

Flesk og duppe

A Descriptive Translation Study on the Subtitling of
Extralinguistic Cultural References in the Films

Elling and Max Manus

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Master Thesis
Department of Literature, Area Studies and European
Languages

UNIVERSITY OF OSLO

Autumn 2019

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*A Descriptive Translation Study on the Subtitling of Extralinguistic
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2019

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Trykk: CopyCat Sentrum, Oslo

Abstract

Extralinguistic Cultural References (ECRs) are certain elements in a source culture, which are difficult to translate to the target language. These elements refer to specific concepts in the source culture, such as people, brands, foods or institutions. ECRs are a well-known translation problem for subtitlers, but are under-researched in English subtitles of movies from less-dominant languages. The aim of this thesis is to investigate how Norwegian ECRs are rendered in the subtitles of the two films *Elling* and *Max Manus*. The study has a descriptive approach and investigates which translation strategies the subtitlers use most frequently by comparing the transcribed dialogue with the English subtitles. Each ECR was classified according to the taxonomy presented in Pedersen (2011). Also, the study examines whether translators aim to preserve the foreign elements by using *foreignization* strategies in their translation, or if they *domesticate* the dialogue for the sake of the audience. The results show that the official equivalent is the preferred method to render Norwegian ECRs in the English subtitles. However, if there is no official equivalent, the frequency of the different translation strategies differs between the movies. Moreover, the study reveals that there is a tendency to domesticate the subtitles in *Elling*, while there is a tendency to foreignize the subtitles in *Max Manus*. This difference between the two movies could be genre depended, or caused by how central specific ECRs are in the movies.

Key Words: Descriptive Translation Studies, Audiovisual Translation, Subtitling, Extralinguistic Cultural References, Translation Strategies

Acknowledgements

First of all, I would like to thank my supervisor Elizabeth Rasmussen for her help and guidance.

A number of people at the Department of Literature, Area Studies and European Languages contributed to the development of the idea for this thesis. I would like to thank Hildegunn Dirdal in particular for her inspiring classes on translation.

Finally, I am very grateful to my family and friends for their support and especially to my husband, Stian, for his patience.

Table of Contents

List of Tables and Figures.....	XI
Abbreviations	XII
1. Introduction.....	1
1.1 Research Questions	2
2. Theory	3
2.1 What is Translation?.....	3
2.1.1 Translation Equivalence.....	4
2.2 Translation Studies	5
2.2.1 The Paradigm of Descriptive Translation Studies (DTS)	7
2.3 Audiovisual Translation	8
2.3.1 Subtitling.....	9
2.3.2 Classification of Subtitles	10
2.3.3 The Subtitling Process	11
2.3.4 Constrained Translation.....	12
2.4 Cultural Problems and Translation.....	12
2.4.1 Extralinguistic Cultural References	13
2.4.2 Translation Strategies.....	13
2.4.3 Domestication and Foreignization Strategies	16
2.5 Previous Studies.....	17
3. Material and Method	20
3.1 The Material	20
3.2 Method.....	23
3.3 Categorization.....	24
3.3.1 Translation Strategies.....	25
3.4 Limitations of the Study	29
4. Analysis	30
4.1 Overall Findings	30
4.1.1 Overall Findings in <i>Elling</i>	31
4.1.2 Overall Findings in <i>Max Manus</i>	33
4.2 Specific Analysis of <i>Elling</i>	35
4.2.1 Foreignization Examples	35

4.2.2	Domesticating Examples	36
4.3	Specific Analysis of <i>Max Manus</i>.....	39
4.3.1	Foreignization Examples	39
4.3.2	Domesticating Examples	42
5.	Discussion.....	44
6.	Conclusion	46
6.1	The Findings	46
6.2	Further Research.....	46
	References.....	48
	Appendix A: Extralinguistic Cultural References in <i>Elling</i>	50
	Appendix B: Extralinguistic Cultural References in <i>Max Manus</i>.....	54

List of Tables and Figures

Table 4.1: The rendering of ECRs in <i>Elling</i> and <i>Max Manus</i> according to Pedersen's taxonomy.....	30
Table 4.2: The rendering of ECRs in <i>Elling</i> and <i>Max Manus</i> according to foreignization and domestication strategies	31
Table 4.3: Transfer strategies used in <i>Elling</i>	32
Table 4.4: Transfer strategies used in <i>Max Manus</i>	34
Figure 1: Holmes' map of translation studies (Munday 2016, 17)	6
Figure 2: Linguistic classification of subtitles (Cintas and Remael 2007, 14)	10
Figure 3: Taxonomy of ECRs in subtitles (Pedersen 2011)	14
Figure 4: Excerpt from <i>Max Manus</i>	22
Figure 5: Excerpt from <i>Max Manus</i>	23
Figure 6. Taxonomy of ECR transfer strategies based on (Pedersen 2011, 75).	27

Abbreviations

AVT	Audiovisual Translation
DTS	Descriptive Translation Studies
ECR	Extralinguistic Cultural Reference
SC	Source Culture
SDH	Subtitling for the Deaf and Hard of Hearing
SL	Source Language
ST	Source Text
TC	Target Culture
TL	Target Language
TS	Translation Studies
TT	Target Text

1. Introduction

Anglo-American culture and the English language have a special place in the world today. For some time, it has dominated popular culture and has definitely become a *lingua franca*. In some European countries and especially in Scandinavia, viewers are introduced to English movies, music, TV-series, video games and brands every day. As a result, Norwegians know that Walmart is a chain of hypermarkets, that Central Park is located in New York City and that *Snickers* is an American chocolate bar. However, an American viewer would almost certainly not know what kind of business Coop is, where *Vigelandsparken* is located or that *Stratos* is a chocolate bar. These names are not just words, they refer to something in the real world, something with which everyone in the associated culture would be familiar.

For a translator, such words cause problems when translating, because they show that language and culture are closely related. How can the cultural connotations associated with culture-bound words be translated? The cultural references in American films can be kept and still the Norwegian audience would probably understand the dialogue; whereas most American viewers would not understand words in a foreign language. The cultural distance between Norwegian and Anglo-American culture may not seem very far, but cultures never meet at the same level.

An even bigger problem arises if the translator is limited by spatial and temporal restrictions such as number of letters per line and fixed reading time, in the way that subtitles are:

My experience as a subtitler has taught me that there are certain elements in a text that are more difficult to subtitle than others. These elements stand out from run-of-the-mill translations and require extra special care and the active and conscious employment of subtitling strategies. (Pedersen 2011, 41)

The elements Jan Pedersen is talking about are extralinguistic cultural references (ECRs). In other words, references to things, people and places in the real world are related to a specific culture. These references might be difficult to translate from English into other languages, but it is even more difficult to subtitle them in English from a less dominant language such as Norwegian. These elements are also very interesting to investigate because “ECR renderings disclose the subtitlers’ attitude towards the source culture (SC) and also their predictions about their target culture (TC) readership” (Pedersen 2011, 3). According to Pedersen, the way translators choose to translate or render an ECR may uncover inherent attitudes and beliefs.

In my thesis, I want to investigate how Norwegian ECRs are rendered in English movie subtitles. I wish determine if the translators aim to preserve the foreign elements by using *foreignization* strategies in their translation, or if they *domesticate* the dialogue for the sake of the audience. These are strategies that either move the target audience towards the source culture (SC), or the source culture (SC) towards the target culture (TC) and the target viewers.

Only a small number of foreign movies are translated into English, and it may seem unnecessary to investigate these translations. However, several studies have investigated how English movies are subtitled in other less dominant languages, whereas only a small number of studies have focused on subtitling into English. Few have looked at Norwegian movies in particular. The difficulties of translating ECRs from a smaller culture into a dominant culture, together with the limitations involved in subtitling, makes this an interesting topic to explore.

1.1 Research Questions

As stated above, the aim of this study is to show how Norwegian ECRs are rendered in English subtitles. ECRs that are only known in one culture are called monocultural references. Descriptive translation studies (DTS) say something about the translation process and solutions based on the investigation of real translations. To do so, the subtitles of the two Norwegian feature films *Elling* and *Max Manus* have been examined in more detail. The research has been guided by the following questions:

- 1) *How do translators render monocultural extralinguistic cultural references (ECRs) in English subtitles of Norwegian movies?*
- 2) *What translation strategy has been used most frequently?*
- 3) *Is there a tendency to domesticate or foreignize the subtitles?*

As the questions indicate, the study is moving from the bottom up. First, the ECRs are investigated individually. The second question seeks to determine if there is a tendency to lean towards a particular strategy when translating. The last question wants to uncover general tendencies in the subtitling of Norwegian cultural concepts in English subtitles. Hopefully, the analysis will reveal which considerations translators prioritize and what attitudes they have towards the source culture and the target audience.

2. Theory

This chapter starts by clarifying the term translation and some important concepts central in translation studies. Secondly, the field of translation studies is explained, with specific focus on Descriptive Translation Studies (DTS). The next section introduces the field of Audiovisual Translation and especially subtitling. Then, ECRs are discussed in further detail and last, some previous studies and their findings are presented.

2.1 What is Translation?

To be able to discuss translation theory, we first have to know what translation is. Translation is traditionally referred to as a process where something written in one language (known as the source language=SL) is transferred into another language (known as the target language=TL). The word “translation” derives from the Latin word *translato or transferre*, which means “to transport” or “to carry over” (Munday 2016, 8). In a way, the translator’s job is to transfer meaning from one language and to another. Roman Jakobson was one of the first to try to describe translation. He divides translation into three categories:

- 1) **Intralingual** translation, or “rewording” – *“an interpretation of verbal signs by means of other signs of the same language”*;
- 2) **Interlingual** translation, or “translation proper” – *“an interpretation of verbal signs by means of some other language”*;
- 3) **Intersemiotic** translation, or “transmutation” – *“an interpretation of verbal signs by means of signs of non-verbal sign systems”*. (Munday 2016, 9)

The first category describes the process in which something verbal in a language is explained by other words in the same language. The meaning of a word is not transported to another language, but by the use of other wording in the same language. This could be a summary or a paraphrase of an expression.

Interlingual translation is referred to as “translation proper”, as it is the most traditional understanding of the term *translation*. However, the process of translating a text into another language is not as straightforward as it may seem. Susan Bassnett points out that no language has the same words or grammatical structure. During the transportation process, the translator has to reshape and remake words and sentences. In other words, find similar

words in the target language and convey the meaning of the source text sentence into the grammatical structure of the target language. Still, “the assumption is that the original meaning will somehow still be present in the reformulated version” (Bassnett 2014, 3). This brings the question of whether translation is even possible. The very notion of translatability is something some theorists discuss.

The last category, intersemiotic translation, refers to written texts that are translated into a different mode. This category is important because it points out that translation does not have to be limited to verbal items. A translation can also be a novel that has been adapted into a movie (Munday 2016, 9). The term is open for interpretation, and sets the limits for what translation actually is.

2.1.1 Translation Equivalence

In *A Linguistic Theory of Translation*, John Catford defines translation as “the replacement of textual material in one language (SL) by equivalent textual material in another language (TL)” (Catford 1965, 20). This definition raises another question: What is equivalence? The concept of equivalence essentially means that there is a relation between the source (ST) and the target text (TT). More specifically, it signals that the “translation has the same value as (some aspects of) its corresponding text” (Pym 2010, 7).

Eugene Nida distinguished two types of equivalence: formal and dynamic. Formal equivalence or correspondence is concerned with the *form* of the message in the SL. Dynamic equivalence is more concerned with *preserving the meaning* of the SL (Munday 2016, 67-68). This distinction between linguistic form and message was very important for the discussion of equivalence in translation theory. It broadens the scope of the term *equivalence* as it could refer to relations on any level. Mona Baker (2011) distinguishes between equivalence on different levels:

- **Equivalence on the word level** refers to the fact that there is no word in the TL that has the same meaning in the SL. She distinguishes between the lexical meaning (the value of a word in a specific linguistic system), propositional meaning (the relation between a word and its reference in the real world), expressive meaning (the speakers feeling or attitude towards the word), presupposed meaning (restrictions to what other words or expressions that we expect to see this word in relation to) and last evoked meaning (what kind of connotation that are attached to a word) (Baker 2011, 11-13).

- **Equivalence above the word level** is concerned with collocation, idioms and fixed expressions.
- Since all languages have different systems of rules, or grammatical categories, she also describes **grammatical equivalence**.
- **Textual equivalence** focuses on thematic structure. It compares the ST to the TT in terms of information structure or cohesion.
- **Pragmatic equivalence** is concerned with the implied meaning, or the author's intentions, from the ST to the TT.

Equivalence is a central concept in translation theory, and also a controversial one. There are two extreme positions in the debate about equivalence: On the one hand, the theorists who consider translation as merely a linguistic exercise (Catford 1965) and define translation in terms of equivalence at a formal level; on the other, those who primarily look at culture and who define translation in terms of the transference of semantic content from a TL to a SL. Since equivalence presumes some kind of similarity at one or more levels, certain theorists regard the term *equivalence* as irrelevant. Then, there are scholars like Mona Baker who stands somewhere in the middle. In "The Status of Equivalence in Translation Studies: An Appraisal", Baker concludes that it is not possible to dispense with equivalence as a concept in translation theory:

Even the idea of producing a target text that addresses a specific reader – rather than one that is faithful to the original – still implies transferring some part of the source text that is considered to be of value in the particular exchange situation. The concept of equivalence is thus likely to be with us for a long time to come. (Baker 2004, 6)

Equivalence will be discussed further in section 2.2.1, in terms of its position within the paradigm of Descriptive Translation Studies.

2.2 Translation Studies

Translation has existed for as long as there have been different languages. However, translation as a scholarly and academic discipline did not take form until the second half of the twentieth century. Before that, translation had been a field between many disciplines.

