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## Translating Elements of Culture Using the Example of the Series “Only Fools and Horses”

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### Abstract

Since language expresses, embodies, and symbolizes cultural reality, difficulties will inevitably occur during translation when transferring culturally marked expressions from one language to another. Through translation, other cultural realities are introduced into the target text, which, over time, inevitably alter the target language as well. The issue of how to translate cultural elements has been addressed by numerous authors, so in the introduction of this paper, we describe and compare some of them and decide to apply Pedersen’s taxonomy to the corpus (Pedersen 2011). For the analysis of cultural elements and translation strategies, the series *Only Fools and Horses* was chosen because it is deeply rooted in the culture of the English working class and abounds in culturally specific elements, for which the Croatian translator found some interesting solutions. Twenty episodes were randomly selected for analysis, and each analysed section of the text is accompanied by the corresponding episode and the timestamp in minutes and seconds indicating when the selected subtitle appeared on the screen.

**Keywords:** translation, element of culture, subtitling, translation strategies

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### 1. Introduction

Every translator is aware that it is almost impossible to create a translation in which the meaning and form coincide symmetrically with the original text and that crisis points in translation are inevitable. One of the reasons for this is the rootedness of culture in language. The concept of culture is not simple to define,<sup>1</sup> but it is generally accepted that it encompasses the common experiences and creations of a human

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<sup>1</sup> The complexity of trying to define the concept of culture became apparent long before the problem of elements of culture appeared in translatology, namely forty years before that. It became apparent in an overview of the definitions of culture, which was published in 1952 by Kroeber and Kluckhohn. The authors analysed 164 definitions of the term *culture* and nevertheless failed to come to a single conclusion. The complexity of trying to define the concept of culture became apparent long before the problem of elements of culture appeared in translatology, namely forty years before that. It became apparent in an overview of the definitions of culture, which was published in 1952 by Kroeber and Kluckhohn. The authors analysed 164 definitions of the term *culture* and nevertheless failed to come to a single conclusion.

community, while language arises from the need to communicate them with one another. It is not surprising, then, that each language encompasses concepts relating to phenomena specific to the culture from which it emerged. Transferring these concepts to the language of a culture in which these phenomena do not exist or are understood differently poses a problem for the translator.

Translation studies theoreticians began to consider more seriously the importance of culture as a factor influencing the approach to translation in the 1990s after Susan Bassnett and André Lefevere defined the concept of cultural turn (Bassnett and Lefevere 1990).

This work is based on three assumptions: culture always affects meaning in language, elements of culture are inevitable, elements of culture are not insurmountable. The identification and classification of elements of culture and the procedures for their translation have been addressed by many theorists. It is interesting that they have all independently developed very similar theories and classifications. In the practical part of this paper, the taxonomy of Swedish theorist Jan Pedersen is applied in the analysis of the translation. The selected translation consists of subtitles from the British comedy series *Only Fools and Horses*, which was first broadcast in 1981. In addition to the interest in the expressions used in the series and the recognition that many of them are related to culture, the reason for choosing this series is also the combination of genre and media that will have a great influence on the translator's decisions. What is more, it can be expected that elements of culture appear more frequently in a work whose plot focuses on everyday, ordinary life, not too different from the lives of real viewers, than in works with elements of fantasy.

It is an undeniable fact that language and culture are inseparable. These two elements of humanity are created in the same way—gradually evolving, one from the common life experiences of a community and the other from the need to communicate these shared experiences with each other. Language cannot be separated from the community that has created it—it does not arise by itself, nor is it static and unchangeable. In this sense, the translator must have certain cultural competence, that is, their job is not only to translate a language, but also to adequately translate the culture integrated into that language.<sup>2</sup>

Linguist Claire Kramsch (1998: 3) extensively examines the relationship between language and culture<sup>3</sup> and argues that the two concepts are related with regard

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2 In this sense, the concept of bicultural competence is also found in literature (cf. e.g., Witte 2007: 12) as a basic prerequisite for adequate translation, whereby the interpreter is advised to take an adequately distanced attitude towards their own culture and consciously learn about another culture. Some authors (e.g., Kupsch-Losereit 2000) speak of intercultural competence as a prerequisite for bridging cultural differences between the source and target language in translation.

3 In the last thirty years, numerous authors have been dealing with cultural elements in the language with special reference to the translation problems that such elements cause, and here, since the reflections on the importance of such elements in the studied literature coincide,

to three aspects. The first is that language expresses cultural reality—people express common experiences in language, that is, facts, ideas, events, as well as one’s own views and beliefs that can be communicated because they share them with other people. Then, language embodies cultural reality—besides expressing their experiences through language, people also create them through language. Kramsch states that the way people use the medium of communication creates meanings that are understandable to the group of people who utilize it. The third relationship between language and culture is that language symbolizes cultural reality—language is a symbol of a group of people, allowing its members to recognize each other, while those who do not speak it are excluded from the group.

