon broadcast, most likely for copyright reasons, and therefore many translated versions of *Desperate Housewives* exist in Finnish. Therefore, it would be interesting to see whether many differences would arise if a proper study was conducted on different versions of this, or any other, series.

Audiovisual translation field is at a turning point as television series and movies are available not only in the original media, television channels, but also on different streaming platforms and online services, where most series and movies are nowadays consumed. According to a graph provided by Tilastokeskus, using television screens for other purposes (like streaming services, recordings and gaming) than watching television channels' broadcasts has increased from an average of 24 minutes per day in 2016 to an average of 51 minutes per day in 2020 (Tilastokeskus, n.d.). Translations are also produced in a different manner and time schedule, as the translations are conducted less by in-house translators (translators working directly for the television channel or a translation company) and more by freelance translator, and the quality control of translations is less strict. There has also been a lot of discussion on the poor salaries and collective agreement of translator field in Finland. The lack of value for translation work results to low wages, and cheap labor results in unpredictable quality. Therefore, it would be interesting to see if, and how, these factors affect translations and the conventions of translation. My own speculation, and partly experience as a consumer of the content on online streaming services and television media, is that the rules of subtitling have become looser, and the translation seems more rushed based on mistakes and shortcuts in the translations. This change in the audiovisual translation field could also determine the new trend in translation methods, that is, how much foreignization and domestication are used. People nowadays are also more adapted to other cultures, especially Anglophone ones, and the translation trend might shift to preferring foreignization, as the need for domesticating culture-bound elements diminishes. This, however, is only speculative, so more study on this topic, as well as others concerning domestication and foreignization in translations, could provide us answers to these questions.

Dividing translation methods into domesticating and foreignizing methods might become less relevant, and more challenging, as cultural exchange continues to increase with the help of media. As culture's are starting to share more and more elements with each other and mix, we might not need to differentiate between domesticating and foreignizing methods in the future, at least in the same way. Today the division is still important, but as media platforms and translation conventions are changing, it might not be much longer.

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