James Holmes was a key to defining translation studies. In a speech in 1976, he presented a framework which was later further developed by Gideon Toury:

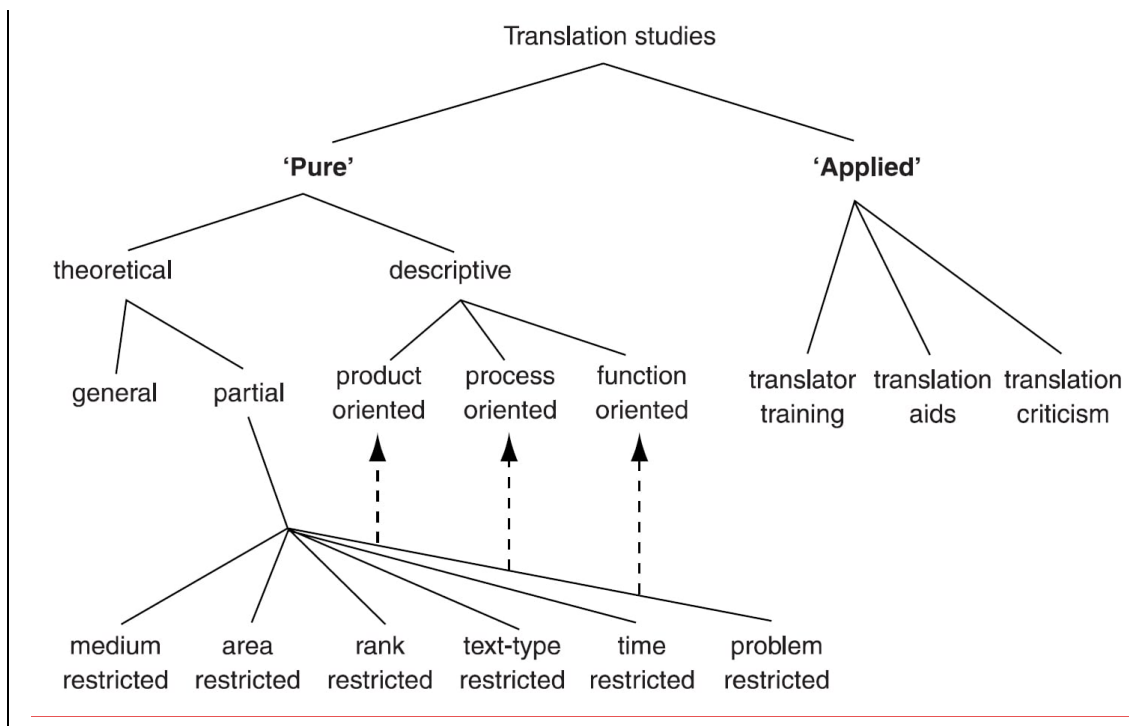


Figure 1: Holmes’ map of translation studies (Munday 2016, 17)

The “pure” branch is divided in two, of which the first theoretical translation branch aims (1) to describe translation phenomena and (2) to explain and predict such phenomena (Munday 2016, 17). The general branch what describes and sets the rules for translation as a whole. This includes studies trying to find similarities between translated texts, and developing a theory of translation universals. These are specific features that typically occur in translated texts. The partial branch, on the other hand, deals with various types of restrictions linked to medium, area, rank, text-type, time and problem (Munday 2016, 17).

Descriptive translation studies (DTS) are not concerned with translation as a concept, but predominantly with the examination of translated as a product, process or function. Product-oriented DTS examines existing translations. Function-oriented DTS focuses on how a translation functions in society. Process-oriented DTS tries to examine the decision-making process, i.e. study what is going on inside a translator’s mind while he or she is working. A way of studying this is by using “think-aloud protocols” (TAPs). The translators where asked to “verbalize his/her thought processes while translating or immediately afterwards” (Munday 2016, 103). This was then recorded by a researcher and transcribed and analysed.

However, researchers have criticized this method as they believe that it do not reveal any actual cognitive processes. Lately, new technological inventions such as eye-tracking have been tested in process-oriented translation studies. In eye-tracking, the translator's eyes are monitored. The time the translator's eyes rest on one specific word or problem may say something about the mental process of the translator (Munday 2016, 104).

The “applied” branch includes translation training that involves teaching methods, testing techniques and curriculum design. Translation aids comprise dictionaries, grammars, online term banks, specialized dictionaries, and various translation software. Translation criticism deals with the evaluation of translations, ranging from the marking of student translations by a teacher to proofreading by a professional colleague, or academic articles and books (Munday 2016, 19).

The field of translation studies has evolved considerably since Holmes created the map in the 1970s. This paper focuses on the finished product of translation and by analysing it reveals what translation strategies the translator has been using.

2.2.1 The Paradigm of Descriptive Translation Studies (DTS)

A paradigm can be said to be “sets of principles that underline different groups of theories” (Pym 2010, 3). In other words, researchers working with a common paradigm usually agree on some fundamental principles and concepts. This makes it easier to discuss and build on the work of other theorists within the same paradigm. The descriptive paradigm can be tracked back to the Russian Formalists. It was later defined by scholars such as Even-Zohar and Toury (Pym 2010, 64). Basically, the scholars within DTS want to describe how translation *is* performed rather than to prescribe how it *should be* performed. This may seem easy and without the need of a large theoretical foundation. However, in order to describe translation academically, one has to agree on what is being described.

So researchers within DTS view the ST and the TT as “sets of structures” (Pym 2010, 66). When comparing the ST and the translation, they are able to see where the structures are different. These differences are called transition shifts and were first described by John Catford. He defines translation shifts as “departures from formal correspondence in the process of going from SL to TL” (Catford 1965, 73). Catford also distinguishes between level shifts and category shifts. A shift of level usually occurs between “grammar and lexis visa-versa” (Catford 1965, 73).

Furthermore, translation plays a role in developing cultural systems. DTS are also referred to as polysystem theory, as the concept of these cultural polysystems is central. In other words, “culture is seen as a system made up of many other systems” (Pym 2010, 72). Different translations may be part of different cultural systems. Another important concept within the DTS paradigm is the notion of norms. These are rules that regulate what may be expected from translators.

Even though, equivalence is not as prominent in DTS, the notion of translation shifts presupposes that there is some kind of equivalence (Baker 2004, 1). As pointed out in section 2.1, the definition of the term “translation” causes considerable disagreement among translation scholars. What exactly defines a translation within the DTS paradigm? Toury avoids the whole problem by leaving the definition very open. He describes a translation as “any target-language utterance, which is presented or regarded as such, on whatever grounds” (Pym 2010, 76). The concept is called “assumed translation”. By this, he opens up for non-translations to be regarded as translations as long as it is presented as a translation and believed to be so by a target audience. The solution causes a few problems, but is very useful and opens up for the study of more recent translations discussed in the next section.

2.3 Audiovisual Translation

Audiovisual translation (AVT) is a new area in the field in translation studies. It was not until the early 2000s that it was recognised as an academic field of scholarly research (Pedersen 2011). In contrast to more traditional forms of translation, the translation of audiovisual texts can be considered multimodal, since it includes many different modes such as “language, image, music, colour and perspectives” (Baker 1998, 13). Traditionally AVT includes subtitling, dubbing and voice-over.

Subtitles are “small snippets of written text to be superimposed on visual footage - normally near the bottom of the frame - while an audiovisual text is projected, played or broadcasted” (Baker 1998). Subtitling will be discussed in further detail in section 2.3.1. Dubbing means that the SL soundtrack is removed and replaced by a target language soundtrack. This is mainly used in countries with large communities of people speaking German French or Spanish (Pedersen 2011, 4). In voice-over, the SL original soundtrack is just tuned down, and a TL voice is put on top. Voice-over is predominantly used in Eastern Europe. However, it is also found in Western Europe, and then primarily in news reports.

Today, audiovisual translation includes other forms of translation that appears in an audio and/or visual context (Pedersen 2011), such as versioning. Versioning is another form of AVT. Instead of giving a movie or a TV programme subtitles, the film makers produce a different version in another language. An example is the Norwegian TV series *Vikingane*. The producers translate the dialogue of the TV series beforehand, ensuring the quality of the translation. Other terms used for this type of work are “media translation” or “screen translation”. However, “media translation” can also refer to other types of media such as computer games, websites and software. “Screen translation” refers to all translations shown on screens, and therefore does not include translations made for radio and theatre.

Scholars who study AVT criticise Jakobson’s distinction between intralingual, interlingual, and intersemiotic types of translation (discussed in 2.1). They claim that AVT cannot be seen as translation proper and is therefore defined as adaption rather than translation. In *Audiovisual Translating: Subtitling*, Cintas and Remael argue that *translation* has to be understood as a rather flexible concept. Rather than disregarding the new practises, theorists should view them in more inclusive terms. Many do not want to classify AVT as adaption, because of the negative connotations of the word (Cintas and Remael 2007, 11).

2.3.1 Subtitling

In short, subtitles are written translations of audiovisual texts that appear (most often) at the bottom of the screen. They may be the “recount of the original dialogue of the speakers” or other elements important for the story line such as letters, signs, graffiti or other information conveyed in the soundtrack (Cintas and Remael 2007, 8). Subtitling has existed for as long as the film industry has exported films. From the first silent movies were made, the producers have included some sort of translation.

For subtitling to work, the audience has to believe that the subtitles actually represent what is being said in the movie. This is defined as “the contract of illusion”. The illusion is that “subtitles *are* the dialogue, and that what you read is actually what people say” (Pedersen 2011, 22). Similar to subtitles are surtitles (also called *supertitles* or *supratitles* by some scholars). In contrast to subtitles, they are usually done live by a technician (Cintas and Remael 2007).

2.3.2 Classification of Subtitles

Subtitling is very close related to technology and it is therefore difficult to come up with a fixed classification (Cintas and Remael 2007, 13). The most traditional way of classifying subtitling is according to their linguistic parameters:

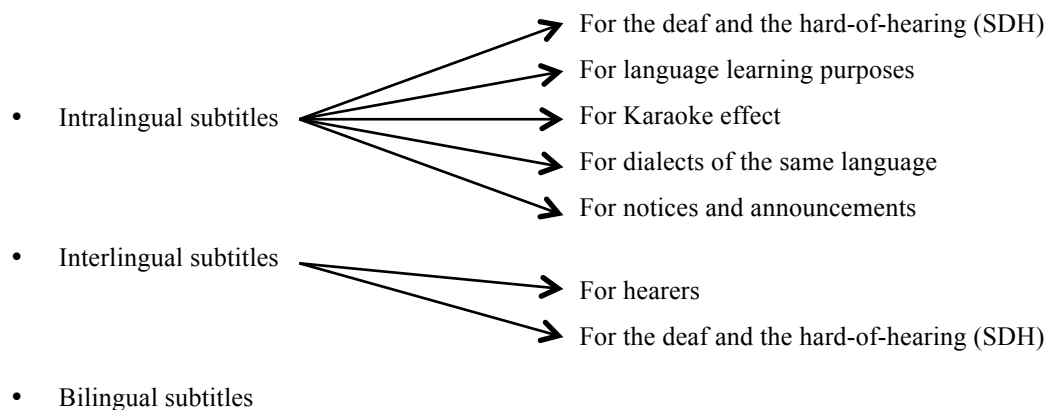


Figure 2: Linguistic classification of subtitles (Cintas and Remael 2007, 14).

This classification is similar to Roman Jakobson's classification of translation. The first category, intralingual subtitling involves a shift from oral to written language, but within the same language.

Interlingual subtitling is the major type of subtitling and involves a shift from one language to another. It is also different from traditional translation in that it involves a shift of mode, from oral to written language.

Bilingual subtitling involves translation from a source language to two target languages simultaneously. This is normal in countries with more than one official language. This kind of subtitling is also common for movies shown at international film festivals. In order to attract a wider audience, foreign films are often given two sets of subtitles: one in English and one in the language of the country where the film festival takes place (Cintas and Remael 2007, 18-19).

Another important distinction is between open and closed subtitles. Open subtitles are normal in for example DVDs and various streaming products. Here, the viewer can choose to turn the subtitles on or off or even change the language during the movie. Closed subtitles, on the other hand, are printed on the audiovisual content and are therefore not possible to turn off.

Subtitles are classified by how much time there is available for the caption. Pre-prepared subtitles are produced after the film or the TV-programme is shot, but with some time before it is released. This gives the translator time for research and preparation and is how most movie translations are made. Sometimes the subtitling work is done simultaneously and online, which gives the subtitler no time to prepare in advance. Intralingual real time subtitles are preformed daily in countries with a tradition for this (Cintas and Remael 2007, 19-20). The dialogue may then be the result of computer-assisted translation.

2.3.3 The Subtitling Process

The process of subtitling may vary significantly, so this section will briefly try to explain some of the working conditions for subtitlers.

First, the client, who may either be a translation company or the film producer, contacts the subtitler with a commission. Most subtitlers work freelance (Cintas and Remael 2007, 36), and the job may go to the lowest bidder. The commission include some basic info about the movie and its context, plot and setting. The subtitler then gets a working copy of the film. The next step is spotting, and this is the process of determining when a subtitle should appear on the screen. The translator does not always have to do this job and may get a finished spotting list. In the next step the translator receives a copy of the written dialogue and the film and start the process of translating from the SL to the TL. However, in many cases the translator only receives the dialogue or a copy of the soundtrack. Subtitlers usually work with strict deadlines. These might depend on the movie in question and on the distributing channel (Cintas and Remael 2007, 38-39). A translation for the cinema version of a movie may have a shorter deadline, than for the DVD version of the movie. When the translation is done, the subtitler sends the translation back to the employee.

Cintas and Remael point out that English is often used as a pivot language, when translating to lesser-known languages (Cintas and Remael 2007, 32). In other words, a movie is first translated to English, and to save money, the translation to other languages are done from the English version. AVT is growing in importance in our daily life, still very few universities have training for audiovisual translators. The situation today is that most subtitlers are self-thought.

2.3.4 Constrained Translation

Subtitles consists of 43% less text than the spoken dialogue (Baker 1998, 15). There are factors involved in the subtitling process make the work of the subtitler constrained. Some researchers refer to subtitling as ‘constrained translation’ and may argue that if you take all constraints into account all translations for subtitles will be constrained. However, the restrictions associated with subtitling are fundamentally more drastic in nature than those found in other types of translation.

First, there are the spatial and temporal constraints. As already mentioned, subtitles deliver far less text than spoken dialogue, so it is obvious that the space given to the subtitles counts as a major constraint. The dialogue needs to be shortened, and there are only a few cases in which some kind of suppression or summarizing is not needed. Pedersen writes that even when the original dialogue is slow, the translation becomes constrained because technical and perception limitations are imposed in order to provide enough reading time for the viewers.