## 2. A Brief Overview of the Approach to Translating Culture

In 1990, theorists Susan Bassnett and André Lefevere published a collection of essays entitled *Translation, History and Culture* in which they gathered their opinions on the then state of translation as a science and for the first time defined the cultural turn in translation. The cultural turn implies a shift from previous linguistic approaches to translation that were oriented towards finding equivalence to combining extratextual cultural factors in the production and study of translations. Culture has become a new translation unit. According to Bassnett, one of the first glimpses of the cultural turn is found in the polysystem theory of Even-Zohar, published in 1970, according to which literary works should not be studied separately but as part of a broader literary, social, cultural, and historical framework (cf. Bassnett, 1998: 124). Translated literature can influence domestic literature and culture. Snell-Hornby adds that in such a system, translated works are not just a copy of the original text, but separate texts that have an impact on the target culture (cf. Snell-Hornby 1988: 24). Polysystem theory has driven the view that translatology should be a separate, interdisciplinary scientific field, not just part of linguistics and literature, and that it has a lot in common with cultural studies. Questions began to be asked about textual and extra-textual “shackles” and the norms that the translator adheres to during translation. André Lefevere proposed a theory of “patronage”, in which he argues that the literary system, in addition to internal factors such as critics, teachers, and translators themselves, is influenced by external factors—patrons, that is, anyone who has the power to decide whether a literary work should be translated and in what way (cf. Bassnett 1998: XVI).

Even before the cultural turn, questions were raised about the translator’s visibility, and the very concept of visibility depends in part on how the translator treats

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we list only some of them: Carbonelli (1996); Venuti (1995, 1996, 1998, 2013); Gentzler (1998); Katan (2002); Tymoczko (2005); Apter (2009); Bandia (2009); House (2009, 2015); Pedersen (2011); Chen and Huang (2014); Reis and Vermeer (2014); Baldo (2016); Bielsa (2016); Kharina (2018); and others.

elements of culture. Although these are strategies that have been used since ancient times, Lawrence Venuti formulated the concepts of domestication and foreignization in the book *The Translator's Invisibility: A History of Translation* (1995). In domestication, the aim is to make the produced translation fit as much as possible into the target culture, thus losing the elements of the culture of the source text. In this case, the translator is invisible. In foreignization, the translation contains the elements of the culture of the source text, thus retaining the “alienity” of the original and the reader’s sense of reading the translation rather than the source text, making the translator visible. The dichotomy of domestication and foreignization is a cultural issue more than a linguistic one and can only be applied to texts that have cultural elements. Venuti argues that there is also a political reason for domestication in translations—according to him, contemporary Anglo-American culture, which is more prone to domestication than foreignization, considers translation a kind of colonization. Friedrich Schleiermacher spoke about the strategies of foreignization and domestication back in 1813, when he proposed that the translator should have two choices: to bring the reader closer to the author or the author to the reader. Venuti, like Schleiermacher, was more prone to foreignization, thinking that domestication was not fair to the original culture because it erases its values (cf. Venuti 1995: 20).

Juliane House cites a dichotomy that closely resembles Venuti’s: “obvious, open” (*overt*) and “hidden, invisible” (*covert*) translation. She claims that overt translation is required in texts that are in a specific way related to their original culture and community, such as historical texts or artworks that have gained “timeless” status and can be interesting for a wider audience but are still tied to a culturally specific period. Such translation tries to keep the source text in the transmission intact as much as possible. Overt translation is focused on the text and the author. Unlike it, covert translation is used in texts that are not specific to a culture. This kind of translation is aimed at the reader and is considered a separate text. Functional equivalence is possible only within covert translation. House also talks about the concept of a *cultural filter* that the translator uses in covert translation. The cultural filter applies the characteristics of the target culture to the original text (cf. House 2015: 65-68).

American linguist Eugene Nida formulated the concepts of dynamic and formal equivalence in the book *Toward a Science of Translating* (1964). These two approaches differ significantly in their treatment of elements of culture. Formal equivalence seeks to retain the form and content of the source text, and in it, loyalty to the original is essential. Dynamic equivalence, on the other hand, demands that the translation produces the same effect on the reader as the original would have produced, that is, as Nida and Taber put it: “intelligibility is not to be measured merely in terms of whether the words are understandable and the sentences grammatically constructed, but in terms of the total impact the message has on the one who receives it.” (Nida and Taber 1969: 22). Nida primarily dealt with the Bible translation, and his dynamic equivalence research focuses on translating Hebrew terms

from the Bible whose conveyed meanings are very different from the literal ones. The focus of dynamic equivalence is not on the form and style of the original, and critics felt it crossed the line between translation and adaptation. In response, Nida introduces the notion of functional equivalence, which is actually an improved version of dynamic equivalence, and argues that the form of the source text should also be paid attention to because the form itself has meaning. However, consistently conveying the meaning of the source text will always be more important than conveying the form.