These constraints influence what is requires of subtitlers, and the film industry may ask subtitlers to prioritise the overall meaning of an utterance and disregard other features. However, not all that is lost to spatial and temporal constraints is valuable information, so that subtitles often have the discretion of exercising ‘intrasemiotic redundancy’ (Gottlieb 2001). Some theorists therefore argue that the restrictions found in subtitling are so far-reaching that subtitling cannot be called translation at all, but rather adaption.

2.4 Cultural Problems and Translation

Translation and culture are closely entwined, according to the well-known hypothesis by Edward Sapir and Benjamin Lee Whorf. Bassnett argues that language is the heart within the body of culture, and that the one cannot exist without the other (Bassnett 2002, 22).

No two languages has the same structures, syntax and vocabulary, so adjustments always have to be made to accommodate the black holes that yawn when there is no equivalent in the target language for a word or an idea expressed in the source language. (Bassnett 2014, 3)

These “black holes” have been defined using different terms by different scholars. Nedergaard-Larsen uses the term culture-bound problems (Nedergaard-Larsen 1993), while

Mona Baker references to a country's culture, society, history or geography as cultural specific items (Baker 2011)

Just weeks after a movie has been released, it travels across the world, often distributed through different media channels. Some movies reach a very diverse audience. A “[f]ilm’s propensity to travel means that the cultural references used to give shape to the story also travel extensively” (Cintas and Remael 2007, 200). As Cintas and Remael point out, there are numerous taxonomies trying to label these strategies. Pedersen writes that “cultural references are one of the most important translation problems translators deal with” (Pedersen 2011, 43).

2.4.1 Extralinguistic Cultural References

In *Subtitling Norms for Television*, Pedersen use the term “extralinguistic cultural references” (ECR). This a term closely related to Nedergaard-Larsen’s cultural-bound problems and Mona baker’s culture specific items. He defines the term below:

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

The ECRs are references to something in the real world, such as “places, people, institutions, customs, food, etc.” (Pedersen 2011, 44). A Transcultural ECR is a reference that may be familiar in a number of cultures, but the monocultural ECRs are only familiar in the SC. For this reason, monocultural ECRs are the once that cause translation problems. This thesis will focus on ECRs and their translation in two Norwegian films.

2.4.2 Translation Strategies

Different translation strategies may be used to “achieve a goal in an optimal way” (Baker 1998, 282). In other words, these strategies are techniques which the translator may use when faced with a difficult task.

Pedersen (2011) has developed a taxonomy of how to render ECRs, based on his own empirical experience. He uses the term “render” instead of “translate” because he stresses that some of the strategies he lists do not involve translation of any kind. However, *not* to translate cultural items may be an option.

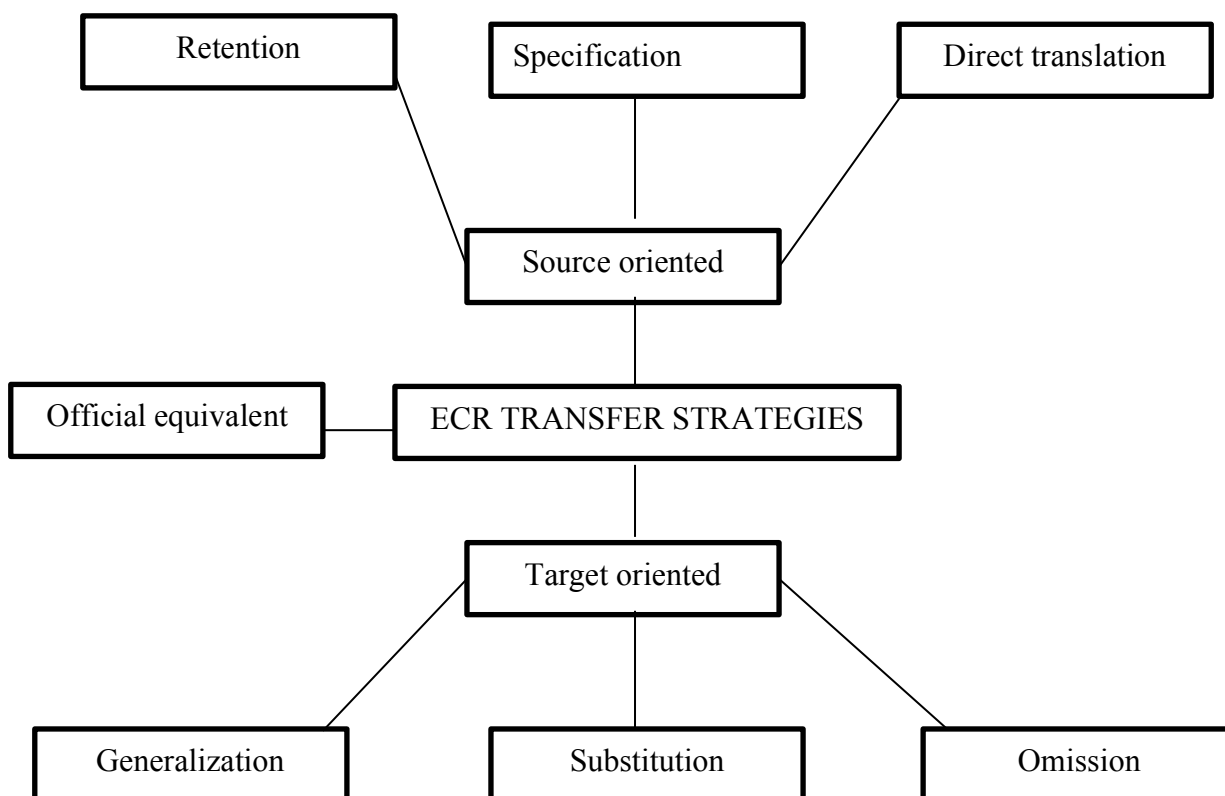


Figure 3: Taxonomy of ECRs in subtitles (Pedersen 2011).

First, Pedersen divides the strategies into “source-oriented” and “target-oriented”. These are two extreme poles on an axis (Pedersen 2011, 71). The names of these poles vary between writers and may also be referred to as literal-free, adequate-acceptable or foreignizing-domesticating (this distinction is discussed further in section 2.4.3).

Retention involves little or no changes to the ST ECR. The cultural reference may be preserved in its original form. Specification is used if the translator believe that the target audience need more information to understand the ST ECR. Direct translation is also referred to as literal translation – or word-for-word translation. The only thing that is changed in the translation is the language, while other semantic aspects of the ECR are unchanged. Substitution involves the change of the ST ECR with a similar ECR in the TC. Last, the translator may choose to avoid the whole problem of translating the ECRs and use the strategy of omission. The official equivalent has a own position and is not listed as a translation strategy in this taxonomy, hence the position. The reason for this is the specific status of official equivalents (Pedersen 2011, 76).

Nedergaard-Larsen mentions other considerations that the translator must consider when deciding which strategy to use when dealing with cultural problems in translation (Nedergaard-Larsen 1993, 222). These are just as relevant for the rendering of ECRs. Her considerations are as follow:

- **Function in the text.** This aspect is important for all translators, not only subtitlers. Especially important are those elements which describe a character or which are relevant for the plot in a movie. Sometimes an element is also important for the “creation of ambience”, i.e. to give the movie the “flavour” of another country. If a cultural reference meets none of these criteria, it is more likely to be omitted.
- **Possible connotations.** Connotations are secondary meanings or meanings associated with certain expressions or words. The reference could be linked to names or places. Such connotations are especially important in humour, and the translator may be faced with the decision of translating either the meaning or the form.
- **TL-audience (supposition).** This consideration stresses the importance of looking specifically at each ECR and evaluating its status for a specific target audience. Some ECRs could be more easily acceptable for some audiences than for others.
- **Visuals /sounds (redundancy/feed-back effect).** Sometimes the ECR might be visual in the image and promote comprehension.
- **Speech -> writing (intensified effect).** Another considerations take the transfer the ECR has to do from the dialogue and to the subtitles. Sometimes the effect of the foreign elements in the ECR is intensified when it is in writing.
- **Media-related limitations.** This factor is linked to the constrained nature of subtitling. Therefore, the translator must consider if there is time for the audience to read the cultural reference or if there is enough space available.

Another distinction is made is between local and global translation strategies. Local strategies focus on “specific language structures and lexical items” (Baker 1998, 283). The strategies mentioned in this section can therefore be referred to as local strategies. The global

strategies are more general and often motivated by the text as a whole. They are normally concerned with “textual style” and the notion of “expressing or supressing specific aspects of the source text” (Baker 1998, 283). According to Baker, even the decision to not translate segments of text may be considered a “global” strategy (Baker 1998, 284). The next section discusses domestication and foreignization as global strategies.

2.4.3 Domestication and Foreignization Strategies

Lawrence Venuti’s monograph *The translator’s Invisibility: A History of Translation* has been influential in translation studies. In the book, he discusses the terms “domestication” and “foreignization” in relation to translation strategies. The terms derives from the German philosopher Fredrich Schleiermacher (1813), who in a lecture argued that there are only two methods of translation: “Either the translator leaves the author in peace as much as possible and moves the reader towards him; or he leaves the reader in peace, as much as possible, and moves the author towards him” (Lefevere 1977 in Venuti 2008, 15). This leads us back to the definition of translation in terms of transference. Domesticating strategies move the target text towards the target culture, while foreignization strategies take the target audience towards the source culture.

Furthermore, Venuti explains that throughout history there has been a tendency to value “fluency” in translation. In other words, translations are expected to be as similar to other text in the TC, and therefore give the impression of not being translations at all. He defines this concept as the “translators invisibility”, which contributes to marginalise and economically exploit translators (Venuti 2008, 19). Domestication strategies are clearly in favour of adapting texts to the target reader and foreignization strategies might by some be considered “bad translations” as they mark the text as foreign and make the translation more conspicuous. Similarly, a good subtitler is one that the reader does not notice. The best subtitles can be said to be not to be there at all. This makes the subtitler even more hidden than other translators, which may have a “negative impact on the social recognition of subtitlers” (Cintas and Remael 2007, 40).

Another important point made by Venuti is the imbalance between Anglo-American translation and translations into other languages. This is certainly the case in AVT, as the Anglo-American film industry has dominated film exportation.

Venuti writes that the fluency of translation expresses a form for “ethnocentrism that lies at the very heart of translation” (Venuti 2008, 19). In other words, the tendency when

translating language and culture has been to remove the text from the foreign culture and towards the source culture, especially in the Anglo-American world. He argues that domestication and foreignization strategies “indicate fundamentally ethical attitudes towards a foreign text and culture” (Venuti 2008, 19). In recent years, this so-called cultural turn has been a main focus for many translation theorists. The focus has been on how translation may be a power factor in the post-colonial world and also in gender studies. Some scholars choose not to use the terms “foreignization” or “domestication” because of their perceived negative ideological connotations.

As mentioned in the previous section, Pedersen (2011) uses “target oriented” and “source oriented strategies” instead. However, the terms refer to the same phenomenon: either the translator is moving the text towards “home” or the TL or leaving it as it is.

2.5 Previous Studies

Cultural problems are a well-known subject in translation studies. However, audiovisual translation is a fairly new field within translation studies. When it comes to the study of culture-bound problems in subtitling, a few researchers have shown the way.

Nedergaard-Larsen (1993) has conducted one of the best known studies of cultural items in subtitling. Her study “Culture-bound problems in subtitling” explored how “extralingual culture-specific elements” in four French movies are rendered in Danish subtitles. She starts by discussing different translation strategies that are available to the translator. Then, she distinguishes between six main strategies: transfer/loan, direct translation, explanation, paraphrase, adaptation to TL-culture, and omission (Nedergaard-Larsen 1993, 219). These translation strategies are seen as either close to the SC or the TC, and she therefore divides them further into two extremes, where some strategies are more SL-culture oriented while on the other side they are TL-culture oriented (Nedergaard-Larsen 1993, 220). Which translation strategy the translator chooses depends on both general and specific factors (see section 2.4.2). Her results show that the translator has to consider each “to retain the local colour of the film and to remain faithful to the source language when this did not cause problems of comprehension”. She argues that the translator has to consider each case individually. Nedergaard-Larsen concludes that French cultural items are possible to translate for a Scandinavian audience (Nedergaard-Larsen 1993, 238).

Pedersen used the term Extralinguistic Cultural References (ECR) in his corpus study of Swedish and Danish subtitles of English movies. The aim of his study is to discover and

formulate different norms translators follow in the translation for television. One of these norms is that “[s]ubtitles of English language films and TV programmes are generally source-oriented” (Pedersen 2011, 194). Other norms are concerned with specific translation strategies, and say something about when different strategies are used by Danish and Swedish subtitlers.

However, most studies investigate how movies from a larger language community, such as French and English, are translated into smaller language communities. This is not, as these are the dominant exporting languages of movies, and movies less frequently. Gottlieb is the first to investigate what he calls “subtitling against the current”. He illustrates the dominance of the English-speaking media as a strong current going in one direction. In the study “Subtitling against the current: Danish concepts, English minds”, he compares the rendering of ECRs in two *English* movies translated into Danish with two *Danish* movies subtitled into English. Gottlieb bases his taxonomy of ECRs on both Pedersen (2011) and Nedergaard-Larsen (1993). His results correspond with what Nedergaard-Larsen’s (1993). He concludes that this could be a good thing for movies going “upstream”, or against the English current, but he did specify that the movies he had look at were mainly art movies, and that the results for more commercial movies might be different (Gottlieb 2009, 41).

Hagman builds his dissertation on Gottlieb’s method of studying ECRs in movie subtitling. He investigates two Danish feature films, *The Green Butchers* and *In China They Eat Dogs*. He transcribed the dialogue and then compared the ECRs in the ST with the English subtitles. He listed the strategies that the translator had used. The method of analysis involves counting every ECR found in a movie and placing them into one of these six categories. His findings correspond with his previous findings. He was not able to find any preferred strategy for translating ECRs into English. However, he draws the conclusion that guidelines should be developed, as he discovered that some strategies are more effective than others in certain situation. “This is crucial because it shows that, with more studies in the field of subtitling, proper rules and guidelines can be created to help future subtitlers become more accurate and efficient” (Hagman 2007, 64).

No studies have investigated how cultural items have been translated into English subtitles from Norwegian. Herseth investigated how culturally-specific items were rendered in the English subtitles of three crime novels by the famous Norwegian author Jo Nesbø. Leaning on descriptive translation theory, she wanted to investigate the translation strategies used, and then comment on whether the translators’ choices contribute to constructing the “Nordic” in Nordic Noir. She classifies each translation strategy according to Venuti’s

domestication, foreignization and exoticization strategies. According to Venuti, *exoticization* is a lesser degree of foreignization (Venuti 2008, 160). Herseth tries to operationalize the term and asks:

- 1) If there are expected types of repetition, such as geographical and personal names,
- 2) if there is intra or extra-textual gloss, as the sub-strategies are deforeignizing,
- 3) if it is clear from the context what the foreign word means, or
- 4) if the target audience is likely to be familiar with the foreign word from before

(Herseth 2017, 83)

Her results show that the translators use a mix of the different strategies, but as she suspected, there is a tendency towards the exoticizing strategy (Herseth 2017, 83). The results are similar to Nedergaard-Larsen's (1993), as translators tend to want to keep the local flavour, but only when the cultural item is not disrupting the translation too much. The results are interesting and it remains to be seen whether her conclusion can be transferred to the movie world, or if it is genre specific for Nordic Noir.

3. Material and Method

In this chapter, the material that the study is based on is presented. The method of the data elicitation is explained and the categorization of examples is clarified.

3.1 The Material

The material used for this study consists of the Norwegian transcribed dialogue and English subtitles and Norwegian subtitles of the two following movies:

- *Elling (2001)*
- *Max Manus (2008)*

Both films were released in the first decade of the 21st century. It was important for my selection that the films were available for an English-speaking audience. This means that they must be accessible on either a popular streaming website such as Netflix.com or HBO.com, or from Amazon.com. The material had to include a fairly large number of cultural references, but not so large that it would be difficult to analyse and evaluate in the amount of time available. Together, the two films represent around four hours of viewing time and constitute the ST corpus of this study. Even though the movies contrast in genre, there are certain similarities. Both are shot in or around Oslo city centre, and all locations are real places.

The film, known as *Me, My Friend and I* in English and *Elling 1: Brødre i blodet* in Norwegian, is classified as drama or dark comedy. The movie is based on one of four novels by Ingvar Ambjørnsen, a well-known Norwegian novelist, and the storyline is about the very anxious Elling. The film starts when Elling's mother dies and Elling is forced to move to a mental institution. There he shares a room with Kjell Bjarne, who is obsessed with sex and food. He becomes Elling's first friend. After two years, Elling and Kjell Bjarne move out of the institution and have to manage on their own in a council apartment in Oslo. At first everything seems difficult and even the smallest task, such as going to the shop buying food or using a telephone, seems like a huge obstacle. However, after some time, Elling and Kjell Bjarne prove that they can live on their own. Elling even discovers that he is a poet and makes his first friend without the help from the Norwegian welfare state.

Per Christian Ellefsen and Sven Nordin, both well-known Norwegian actors, play the roles of Elling and Kjell Bjarne. The movie is directed by Petter Næss and became a great success in Norway and got a lot attention internationally. It won 14 awards and was nominated for Best Foreign Language Film at the Academy Awards in 2002. Very soon after the release, a production company owned by Kevin Spacey bought the rights to *Elling*, and was planning to make an American version of the movie. This never happened, but *Elling* still made success in USA in a theatre version.

Max Manus (*Max Manus: Man of War* in English) is based on real events in the life of famous Norwegian resistance fighter Max Manus, classified as a bibliography or historical drama. The viewers follow Max from the Winter War in Finland, through World War II and until the German occupation ended in May 1945. Joachim Rønning, the director, is also known for another historical movie, *Kon-Tiki* (2012), based on the Norwegian explorer Thor Heyerdahl and his voyage to prove that there could have been contact between South-America and the Polynesian islands. Joachim Rønning's success led him to Hollywood, where he directed *Pirates of the Caribbean: Dead Men Tell no Tales* (2017) for Disney. Aksel Hennie plays the role of Max Manus and other well-known actors are Agnes Kittelsen and Nicolai Cleve Broch. The movie won six Amanda Awards and was nominated for four more.

The subtitles were downloaded as SubRip-files (with .SRT file extensions) from subscene.com. All subtitles are extracted from DVDs or BluRay by unidentified website users. For the movies in which subtitles were unavailable from subscene.com, they have been extracted manually from the original DVD. Also, each movie was watched in order to quality check the subtitles.

SubRip-files contain the text displayed in the subtitle and metadata that allows the video player to display the subtitles at the correct time. The subtitles within the files are formatted as follows:

Subtitle number

Start time --> End time

Subtitle text

Empty line

Both the Norwegian transcribed dialogue and subtitles and the English subtitles from each movie were gathered into two EXEL-files.

Below is an example from *Max Manus*:

Transcribed dialogue	Norwegian subtitles	English Subtitles
	71	77
	00:07:53,811 --> 00:07:56,725	00:07:35,480 --> 00:07:40,160
Er vi heldige så er Gestaposjefen der også.	Er vi heldige er Gestaposjefen der også.	- Maybe even the Gestapo chief himself.
	72	
	00:07:56,894 --> 00:07:59,560	
- Likvidere Gestaposjefen? - Ja.	- Likvidere Gestaposjefen? -Ja.	- Liquidate the Gestapo chief?

Figure 4: Excerpt from *Max Manus*

As seen in the examples above, the subtitle numbers do not correspond, and consequently the subtitles had to be aligned manually. The English subtitles are part of a two-liner system and had to be separated for the correspondence. All original formatting has been preserved in the material and can also be seen in the Appendix A and B. The formatting follows the general subtitling conventions described by (Cintas and Remael 2007, 104-126) and the ones listed below:

- **Full stops (.)** indicate that the sentence is finished.
- **Commas (,)** are used to avoid misunderstanding and therefore separate what is said into different statements.
- **Dashes (-)** are used to specify that the text in the subtitles belong to two different persons.
- **Italics** mark voices that are represented off-screen. In the SubRip-files, tags to make words appear in italics are marked with “<i>” and “</i>” at the beginning and end.
- **Triple dots (...)** indicate that a sentence is not finished and will continue in the next subtitle. In *Elling* dashes (-) are used instead.
- **Upper case** is used when things that are not mentioned in the dialogue but in the image, written on signs or other messages the translator feels the need to translate.

In addition, sometimes non-verbal communication from the movies was also transcribed and treated as part of the ST. The table below shows an example from a note that Max Manus receives concerning his escape from the Ullevål hospital. The note has been

transcribed and treated as ST. It was not part of the Norwegian subtitles, but featured in the English subtitles.

Transcribed dialogue	Norwegian subtitles	English Subtitles
Kolbein er sendt til Grini i natt kl.4 - Utenfor vinduet (non-verbal)		160 00:15:03,880 --> 00:15:08,240 Kolbein was sent to Grini last night. 4am, outside the window.

Figure 5: Excerpt from *Max Manus*

ST refers to the Norwegian transcribed dialogue and TT to the English subtitles. The Norwegian subtitles are used as a reference in this analysis, since some scenes in *Max Manus* are in German and others in English. For the purpose of this thesis, these parts are not considered part of the material and have therefore been omitted.

3.2 Method

The method used in this thesis is descriptive with specific focus on how ECRs in the Norwegian movies are translated into English. Cintas argue that the paradigm used in DTS works very well when applied to AVT. In “In search of a theoretical framework for the study of audiovisual translation”, Cintas tries to adapt the concepts of the DTS paradigm to the audiovisual world. His conclusion is that the paradigm is a good “starting grid” (Cintas 2004, 30). Some concepts are easily transferable to AVT, while others are insufficient. However, he does not see them as limitations that question the validity of the whole paradigm, but rather as “room for improvement” within DTS (Cintas 2004, 30). Moreover, he argues that to analyse subtitles from a linguistic perspective is insufficient. DTS gives the opportunity to focus “our study from several angles [...] to] gain a better knowledge of translation and translating. Translation scholars slip between linguistic and culture” (Cintas 2004, 32).

Pedersen writes that DTS works especially well for the study of AVT “mainly because it does not really presume anything” (Pedersen 2011, 25). As discussed in section 2.2.1, the use of the DTS paradigm resolves the problem of whether subtitling can be treated as translation. Furthermore, (Pedersen 2011, 26) brings up the collective notion of DTS as a very useful feature. According to Gideon Toury, this was a very import notion in the DTS paradigm (Pedersen 2011, 26), as building on the other people’s research may give better insight into complex areas.

3.3 Categorization

In order to analyse the material, Pedersen's definition of ECRs is used in this thesis (section 2.4.1). To find the ECRs, the necessary approach consisted in performing a textual analysis of the ST and the TT. The total number of 170 ECRs were found in the material and they are presented in the Table 4.3 and 4.4 in chapter 4 and in more detail in the Appendix A and B. Each ECR has been categorized according to its domain, i.e. to the semantic field or network that they belong to. According to Pedersen, the "domains affect how an ECR is rendered in a TT" (Pedersen 2011, 59), and it is therefore important to consider this in the analysis. The model for domain categories is also developed by (Pedersen 2011, 59) and is presented below:

- Weight and measurements
- Proper names
 - Personal names
 - Geographical names
 - Institutional names
 - Brand names
- Professional titles
- Food and beverages
- Literature
- Government
- Entertainment
- Education
- Sports
- Currency
- Technical material
- Other

An important part of the analysis was to gather the monocultural ECRs, as these are the ones that pose problems. Transcultural ECRs recognisable to both the SC and the TC have therefore been excluded. As discussed in section 2.4.1, the degree of transculturality may vary; and in some cases, it can be difficult to decide whether a reference is known in the TC or not. In example 3.1 below, *Sallafronten* works as an ECR to a battle during the Winter

War between Russia and Finland. The referent of this term may be known to people of other cultural backgrounds, but chances are that very few persons in the United States would have any knowledge of this battle. This ECR is considered a monocultural ECR in this study.

(3.1) **Sallafronten** i Finland

SALLA FRONT, FINLAND

(*Max Manus*, 00:01:18)

Another consideration was to exclude all text-internal ECRs. These references are constructed for the text (or series of texts) under consideration, and do not live independently. In example (3.2) the name of the institution in which Elling and Kjell Bjarne lived was created by Ingvar Ambjørnsen for the fictional universe of the series and does not exist anywhere in Norway.

(3.2) Nå blir det akkurat som på **Brøynes**, Elling

Now it will be just like at the **institution**, Elling.

(*Elling*, 00:01:18)

According to Pedersen's definition, these are not "prototypical ECRs" and do not limit the translator's choice of strategy (Pedersen 2011, 110). However, a text-internal ECR might become text-external when it is used outside of the text. If someone in another movie would have used the phrase "just like at Brøynes", referring to the scene in *Elling*, the reference would work as an allusion referring to Elling's universe as a cultural artefact in the culture.

However, this raises the question of which personal names to include in the study. *Max Manus* is a historical movie, and almost all the characters are based on real persons. In *Elling*, on the other hand, all the characters are invented and exist only in the fictional world. Moreover, the characters' names are repeated numerous times in both movies. If the proper names in *Max Manus* were to be included, this would probably skew the results drastically. Consequently, the ECRs that are names of characters in *Max Manus* are not included in the overall presentation of ECRs in this study. They are dealt with in a separate section.

3.3.1 Translation Strategies

A focus point of this study is to find out whether the monocultural ECRs in Norwegian movies have been rendered using domesticating or foreignizing strategies. Venuti's terms are

regarded as strategies used in literary translation theory, whereas Cintas consider them to be insufficient when dealing with AVT, as the “value of image tends to take presence over the world’. He suggests a more functional definition of *domestication* and *foreignization* in order to overcome the shortcomings” (Cintas 2004, 29).

Pedersen uses the terms target oriented and source-oriented strategies in his taxonomy for rendering ECRs. These terms have the same meaning as Venuti’s, and Pedersen’s taxonomy can therefore be used to operationalize the terms foreignization and domestication. Each ECR in this study is analysed and categorised within one of these sub-strategies (Pedersen 2011). The taxonomy is displayed in Figure 6 on the next page and explained in more detail below.

Retention

This strategy keeps the TT as close to the original as possible, and does little or no change to the ECR. In example 3.3, *Trondheim* is rendered in the TT precisely as it is in the ST. Retention can also be marked from the rest of the text in italics (marked retention), or adjusted to conventions in the TC, like in example 3.4.

(3.3) Til **Trondheim**

I’m going to **Trondheim** (Max Manus, 01:39:00)

(3.4) Ja, **Frank Åslid** fra Oslo kommune, ganske høyt opp i Oslo kommune faktisk.

We are going to be met by social worker **Frank Aasli**. (Elling, 00:05:00)

Specification

This strategy involves an explanation of the ST item in a way. This can either be by completion or by addition of some sort. In example 3.5, the name *Aker* in isolation may not be familiar to the TC audience.

(3.5) Sigurd er vår insider på **Aker**.

Sigurd is our insider at **Aker Wharf**. (Max Manus, 00:27:30)

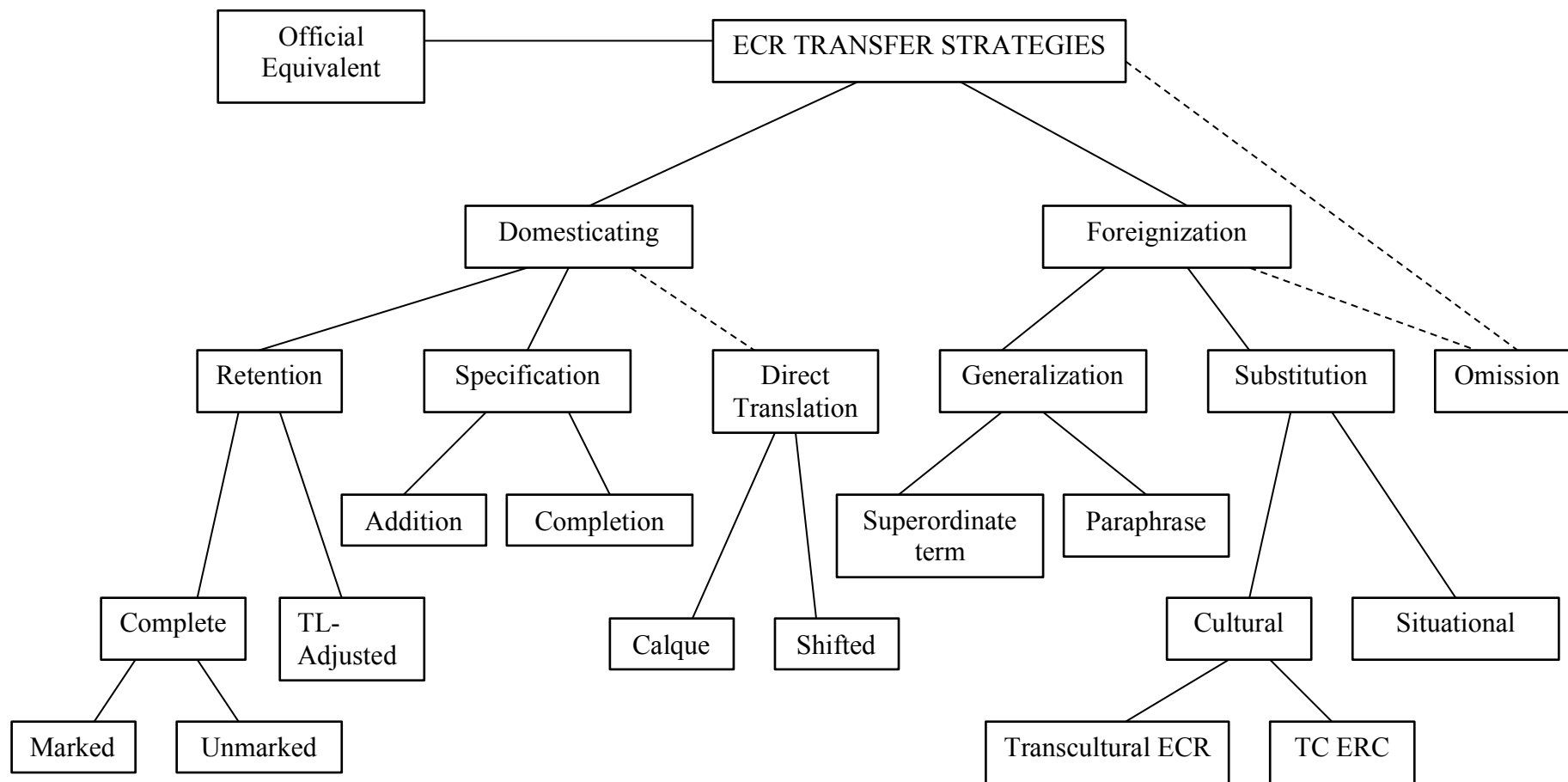


Figure 1. Taxonomy of ECR transfer strategies based on (Pedersen 2011, 75).

Direct translation

The ECR is translated word for word without taking meaning or connotations into account.

(3.6) – og **Krigskorset med to sverd**
and **War Cross with two swords**

(*Max Manus*, 01:49:00)

Generalization

A translator uses this strategy if a specific item in the ST is replaced by a more general one.

In example 3.7, the specific Norwegian newspaper *Dagbladet* is replaced by a superordinate term.

(3.7) Jeg tok med **Dagbladet**.
I brought you **the paper**.

(*Elling*, 01:21:20)

Substitution

This is when the translator replaces the SC referent with a corresponding TC referent, as illustrated in 3.8.

(3.8) Ta deg en **Paracet** og tørk spyet
Take some **aspirin** and clean up this vomit

(*Elling*, 01:20:53)

Omission

This strategy is used if the translator deletes the SC item all together from the subtitles.

(3.9) De ledet noen suksessfulle reid mot **Norskekysten**

You've led some successful raids.

(*Max Manus*, 00:19:07)

Official equivalent

The Government in example 3.10 is the official equivalent of *regjeringen*, since the Norwegian government has adopted this as the formal equivalent.

(3.10) **Regjeringa** har jo kuttet forsvaret

The Government gave up on our defence

(*Max Manus*, 00:04:44)

The categories are not mutually excluding. In the example below, *Second Lieutenant* and *Fenrik* are considered official equivalents. These equivalents are created by cultural substitution. The two terms are not the same, but corresponding titles of the same rank in the British and the Norwegian army (Pedersen 2011, 100).

(3.11) **Fenrik** Manus

Second Lieutenant Manus

(*Max Manus*, 00:18:28)

3.4 Limitations of the Study

This thesis is by no means exhaustive. It is based on two movies, so it is important to acknowledge that the findings cannot be used to make any general claims about how Norwegian movies are subtitled. There are many factors influencing the results of each film. The purpose of this study is rather to see if it is possible to discern any tendencies when it comes to how Norwegian ECRs are rendered in the English subtitles of *Elling* and *Max Manus*, and maybe to contribute in a small way to the broader picture.

The reader should bear in mind that although the study may show which strategies the translator has adopted when translating, it is difficult to make any firm assumptions about the translation choices. Even though some strategies are viewed as pulling the text towards the reader, this may not be a intended result of the chosen strategy. As discussed in section 5.3, many factors influence a translator's choice of translation. These may include on-screen time- and space-limitations or specific requirements from the employer.

4. Analysis

In this chapter, the result from the analysis of ECRs in *Elling* and *Max Manus* is presented. First, the overall findings in the two movies are discussed. Each ECR is classified according to Pedersen's taxonomy of transfer strategies and according to Venuti's foreignization and domesticating strategies. Then, some examples from each movie are selected and analysed in more detail.

4.1 Overall Findings

A total number of 170 ECRs were found in the material and analysed into Pedersen's taxonomy and illustrated in Table 4.1 below. 74 ECRs were found in *Elling* and 96 in *Max Manus*. The percentage is calculated for each strategy and makes it easy to compare the two movies, even though the number of ECRs is different.

Table Error! No text of specified style in document..1: The rendering of ECRs in *Elling* and *Max Manus* according to Pedersen's taxonomy.

	<i>Elling</i>		<i>Max Manus</i>	
	Numbers	Per cent	Numbers	Per cent
Retention	5	6.7	15	15.6
Specification	5	6.7	15	15.6
Direct translation	1	1.4	11	11.5
Generalization	13	17.6	14	14.6
Substitution	20	27	12	12.5
Omission	9	12.2	6	6.3
Official equivalent	21	28.4	23	23.9
Total	74	100.0	96	100.0

The table shows that the subtitlers of both movies employ all strategies but with different frequency. The official equivalent is preferred in most cases, but when it is not, the subtitler of *Elling* seem to favour substitution. The strategy is used in 27% of the transfers. In contrast, the subtitler of *Max Manus* seem to favour less drastic strategies and use both retention and specification in 15.6% of the cases.

The least common strategy in *Max Manus* is omission as it is only used in 6.3% of the cases. In *Elling*, on the other hand, 12.2% of the ECRs are omitted. The least used strategy in

Elling is direct translation and only one ECR is rendered in this way. In contrast, 11% of the ECRs in *Max Manus* are translated using this strategy.

As mentioned in chapter 3, personal names of characters in *Max Manus* are not included in this analysis. They are repeated in a significantly higher amount throughout the dialogue in contrast to the other ECRs and would therefore constitute an excessive part of the total number of ECRs. Personal names of characters in are either retained or omitted in both movies, and it do not seem to make a difference that they are extratextual in *Max Manus* and intratextual in *Elling*.

Furthermore, the first the three strategies (retention, specification and direct translation) are considered foreignizing and the next three strategies (generalization, substitution and omission) domesticating. This division makes it possible to distinguish the rendering of the ECRs within foreignizing and domesticating strategies. The official equivalent is not included as part of any strategy, since it is not considered a translation strategy. It is rather a “ready-made” solution the translator can choose to use or ignore (Pedersen 2011, 76). This division is illustrated in Table 4.2 below:

Table Error! No text of specified style in document..2: The rendering of ECRs in *Elling* and *Max Manus* according to foreignization and domestication strategies.

	<i>Elling</i>		<i>Max Manus</i>	
	Numbers	Per cent	Numbers	Per cent
Foreignized ECRs	11	14.9	41	42.7
Domesticated ECRs	42	56.7	32	33.4
Official equivalent	21	28.4	23	23.9
Total	74	100.0	96	100.0

The table show that the ECRs in *Elling* are clearly domesticated. Over half of the ECRs in the film are rendered within this strategy. In contrast, no strategy is clearly preferred in *Max Manus*. However, the translator has left the ECRs closer to the original TT and uses foreignizing strategies to render 43.2% of the ECRs and domesticating strategies in 32.6% of the cases.

4.1.1 Overall Findings in *Elling*

Table 4.3 show all ECRs found in *Elling*. Each ECR is counted once and the total number of occurrences of the ECR in the text is put in parenthesis.

Table 4.4: Transfer strategies used in *Max Manus*.

Retention	Specification	Literal translation	Generalization	Substitution	Omission	Official Equivalent	
Arvika Drøbak Eivindvik Grini Grønland Hovseter Jens Book-Jenssen London Narvik Quisling Sogn Trondheim Trøndelag Ullevål (x2)	Aker (Aker Warf) den norske motstandsbevegelsen (the Norwegian resistance movement during the war) Donau (x8) (The Donau) Grand (Grand Hotel) Grini (Grini Prison Camp) Gestapo (x2) (The Gestapo) London (their=the Government and the King)	Akershus festning (Akershus Fortress) Colosseum Kino (Colosseum Cinema) Gestaposjefen (x2) (the Gestapo chief) Krigskorset med to sverd (x2)(War Cross with two swords/ Cross of War) Oslo havn (x2) (Oslo Harbour) Sallafronten (SALLA FRONT) Ullevål Sykehus (Ullevål hospital) Vi vil oss et land (We Want Our Country)	9. april (x2) (the invasion) Aker (shipyard) Grensegata (x2) (the border) gangsjeff (head of his unit) Gestapistene (The Gestapo) Gestapokontroll (the Gestapo came in) Hirden (his entire retinue) NS (Nazi Party) Plasskafeen (a café) Slottet (the Palace) Victoria Terrasse (x2)(police headquarters)	15 mil (150 km) Arbeidstjenesten (x2) (the Employment Office/ a National Work Service) Arvika (the border) baker Andersen (Andersen Bakers) gravøl (wake) kaffebrød (pastry) kringle (x4) (pretzel) universitetet (college)	Jens Book-Jenssen Kongsvinger London Norskekysten ribbe rådhuset	Fenrik (x4) Second Lieutenant høyrepolitikeren (conservative politician) internatskole (boarding school) Justisminister (Minister of Justice) Kaptein (x2) Captain Kompaniet (company) Kongen (x2) (the king) Korporal (x4) Corporal Ministeren (the Minister) Politi major (x2) (police major) Regjeringen (x4) The Government	
Total	14 (15)	7(15)	8(11)	12(14)	8(12)	6	11(23)

The Norwegian ECRs are put in bold the English rendering is provided also provided in parenthesis. Variations of the same ECR are only counted once, like for example *The Norwegian Labour Party* that is both referred to as *Det norske arbeiderpartiet* and with the abbreviation *AP* in the dialogue.

The subtitler seems to favour generalization and substitution, and all kinds of ECRs are translated using this strategies. Items that are specified are for example the names of the writer *Ulf Lundell* and the Norwegian state radio station *NRK P1*. The retained items are most frequently currency. The omitted items do not belong to one specific domain. A common feature is that these items are repeated some times during the movie and are found in sentences with outer ECRs.

The official equivalent is the most frequent rendering strategy in the cases where one exists. However, when it comes to *Oslo kommune* the official equivalent is never chosen. Instead, the ECR is rendered in three different ways: twice by substitution and once by generalization. The translator may have chosen to use these strategies to convey a certain meaning of *Oslo kommune* in each situation. These considerations are discussed in section 4.2.2.

The subtitler of *Elling* seems to be in favour of domesticating the movie and to make the ECRs acceptable for the target audience. However, this means that a lot of the culture is stripped from the movie.

4.1.2 Overall Findings in *Max Manus*

There are some differences between the two films. In *Max Manus* there is a bigger number of ECRs, and a considerable higher amount is retained. These are mostly geographical names and personal names.

The official equivalent seems to be used in most cases where one exists. All military ranks are for example translated using the official equivalent. A few examples find themselves between two translation strategies. These are compound words, such as *Oslo havn* and *Colloseum Kino*. In the subtitles, One part of the word is retained, while the other is translated. It is a foreignization strategy, but still moving the text a little bit towards the reader in a more natural way.

Table 4.4: Transfer strategies used in *Max Manus*.

Retention	Specification	Literal translation	Generalization	Substitution	Omission	Official Equivalent	
Arvika Drøbak Eivindvik Grini Grønland Hovseter Jens Book-Jenssen London Narvik Quisling Sogn Trondheim Trøndelag Ullevål (x2)	Aker (Aker Warf) den norske motstandsbevegelsen (the Norwegian resistance movement during the war) Donau (x8) (The Donau) Grand (Grand Hotel) Grini (Grini Prison Camp) Gestapo (x2) (The Gestapo) London (their=the Government and the King)	Akershus festning (Akershus Fortress) Colosseum Kino (Colosseum Cinema) Gestaposjefen (x2) (the Gestapo chief) Krigskorset med to sverd (x2)(War Cross with two swords/ Cross of War) Oslo havn (x2) (Oslo Harbour) Sallafronten (SALLA FRONT) Ullevål Sykehus (Ullevål hospital) Vi vil oss et land (We Want Our Country)	9. april (x2) (the invasion) Aker (shipyard) Grensegata (x2) (the border) gangsjeff (head of his unit) Gestapistene (The Gestapo) Gestapokontroll (the Gestapo came in) Hirden (his entire retinue) NS (Nazi Party) Plasskafeen (a café) Slottet (the Palace) Victoria Terrasse (x2)(police headquarters)	15 mil (150 km) Arbeidstjenesten (x2) (the Employment Office/ a National Work Service) Arvika (the border) baker Andersen (Andersen Bakers) gravøl (wake) kaffebrød (pastry) kringle (x4) (pretzel) universitetet (college)	Jens Book-Jenssen Kongsvinger London Norskekysten ribbe rådhuset	Fenrik (x4) Second Lieutenant høyrepolitikeren (conservative politician) internatskole (boarding school) Justisminister (Minister of Justice) Kaptein (x2) Captain Kompaniet (company) Kongen (x2) (the king) Korporal (x4) Corporal Ministeren (the Minister) Politi major (x2) (police major) Regjeringen (x4) The Government	
Total	14 (15)	7(15)	8(11)	12(14)	8(12)	6	11(23)

Similarly to the translation of *Elling*, the items that are omitted do not fall into just one category, but belongs to a number of different domains. The reason why the translator has chosen not to translated them may be because they are repeated in the dialogue, or just not essential to the plot.

4.2 Specific Analysis of *Elling*

This part of the analysis takes a specific look at some examples from *Elling*. First, by looking at the examples that leave the text by it own and then, the examples that draw the text towards the reader.

4.2.1 Foreignization Examples

Currency and the references to *Oslo*, the capital of Norway, are the element retained in *Elling*. In example 4.1, the translator has rendered *130 kroner* in the TT just as in the ST. The target audience may not know how much money this is referring to, but the translator must have wanted to preserve the foreign element. In regard to currency, there is a difference between the Norwegian and English subtitles. The abbreviation *kr* is used in the Norwegian subtitles while in the English the currency is written out. This could be a type of specification, as the English viewer is not as familiar to the abbreviation as the Norwegian viewer.

(4.1) Det blir **130 kroner** stykk [It will be 130 kroner each]

130 kroner each.

(*Elling* 00:05:12)

(4.2) ...på selveste **Majorstuen** i **Oslo**.

In the center of **Oslo**!

(*Elling* 00:04:07)

Oslo is the capital of Norway, and some may argue that this is a transcultural reference. However, many people, especially outside of Europe, may not know where *Oslo* is located. Even fewer are familiar with the area *Majorstuen*, a central district in Oslo. In example 4.2, *Majorstuen* is domesticated (generalized) while *Oslo* is foreignized (retained).

Example 4.3 is interesting because the translator is using specification to explain a visual item in the movie. Elling and Kjell Bjarne are decorating their new apartment, and place a picture of the former Norwegian Prime Minister for the Labour Party,

Gro Harlem Brundtland, over their kitchen table. The picture is central in the movie frame and the translator explains in the subtitles who the person in the picture is:

(4.3) NORWAYS FORMER PRIME MINISTER

(*Elling* 00:12:29)

Gro Harlem Brundtland is an important figure in the story about Elling. He is a big fan of the Norwegian Labour Party and the labour movement in general. This particular prime minister is some sort of fascination for him and he is read books about her several times during the movie. It is therefore an important ECR in the movie. However, the translator does not think that the audience recognize the person on the picture and therefore provide the explanation.

In example 4.4, Elling sits and reads a book about Gro Harlem Brundtland and Kjell Bjarne comments that he is not suppose to read it all the time. The book is illustrated with the same image of Brundtland on the cover as the picture mentioned earlier. In this case the translator specifies who the book is about instead of just writing *Gro-boka*. However, the target viewer may not know who Gro Harlem Brundtland is, and especially that she part of the Labour Party. Consequently, the viewer may not understand why Elling gets so mad later in the movie when someone criticize the Norwegian Labour Party.

(4.4) Frank har sagt du ikke skal lese så mye i den **Gro-boka** jo, Elling.

Frank told you not to constantly read **that book about**
Gro Harlem Brundtland.

(*Elling* 00:37:55)

4.2.2 Domesticating Examples

Most of the examples in *Elling* are leaving the audience alone and moving the ST towards them. In example 4.5, the game *Ludo* is sold as *Parcheesi* in North America. Therefore, the translator choses to use this equivalent in the translation.

(4.5) Skal vi spille **Ludo** så du kommer i bedre humør?

How about a game of **Parcheesi** to get you in a better mood?

(*Elling* 00:39:55)

Elling contains a lot of references to food, and all of these are translated by cultural substitution. In other words, the translator has tried to find a similar food item in the TC to replace the specific reference to a dish in the movie. Even in the cases where food is translated by an official equivalent, the equivalent is created through cultural substitution.

The example 4.5, *sauerkraut* is defined as the official equivalent to *surkål*. These two terms refer to similar items in the real world. *Sauerkraut* is an important food tradition in Europe, and it is usually served as a side dish to meat. Norwegian *surkål* is similar in this respect, but differ when it comes to the connotations associated to it. A lot of people in Norway associate *surkål* with traditional dishes and Christmas. Young people rarely eat *surkål*, and might associate it with food their grandparents eat. Furthermore, *sauerkraut* is usually sold on glass jars while *surkål* is packed in bags inside paper packages. These packages are central in the movie *Elling*, since Elling is hiding his poems inside these packages and returning them to the shop. In this way, he hopes his poems will spread and that he will become famous. For this reason, he calls himself *The Sauerkraut Poet*.

(4.6) Ingen er klar over det, men byen har fått en ny poet: **surkål-poeten**.

No one knows it yet, but the city has a new poet: **The Sauerkraut Poet**.

(*Elling* 01:04:10)

Food is an important aspect of the characters in *Elling*. The dishes Elling and Kjell Bjarne eat are supposed to describe the characters and the substitution of these food items makes the ECR lose its significance.

(4.7) Du sa de hadde **flesk og duppe** her!

You said they had **pork and gravy**.

(*Elling* 00:21:58)

(4.8) Ble det **Joika** eller **Snurring**?

What kind of **stew** did you get?

(*Elling* 00:54:58)

In example 4.7, *flesk og duppe* is one of the most popular traditional Norwegian dishes. It consists of bacon and a thick white sauce together with potatoes. The cultural significance this dish has for the SC is lost in the substitution in the translation.

Moreover, example 4.8 contains some of the oldest and best-known ready-made foods in Norway. *Joikakaker* and *Snurring* are both traditional dishes sold on hermetic cans.

Joikakaker are meatballs in brown soup, while *Snurring* is pork with peas and rice. Most Norwegians have certain connotations associated with these dishes, and especially *Snurring* is considered to be food to bring on hikes. The reason is because it is very heavy and satisfying. *Snurring* can be eaten straight from the can on a toast or heated for dinner. The translator has chosen to render the two dishes with a similar dish in the TC, but even though it is similar it still does not have the same connotations.

Food is not the only thing substituted in *Elling*. In example 4.9, the railway operating company, *Norges Statsbaner* or “Norwegian state railways”, is substituted by *the Government*. This is a situational substitution, as the translator finds another ECR that is more accessible to the target audience in the specific situation. The SC audience, on the other hand, is familiar with the partial governmental ownership of *NSB*. Other than that, *NSB* has nothing else in connection with *Oslo kommune*. It is easier to understand the comical aspect of Elling’s question when *NSB* is translated to *the Government* for the audience that is not familiar with the monocultural ECR. However, part of the translation is omitted and the connection Elling makes between *NSB* and *Oslo kommune* [Oslo municipality] seems a lot more intricate in the ST than in the TT, and shows the complicated reasoning in Elling’s mind. As a result, the target audience loses an important characterization of Elling.

(4.9) Du som jobber i **NSB**, du kjenner kanskje folk som jobber i Oslo kommune du også. Er det greie folk vil du si?

You work for **the government** too. Are you generally nice people?

(*Elling* 00:11:17)

The last ECR that will be discussed in this section is *Oslo kommune*. This element has the biggest range of translating solutions in the material. Even though the official equivalent is used in most rendering of the ECR, the official equivalent of *kommune* is never used in *Elling*. *Kommune* is the local political and administrative unit in Norway and is usually translated as *municipality*. Below are three different ways that the translator has rendered *Oslo kommune* in the material:

(4.10) Vi skal ut og ete med **Oslo kommune**!

The county is buying us dinner.

(*Elling* 00:08:44)

(4.11) Dette er Frank Åslid fra **Oslo kommune**

This is **social worker** Frank Aasli.

(*Elling* 00:10:05)

(4.12) Jeg er ikke av typen som kryper for **Oslo kommune**.

I won't let **the welfare state** stop me.

(*Elling* 01:06:03)

In the first example, 4.10, the translation is actually wrong. The strategy used by the translator is a cultural substitution by a SC ECR. However, *The county* is the official equivalent of *fylkeskommune*, which is the political and administrative unit on a more regional level than *kommune*. This might be a confusion made by the translator, as Oslo is both a *municipality* and a *county*. In *Elling*, the reference is to the local government and *county* is therefore not the correct equivalence.

In example 4.11, *Oslo kommune* is translated to *social worker*. This is a situational substitution so the target audience will understand that Frank Åslid is a social worker. As part of the welfare state, the municipalities in Norway are required to care for their inhabitants and provide the social care. Frank Åslid, the social worker, is employed by *Oslo kommune*. The translator has chosen to substitute the ECR to make the dialogue understandable in the TC. People outside of Scandinavia would probably not associate municipalities with the same social workers as Norwegian do.

Oslo kommune is translated to *the welfare state* in example 4.12 for the same reason. This is a generalization, since *Oslo kommune* is part of *the welfare state*. The translator found it important to stress this meaning of *Oslo kommune* in this subtitle, so that the ST would be understandable in the SC.

4.3 Specific Analysis of *Max Manus*

In *Max Manus* the use of transfer strategies is a lot more varied than in *Elling*. This section studies some examples in more detail.

4.3.1 Foreignization Examples

The most common foreignized ECR domain in *Max Manus* is proper names. In example 4.13 and 4.14, names of institutions are retained and given a specification by the translator. This addition is providing the viewer necessary information about what kind of institution this is. The verbosity of this strategy makes the English subtitles longer than the actual dialogue. The

translator probably thought it was important to retain the personal names of the institutions, or else the strategy would not have been chosen.

(4.13) <i>Sigurd er vår insider på **Aker**. Han setter limpets på to andre skip.</i>

Sigurd is our insider at **Aker Wharf**. He will attach limpets to two other ships
in the docks. (Max Manus 00:27:30)

(4.14) Han er på **Grini**.

He's at **Grini Prison Camp**. (Max Manus 00:21:05)

The choice of strategy is interesting as neither of these institutions are mentioned later in the dialogue and retained. *Grini* is only mentioned one time earlier in the movie where it is written on a note that Max Manus receives while he is recovering at Ullevål hospital. *Aker* is a big part of the plot later, as most of the sabotage against the Germans takes place there, but is translated to *shipyard* the second time it is mentioned.

In example 4.15 and 4.16, the translator has added the definite article *the* when rendering the name of the Nazi Germany security police, *the Gestapo*, and of the big German cargo ship *the Donau*. The last is known for transporting Jews from Norway to Poland during World War II, and for being sunken by Max Manus and his band of saboteurs.

(4.15) Hvis **Gestapo** får tak i én i nettverket ditt, finner de deg.

The Gestapo can find you through one member of your network.

(Max Manus 00:10:16)

(4.16) Du kan ikke ta **Donau** aleine.

- You can't take **the Donau** alone!

(Max Manus 01:20:20)

The definite article is used before names of organisations, and this is probably why the translator has added it to the translation of *Gestapo*. All ship names, on the other hand, do not have to include the definite article. The translator may have used the article as an addition to stress the importance of the name.

The next example is the retention of a personal name but without any further explanation. *Jens Book-Jensen* is a famous Norwegian singer, especially popular in the years before, during and after World War II. However, for viewers from other countries than Norway, this ECR is not familiar. The reason why the translator in this case has decided to

retain the name might be because of the co-text. In the scene where *Jens Book-Jensen* is mentioned, Max Manus and his friends listen to Jango Reinhart, a transcultural ECR, and discuss how the Nazis consider jazz ideologically incorrect. In relation to this Edvard Tallaksen, one of Max's friends, jokes with *Jens Book-Jenssen* and if he should be regarded as politically correct.

(4.17) Er **Jens Book-Jenssen** så ideologisk korrekt?

Is **Jens Book-Jenssen** ideologically correct? (Max Manus 00:08:01)

The co-text might provide the context for the viewer to understand what the ECR is referring to. The audience may connect the name *Jens Book-Jenssen* to a singer. However, the co-text does not provide information about what kind of singer this is, what genre he sings in, and how popular he is. In other words, a lot of connotations are lost in the TT.

Another interesting example of foreignization is illustrated in example 4.18 below. This ECR is from a scene where the Nazi security police came home to Max Manus to arrest him. In his apartment they find illegal newspapers that Max and his friends have written. The head of the security police then confront Max with what he has written:

(4.18) **Vi vil oss et land.** Hva slags land er det, Max Manus?

We Want Our Country? What kind of a country is that, Max Manus?

(Max Manus 00:11:11)

Vi vil oss et land refers to the title of the first anti Nazi illegal newspaper created by Max and other Norwegian independence fighters. The phrase is from a poem by Per Sivle, a Norwegian poet significant in the movement fighting for Norwegian independence from Sweden in the late 19th century. The phrase was referring to Norwegian independence from Sweden, but the independence fighters during World War II transferred the meaning to the new context. The ECR is rendered with direct translation, and most of its meaning therefore gets lost. The capitalisation of the first letters in the phrase marks the translation as a title. This example can therefore be seen as a more a domesticated example rather than foreignizing. Pedersen classifies direct translation as the least foreignizing strategy and some cases where this strategy is used might therefore count as domesticating.

4.3.2 Domesticating Examples

As mentioned in the previous section, the name of the German security police *Gestapo* is foreignized in the English subtitles. However, the link between *Gestapo* and their headquarters is never established in the subtitles.

(4.19) Jeg har ordre om å flytte ham til **Victoria Terrasse** øyeblikkelig

I have orders to bring him to **police headquarters** immediately.

(Max Manus 00:14:34)

Victoria Terrasse is a building located in the centre of Oslo. It was taken over by the *Gestapo* during the war and used as headquarters. It was not the headquarters of the normal Norwegian police. Furthermore, the translator never makes the link from *Gestapo* to police. For the viewer that is not familiar with *Gestapo* the translation strategies the subtitler uses may not be of any help.

(4.20) Den har vært i jorda siden **9. april**, så nyt den.

This bottle has been buried since **the invasion**. You'd better enjoy it!

(Max Manus 01:39:41)

The date, April 9, is irrelevant without its cultural reference. Norwegians relate it to the day the Germans invaded Norway. This date is monocultural, as people outside of Norway probably do not connect it to the German invasion. Most Norwegians learn this date in school, and it is therefore a part of the encyclopaedic knowledge in the SC. It might be that the translator believes that *Gestapo* is familiar in the TC, but not specific dates related to the war in Norway. Here the translator felt the need to explain the ECR in a paraphrase.

In the next example (4.21), the ECR might not seem to be monocultural. At first glance, *London* seems to be a transcultural ECR. But in this case, *London* does not refer to the capital of England, but the Norwegian government during World War II. This was where the Norwegian King and the Government lived during the war and from where it kept in contact with the independence fighters in Norway. In the example, “contact with London” means that Jens Christian Hauge had been in contact with the Norwegian government in London.

(4.21) <i>En av dem som hadde forbindelse med **London** var Jens Christian Hauge.</i>

Jens Christian Hauge was in contact with **London**. (Max Manus 00:09:08)

The next example (4.22) is from a note attached to a bottle of wine Max Manus is supposed to bring to a Christmas dinner at his friend's house. What makes this interesting is that the translator has omitted an entire sentence in the subtitles. The reason is probably to avoid the ECR included in the sentence. *Ribbe* is a traditional Norwegian Christmas dish and is eaten by a big part of the Norwegian population on Christmas Eve or in the Christmas period. The dish consists of pork ribs that are roasted in the oven and is often served with sausages and sauerkraut. The ECR is important for the SC viewer as it stresses the effort that Max's friends have gone through to make a lovely Christmas party. It was hard to get hold on *ribbe* during the war, as it was a general shortage of food.

However, there is no easy way to render *ribbe* into English and still preserve the cultural connotations. For this reason the translator has omitted the whole sentence. This would also make the subtitles shorter. Reading uppercase is more difficult, and the translator might also have considered the other sentences more important for the viewer. Pedersen do not consider omission as a direct domesticating strategy (see Figure 6), but example 4.22 is a clear case of where a cultural element is removed because it is too difficult to translate within the limitations of subtitling. It can therefore be said that the cultural element is removed for the sake of the target audience and a way of domesticating the subtitles.

(4.22)	Fest hos Egil og Vesla	PARTY AT EGIL'S AND VESLA'S
	Roy har skaffet ribbe	BRING THIS! KOLBEIN
	Ta med denne!	
	Kolbein (non-verbal)	

(Max Manus 01:17:29)

5. Discussion

In this chapter, the results of this study are discussed in relation to previous finding on the subtitling of ECRs. The results of this study correspond with those of Nedergaard-Larsen (1993), Gottlieb (2009) and Hagman (2007). Fewer ECRs are preserved in the subtitles than in the original. Both Gottlieb and Hagman revealed a ‘complex pattern’ of how ECRs are translated (Gottlieb 2009, 40). Gottlieb also points out that there is a difference between the movies he analysis, where some are clearly more foreignized and other more domesticated. The results show a difference in the strategies used in the two movies. The ECRs in *Elling* leave the viewer in a higher degree alone and move the movie towards the TC, while the ECRs in *Max Manus* are in a higher degree preserved as in the SC. This makes it impossible to say anything about whether English subtitles of Norwegian movies are generally more foreignized or domesticated. Further studies should include a more movies in the material to be able to answer this question.

The difference between the two movies may be related to the genre. It is easier to “transport” the text towards the reader in a fictional story as *Elling*. A biographical movie like *Max Manus* is more depended on the time and place and is not as easily removed from this. The translator may also bear in mind that the target audience of *Max Manus* have more knowledge or interest in the foreign setting in the movie. People watching the movie might already be interested in history and have some knowledge of the Second World War in Europe.

Another point to consider is that the plot in *Elling* builds around a very central culture specific concept. The part of the Norwegian welfare state and its connection to the plot in *Elling* is not easy to understand for the target audience. Especially in the US, the concept of the welfare state is unfamiliar. Therefore, the translator has to find other ways of transferring the meaning of central ECRs in *Elling* to this target audience.

The results may also be seen in light of Herseth’s division between foreignization and exoticization strategies. The terms refer to how much attention the translation of ECRs cause in the TT. If these terms were applied to the analysis a considerable amount of ECR rendering would have been considered exoticizing. For example, ECRs that that are seen as foreignized in this study are mostly repeated throughout the text and would therefore be considered to cause little disruption. According to Herseth these ECRs should be defined as exoticizing as they preserve the exotic feel in the movie, without making it too exotic

(Herseth 2017, 80). The target audience want to understand the dialogue but still feel that they are watching a movie from another culture than their own.

In comparison to Pedersen, the study shows that there are some differences in how ECRs are rendered from Norwegian to English, or from a less dominant language, then from a dominant one. One of the norms Pedersen formulated states that 'retention is normally used for rendering all kinds of ECRs' (Pedersen 2011, 194). The results from this thesis show that only personal names, geographical names and currency are the domains that are usually retained. This means that fewer ECR domains are retained from Norwegian to English.

The analysis shows that DTS and Pedersen's (2011) taxonomy are effective methods in the study of ECRs in subtitles. The concept of extralinguistic cultural references (ECRs) is clearly operationalized and easy to apply to the material. A challenge faced in the analysis was to divide each ECR according to the transfer strategies. This was especially difficult when a translation consisted of several strategies. This indicates that the taxonomy needs further development and further sub-strategies needs to be added in the future.

6. Conclusion

6.1 The Findings

The main objective of this thesis was to investigate how Norwegian ECRs are rendered in the two films *Elling* and *Max Manus*. To sum up, the study shows that there is no preferred method to the rendering of monocultural ECRs in English subtitles. The subtitlers use all rendering strategies to some extent and seem to take different considerations into account when deciding on what strategy to use. However, certain strategies are more common when it comes to certain domains of ECRs. For example, personal names and currency is usually retained without any changes.

If an ECR has an official equivalent, this is the preferred method to render it in the subtitles of both movies. However, if there is no official equivalent, the frequency of the different translation strategies differs between the two movies. In *Elling*, 27% of the ECRs are substituted and 17.6% are generalized. In *Max Manus*, on the other hand, the most frequent strategies are retention and specification. Both used in 15.6% of the cases.

Furthermore, this indicates that there is a tendency to domesticate the subtitles in *Elling*, while there is a tendency to foreignize the subtitles in *Max Manus*. This contrast between the two movies may be caused by the genre or how central specific ECRs are in the movie. In *Elling*, the translator seems to prioritize the target audience understanding of the plot and in less extent preserve the foreign elements in the movie. In contrast, the foreign feel is mostly preserved in the subtitles of *Max Manus*. In other words, *Elling* might be considered a more “Norwegian” film and the SC elements might be more central, and therefore more difficult to translate to the TC.

In conclusion, this study shows the importance of looking at translation from a both linguistic and cultural view and the DTS paradigm makes this possible. When analysing ECRs it becomes very clear that “translation is not just about texts: nor is it only about cultures and power. It is about the relation of the one to the other” (Cintas 2004, 32).

6.2 Further Research

The results of this study show that subtitlers prefer very different transfer strategies in the two movies. Further research should analyse a greater amount of movies to find out whether the strategies in the two movies are genre specific or more general. These studies should also

include material from a larger timespan to see if there is a difference in strategies preferred at different times.

As the field of AVT is expanding, the research of ECRs should be conducted on other forms of AVT as well. This could for instance be on the subtitles of Norwegian video games, like *Draugen*. Studies like this would give further insight on how culture is transferred in AVT.

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Appendix A: Extralinguistic Cultural References in *Elling*

Weight and measures

Time	Dialogue	Subtitles
01:13:09	Du veier 109 kg , Kjell Bjarne.	You weigh 240 pounds , Kjell Bjarne!
01:19:47	Nesten fem kilo, Elling.	Over ten pounds , Elling.
01:20:05	Nesten fem kilo!	Over ten pounds!

Proper names

Personal names

-

Geographical names

Time	Dialogue	Subtitles
00:03:14	- Hva med ho du pulte på motorsykkel gjennom Drammen a?	-The chick you fucked on a motorbike?
00:04:07	...på selveste Majorstuen i Oslo .	In the center of Oslo!
00:04:50	Kjell Bjarne og jeg vi skal til Oslo selvfølgelig	Kjell Bjarne and I are of course going to Oslo .
00:04:56	Vi skal raskeste vei til Oslo .	The quickest way to Oslo .
00:05:15	Sist mor og jeg tok toget til Larvik kostet det 25	It cost 25 kroner when mother and I took the train.
00:56:50	Elling og Kjell Bjarne, Majorstuens nye nødteam.	Elling and Kjell Bjarne. Oslo's new rescue team.
01:21:40	Jeg måtte brøle av lykke da jeg leste i avisen om Kåre Svingen og om diktet på surkålpakken han hadde kjøpt på Prix på Majorstuen .	I was overjoyed when I read in the paper about Kaare Svingen - and the pack of sauerkraut he had bought downtown .

Institutional names

Time	Dialogue	Subtitles
00:02:35	Jobbet som 2. styrmann på SS Norway .	I was third mate on a cruise ship .
00:04:01	- og inn i vår egen trygdeleilighet .	- to give Kjell Bjarne and me our own welfare apartment .
00:05:06	Du som jobber i NSB , du kjenner kanskje folk som jobber i Oslo kommune du også. Er det greie folk vil du si?	You work for the government too. Are you generally nice people?
01:08:13	I kveld skal jeg vandre ved havet som en norsk Lundell , i en av hans edru faser.	Tonight I'm going to walk long the shore like a sober Ulf Lundell .

01:08:43	Kan jeg få se vognkort og førerkort?	License and registration , please.
01:21:40	Jeg måtte brøle av lykke da jeg leste i avisen om Kåre Svingen og om diktet på surkålpakken han hadde kjøpt på Prix på Majorstuen.	I was overjoyed when I read in the paper about Kaare Svingen - and the pack of sauerkraut he had bought downtown.

Brand names

Time	Dialogue	Subtitles
01:12:14	Byggmakker.	The lumberyard!
01:20:53	Ta deg en Paracet , også tørker du spyet her.	Take some aspirin and clean up this vomit.

Professional titles

Time	Dialogue	Subtitles
00:02:35	Jobbet som 2. styrmann på SS Norway.	I was third mate on a cruise ship.

Food and beverages

Time	Dialogue	Subtitles
00:06:14	Har de pølser her?	-Do they have hot dogs here?
00:20:05	Her om dagen hadde dem flesk og duppe .	The other day they had pork and gravy .
00:21:09	Håper de har masse sprøstekt flesk .	I hope they have lots of pork .
00:21:12	Flesk og tjukk duppe .	And gravy .
00:21:46	Dem har ikke flesk og duppe !	They don't have pork and gravy !
00:21:53	Faen, har du ikke flesk og duppe a?	Don't you have pork and gravy ?
00:21:57	Nei, dagens det er brun lapskaus det.	Today's special is stew .
00:21:58	Du sa de hadde flesk og duppe her!	You said they had pork and gravy .
00:22:05	Jeg var totalt innstilt på flesk og duppe nå!	I had my mind totally set on pork and gravy !
00:25:51	Det er flesk og duppe her på fredager.	Pork and gravy every Friday.
00:44:08	En Solo .	An orange soda , please.
00:47:24	To Pølser , og to lomper med sennep, takk.	Two hot dogs with mustard, please
00:50:04	Er det din pølse ?	- Is that your hot dog ?
00:50:37	Hjemmelaget karamellpudding .	Some sort of homemade pudding .
00:51:48	Har vi noen surkålpakker ?	Do we have any more sauerkraut ?
00:51:58	Skulle du ha surkål ?	-You want sauerkraut ?
00:52:04	Tar med noe sviskekompott også jeg.	I'll get some stewed prunes , too.
00:54:58	Ble det Joika eller Snurring , Kjell Bjarne?	What kind of stew did you get?
01:04:00	Kanskje 2003 er et bedre surkållår .	-Maybe 2003 is a better vintage .
01:04:10	Ingen er klar over det, men byen har fått en ny poet: surkål-poeten .	No one knows it yet, but the city has a new poet: The Sauerkraut Poet .
01:21:20	La du merke til surkål-poeten ?	Notice " The Sauerkraut Poet "?

01:21:44	Jeg måtte brøle av lykke da jeg leste i avisen om Kåre Svingen og om diktet på surkålpakken han hadde kjøpt på Prix på Majorstuen.	I was overjoyed when I read in the paper about Kaare Svingen - and the pack of sauerkraut he had bought downtown.
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Literature

Time	Dialogue	Subtitles
00:37:55	Frank har sagt du ikke skal lese så mye i den Gro-boka jo, Elling.	Frank told you not to constantly read that book about Gro Harlem Brundtland .

Government

Time	Dialogue	Subtitles
00:01:17	Det er selvfølgelig storsinnet av den norske stat å stille lokaler til rådighet.	It is generous of the Norwegian government to supply a place -
00:03:53	Og etter to år har den norske stat bestemt at Kjell Bjarne og jeg skal flytte ut av Brøyne -	And after two years the Norwegian government decided -
00:05:00	Ja, Frank Åslid fra Oslo kommune , ganske høyt opp i Oslo kommune faktisk.	We are going to be met by social worker Frank Aasli.
00:05:06	Du som jobber i NSB, du kjenner kanskje folk som jobber i Oslo kommune du også.	You work for the government too.
00:06:08	Fra Oslo kommune ?	
00:06:31	Du er fra Oslo kommune ?	-And you are a social worker ?
00:08:38	Slapp av, Oslo kommune spanderer.	On the county's dime.
00:08:44	Vi skal ut og ete med Oslo kommune !	The county is buying us dinner.
00:10:05	Dette er Frank Åslid fra Oslo kommune .	This is social worker Frank Aasli.
00:12:29	Picture of Gro Harlem Brundtland (non-verbal)	NORWAYS FORMER PRIME MINISTER
00:12:47	Det norske arbeiderpartiet hadde aldri nådd sin posisjon, dersom de ikke hadde hatt et våkent blikk for hva som var viktig og hva som ikke var viktig.	The Norwegian Labor Party was an excellent judge of right and wrong
00:49:32	Var dette en venn jeg hadde fått uten hjelp fra den norske stat ?	- without any help from the Norwegian government ?
01:06:03	Jeg er ikke av typen som kryper for Oslo kommune .	I won't let the welfare state stop me.
01:06:14	Så skal den kommunerotta bestemme hva jeg skal gjøre og ikke gjøre.	Does that welfare rat get to decide what I can and cannot do?
01:11:47	Jeg mener det er Arbeiderpartiet får ta på seg skylda for dette.	I think the Labor Party is to blame.
01:11:56	Vi blander ikke AP i dette. AP har ingenting med det å gjøre.	Hold your horses. Nobody blames the Labor Party for this.
01:12:02	De hadde regjeringa og kongen ...	But they were the ruling party .
01:12:29	Tilsynelatende sosialdemokratiske arbeidere fra AP .	Social democratic laborers from the Labor Party ?

Entertainment

Time	Dialogue	Subtitles
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01:21:20	Så du jeg tok med Dagbladet ?	I brought you the paper .
00:11:17	Det finnes bare en kanal: NRK P1	There is only one station: The Norwegian state station .
00:39:55	Skal vi spille Ludo så du kommer i bedre humør?	How about a game of Parcheesi to get you in a better mood?
01:01:29	Han vil ikke spille Ludo engang.	Won't even play Parcheesi .

Education

Time	Dialogue	Subtitles
01:11:30	På heimstادلæra .	Home economics .
01:11:43	Jeg gikk på spesialscole .	I went to a special school .

Sports

-

Currency

Time	Dialogue	Subtitles
00:05:12	Det blir 130 kroner stykk	130 kroner each.
00:05:12	130 kr! ?	
00:05:15	Sist mor og jeg tok toget til Larvik kostet det 25 .	It cost 25 kroner when mother and I took the train.
00:17:32	4000 kroner!	Four thousand kroner!
00:18:01	Gå ut? Hvor? Med 4000 minus på kontoen?	Where, with minus 4000 kroner ?

Technical material

-

Other

-

Appendix B: Extralinguistic Cultural References in *Max Manus*

Weight and measures

Time	Dialogue	Subtitles
00:03:37	Russerne kom aldri lenger enn 15 mil inn i Finland.	The Russians only got 150 km into Finland.

Proper names

Personal names

	Dialogue	Subtitles
00:07:26	Tenk hvis taket ramlet ned når Quisling holdt møte for hirden der.	Imagine if we could collapse the roof on Quisling and his entire retinue.
00:42:59	Donau frakter fanger, soldater og våpen hver dag.	The Donau carries soldiers and weapons.
01:16:33	Kanskje du er en av dem jeg skal ta livet av når vi senker Donau .	You may be one of the men I kill when we sink the Donau .
01:19:28	Og så er det Donau som ingen gjør noe med.	Then there's the Donau .
01:20:20	Du kan ikke ta Donau aleine.	- You can't take the Donau alone!
01:20:32	Donau har fem fulle kompanier og tonnevis av utstyr.	The Donau has five companies, tons of weapons and equipment.
01:29:32	Bombene var anbrakt før Donau forlot havnen.	The bombs were most likely planted before the Donau left the harbour.
01:31:12	Vi fikk telegram om Donau .	We received a telegram that the Donau sank outside Drøbak.
01:45:58	Klarer du å sprengre Donau , så klarer du å gå ned trappen med meg.	If you can blow up the Donau , you can walk down the stairs with me.

- Characters (not counted in the analysis)

Dialogue	Subtitles
Max Manus	Max Manus
Kolbein Lauring	Kolbein Lauring
Gunnar Sønsterby	Gunnar Sønsterby
Jens Christian Hauge	Jens Christian Hauge
Sigurd Jacobsen	Sigurd Jacobsen
Gregers Gram.	Gregers Gram.

Tikken	Tikken
Ida Nikoline Lie Lindebrække Bernades	Ida Nikoline Lie Lindebrække Bernades
Edvard Tallaksen	Edvard Tallaksen
Stein Glemming	Stein Glemming
Harald Gram	Harald Gram
Liv	Liv
Siegfried Fehmer	Siegfried Fehmer
Sigurd Jacobsen	Sigurd Jacobsen
Fru Jacobsen	Mrs Jacobsen
Fru Øynebråten	Mrs Øynebråten
Per Thorsen	Per
Lars-Emil (Erichsen)	Lars-Emil
Roy (Nilsen)	Roy
Timo (Hans Peter Styren)	Timo
Dick (Henriksen)	Dick
(Martin) Linge	Linge
Harald Gram	Harald Gram
Kielland	Kielland's a

Geographical names

Time	Dialogue	Subtitles
00:03:33	Oslo juni 1940 (non-verbal)	
00:06:18	Hovseter? Vet du hvor det er?	Who is from Hovseter ?
00:13:27	Eivindvik.	Eivindvik.
00:13:30	I Sogn	In Sogn .
00:18:48	Deltok i kamper ved Kongsvinger .	
00:19:07	De ledet noen suksessfulle reid mot Norskekysten	You've led some successful raids.
00:19:27	Vi har ikke vunnet en eneste by siden vi trakk oss ut av Narvik .	We haven't won a single town since we pulled out of Narvik .
00:32:48	Vi går over grensegata og tar tog fra Arvika .	We'll hike across the border and take a train from Arvika .
00:36:39	Jeg har 20 flyktninger her fra Trøndelag , og alle skal ha et sted å bo.	I have 20 refugees from Trøndelag ,
00:36:39	Pass deg over grensegata .	Careful across the border .
00:47:41	Vi tar to av dem: Arkivene hjemme hos politi major Kielland og arkivene hos Arbeidstjenesten her i byen.	The archives are at police major Kielland's and the Employment Office downtown.
01:02:14	Fru Øynebråtens leilighet Frichgate 2	MRS ØYNEBRÅTEN'S APARTMENT 2 FRICH STREET, OSLO

	Oslo (non-verbal)	
01:03:16	Hvis dere trenger meg så spør etter en tyrkisk kringle hos baker Andersen på Grønland .	If you need me, ask for a Turkish pretzel at Andersen Bakers in Grønland .
01:11:45	Når går første tog til Arvika ?	When is the next train to the border ?
01:14:54	Oslo 24. desember 1944 (non-verbal)	
01:31:18	Vi fikk telegram om Donau. Den sank utenfor Drøbak .	We received a telegram that the Donau sank outside Drøbak .
01:39:00	Til Trondheim .	I'm going to Trondheim .

Institutional names

Time	Dialogue	Subtitles
00:07:17	Å sprengre taket på Colosseum Kino ?	Blow up Colosseum Cinema ?
00:07:26	Tenk hvis taket ramlet ned når Quisling holdt møte for hirden der.	Imagine if we could collapse the roof on Quisling and his entire retinue .
00:12:58	De er på Ullevål Sykehus .	You're at Ullevål hospital .
00:14:34	Jeg har ordre om å flytte ham til Victoria Terrasse øyeblikkelig.	I have orders to bring him to police headquarters immediately.
00:14:59	Max veit for mye. Blir han flyttet til Victoria Terrasse ...	Max knows too much. If they transfer him to security police headquarters ...
00:15:03	Kolbein er sendt til Grini i natt kl.4 - Utenfor vinduet (non-verbal)	Kolbein was sent to Grini last night. 4am, outside the window.
00:20:48	Jeg hørte om flukten din fra Ullevål .	I heard about your escape from Ullevål .
00:21:05	- Han er på Grini .	- He's at Grini Prison Camp .
00:27:09	Takk. Oslo havn . 50 soldater på vakt om natta, 200 om dagen.	Thank you! Oslo Harbour . 50 guards at night, 200 during the day.
00:27:30	<i>Sigurd er vår insider på Aker . Han setter limpets på to andre skip.</i>	Sigurd is our insider at Aker Wharf . He will attach limpets to two other ships in the docks.
00:27:42	Vil ikke tyskerne henrette arbeidere på Aker .	Won't the Germans execute shipyard workers if they...
00:28:53	Operasjon Mardonius Oslo havn 27. April 1943 (non-verbal)	OPERATION MARDONIUS OSLO HARBOUR , 27 APRIL 1943
00:37:15	Max Manus, som rømte fra Ullevål ?	From the Ullevål escape?
00:55:15	Der hvor rådhuset står for eksempel.	
01:05:10	Og passe på at gutta ikke sprenger slottet eller no.	Make sure the boys don't blow up the Palace or something.
01:11:31	Det var på Plasskafeen .	He was at a café .
01:38:54	Grand deler ut gratis øl.	Grand Hotel have free beer!
01:48:00	Gregers Gram og Edvard Tallaksen ble begge tildelt Krigskorset post mortem. (non-verbal)	Gregers Gram and Edvard Tallaksen both received the posthumous Cross of War .
01:48:07	Siegfried Fehmer dømtes til døden og ble skutt på Akershus festning 1948. (non-	Siegfried Fahmer was sentenced to death for war crimes and shot at Akershus Fortress

	verbal)	in 1948.
01:48:39	av sin tid på å holde foredrag om den norske motstandsbevegelsen . (non-verbal)	to pupils about the Norwegian resistance movement during the war .
01:49:00	- og Krigskorset med to sverd . (non-verbal)	and War Cross with two swords .

Professional titles

Time	Dialogue	Subtitles
00:07:35	Er vi heldige er Gestaposjefen der også.	Maybe even the Gestapo chief himself.
00:07:37	Likvidere Gestaposjefen ?	Liquidate the Gestapo chief ?
00:18:16	Kaptein Linge?	Captain Linge?
00:18:28	Fenrik Manus.	Second Lieutenant Manus.
00:20:14	Meld deg hos korporal Gram.	Report to Corporal Gram.
00:20:17	Korporal Gram?	Corporal Gram?
00:20:39	Fenrik .	Second Lieutenant .
00:20:40	Korporal og instruktør allerede?	Corporal and instructor already?
00:21:08	Han er blitt gangsjef nå.	He's head of his unit .
00:39:00	Korporal Gregers Gram.	Corporal Gregers Gram!
00:39:22	Fenrik Max Manus.	Second Lieutenant Max Manus!
00:39:42	Det er nok motsatt, Fenrik Manus.	Second Lieutenant Manus.
00:40:45	Kapteinen ropte det jo ut.	The Captain called it out!
00:47:41	Vi tar to av dem: Arkivene hjemme hos politi major Kielland og arkivene hos Arbeidstjenesten her i byen.	The archives are at police major Kielland's and the Employment Office downtown.
00:49:10	Jeg har en viktig beskjed til major Kjelland.	I have an important message for Major Kielland.
01:03:16	Trenger dere meg så spør etter en tyrkisk kringle hos baker Andersen .	If you need me, ask for a Turkish pretzel at Andersen Bakers in Grønland.

Food and beverages

Time	Dialogue	Subtitles
01:03:16	Trenger dere meg så spør etter en tyrkisk kringle hos baker Andersen.	If you need me, ask for a Turkish pretzel at Andersen Bakers in Grønland.
01:03:20	Hva hvis vi bare får en kringle ?	What if we just get a Turkish pretzel ?
01:03:23	Jeg er sikker på at jeg har spist tyrkisk kringle .	- I'm sure I've had a Turkish pretzel !
01:03:27	Nei, det var tyrkisk kaffebrød .	No, I think that was a Turkish pastry .
01:03:30	Drit i den kringla .	Forget about the pretzel !
01:17:29	Fest hos Egil og Vesla Roy har skaffet ribbe Ta med denne!	PARTY AT EGIL'S AND VESLA'S BRING THIS! KOLBEIN

	Kolbein (non-verbal)	
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Literature

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Government

Time	Dialogue	Subtitles
00:04:44	Regjeringa vår har jo kuttet ned hele forsvaret.	The Government gave up on our defence.
00:06:55	Kanskje ministeren kan sende whisky fra England.	Maybe the Minister can send some real whiskey from England.
00:06:59	Jeg skal høre med kongen hva han syns.	I'll ask the King what he thinks.
00:09:08	<i>En av dem som hadde forbindelse med London var Jens Christian Hauge.</i>	Jens Christian Hauge was in contact with London .
00:09:31	Edvard har vært i kontakt med regjeringa i London.	Edvard has been in touch with our Government in London.
00:09:34	ja, og det er den som leder. Regjeringa og kongen . Det blir ingen aksjoner uten Londons samtykke.	They are in charge. The Government and the King . There will be no actions without their approval.
00:10:16	Hvis Gestapo får tak i én i nettverket ditt, finner de deg.	The Gestapo can find you through one member of your network.
00:10:31	Regjeringen har bedt meg om å samle en...	The Government has asked me to assemble...
00:19:50	Sjansen for å overleve i kompaniet mitt er minimal.	The odds of survival in my company are minimal.
00:20:10	Velkommen i kompaniet .	Welcome to our company !
00:41:30	Hans onkel har vært medlem av NS i mange år.	His uncle has been a Nazi party member for years.
00:46:53	Quislings nye påfunn arbeidstjenesten .	Quisling's latest notion of a National Work Service ?
00:47:19	Gestapo ?	The Gestapo ?
00:47:41	Vi tar arkivet hos politimester Kjelland og hos Arbeidstjenesten .	The archives are at police major Kielland's and the Employment Office downtown .
00:55:57	Da får du prate med han høyrepolitikeren der.	Ask this conservative politician .
00:56:56	Engang sovnet han på trikken under en Gestapokontroll .	He fell asleep on a tram once, and the Gestapo came in .
00:57:04	Gestapistene hadde ikke hjerte til å vekke ham.	The Gestapo didn't have the heart to wake him up...
01:48:15	Han ble senere også justisminister og var en framtrædende medlem- (non-verbal)	He later became Minister of Justice and was a prominent member

Entertainment

Time	Dialogue	Subtitles
00:08:01	Er Jens Book-Jenssen så ideologisk korrekt?	Is Jens Book-Jenssen ideologically correct?
00:08:04	Jens Book-Jenssen	

Education

Time	Dialogue	Subtitles
00:05:22	Har du gått på universitetet eller no dritt?	Did you go to college or something?
00:56:12	Han er på en internatskole utenfor byen.	At boarding school . It's safer there.

Sports

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Currency

-

Technical material

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Other

Time	Dialogue	Subtitles
00:04:26	Litt gravøl bare.	More like a wake .
00:01:53	Sallafronten i Finland. (non-verbal)	SALLA FRONT , FINLAND
01:39:41	Den har vært i jorda siden 9. april , så nyt den.	This bottle has been buried since the invasion . You'd better enjoy it!
00:05:17	Dette her er det smarteste jeg har sett siden 9. april .	That's the smartest thing I've heard since the invasion .
00:11:11	Vi vil oss et land . Hva slags land er det, Max Manus?	We Want Our Country? What kind of a country is that, Max Manus?