The *scopos* theory was formed by Hans J. Vermeer in 1978. Evidently in the translation of the word *skopos* itself (Greek: *purpose*), Vermeer argues that translation is motivated by purpose and goal. Translation is an action, and each action has a specific goal; the adequacy of translation is valued according to this goal. Each situation is different and requires different translation strategies depending on the purpose, and the target audience is the most important factor that determines this purpose. The translator, as the real recipient of the message of the original text, creates a translation under the conditions of their culture based on their own assumptions about the needs, expectations, and knowledge of the target audience of the translation (cf. Reiss and Vermeer 2014: 85).

Finally, it should be said that translation aimed at making one culture understandable to another inevitably involves a certain degree of violence, especially if it is a culture of the "other", for example when texts from Eastern and other cultures are translated into a Western culture. Certain discourse defaults (institutional, socio-anthropological, etc.) create certain expectations in the audience for which the text is being translated, so the translator must act according to these expectations, which leads to "violent changes" in the source text. In this process, unknown concepts and indigenous practices are transformed into something that is more familiar and closer to the target audience through a translation process, that is, they are assimilated into culturally known forms of concepts and practices. In this sense, we talk about violence against the original text (Dingwaney 1995: 4, 5). However, it is not only about "violence" in the process of translation; a similar type of selection occurs at the initial choice of what will be translated into the target culture. This selection is also related to the already mentioned cultural and discursive expectations of the target audience.

On the other hand, the translation of culture ensures the continuation of that culture in the future as well as its spread in other areas. Although it certainly takes something away, it also significantly contributes to both the original culture and the culture into which it is translated.

A similar approach can be found in the famous Schleiermacher's article "Über die verschiedenen Methoden des Übersetzens", in which he, speaking about the translation of foreign texts into German, points out that the translation into German should not sound like the original German text, but that his reader must feel

this “otherness”, so for example, behind the Spanish translation, one must feel Spanish; otherwise, the original text loses a part of its identity.

### 3. Elements of Culture

Translation always involves elements that pose challenges for the translator. Jan Pedersen calls these elements translation *crisis points*, referring to Lorsch, who distinguishes between non-strategic and strategic translation. In the first case, translation comes to the translator’s mind of “automatically”, and they easily find an equivalent segment in the target language. Strategic translation refers to segments that require the conscious use of translation strategies and “problem solving” (cf. Pedersen 2011: 41). In addition to wordplay and songs, elements of culture are often crisis points in translation. In translation theory, these elements have been widely discussed—each theorist offering their own concept and definition, which often differ only in scope.

The term *realia* was defined by Bulgarian translators Vlahov and Florin. Realia are lexical units that denote objects, phenomena, and customs that are present in the source language community and absent in the target language and have no equivalent in the target language (cf. Vlahov and Florin 1986/2012, according to Kharina 2018: 12). Vlahov and Florin divided realia into three categories: geography, ethnography, and politics/society, which they classified into various subcategories.

In his research, Pedersen calls problematic elements *extralinguistic cultural references*, defining them as linguistic expressions relating to extralinguistic phenomena (e.g., places, persons, customs, food) that someone who lacks encyclopedic knowledge of the culture from which they emerged will not understand even if they understand the language in question. Although he admits that his definition is similar to that of realia, he refuses to use the term because its literal meaning can create the thought that cultural references exclude fictitious phenomena (for example, fictitious characters that are deeply rooted in culture). As the name *extralinguistic cultural references* suggests, elements of culture must meet and combine the two criteria. Extralingualism means that they refer to real-world phenomena rather than the details of language systems, but this criterion is only useful when the referent in question requires knowledge of culture. Pedersen gives an example, noting that one person can have knowledge of a language without having knowledge of the culture of the language community, and vice versa. For instance, a person who speaks English will easily discern that the word *tree* refers to a tree, a real-world phenomenon. Therefore, the word *tree* is not considered an element of culture when translated from English into Croatian. Conversely, a person who knows the meanings of the words in the term *finishing school* will be able to discern that it is a school, but without encyclopedic knowledge of English culture, they will not have access to the information that the referent is a type of school in which girls from wealthy families learn social skills suited to members of higher social classes. Pedersen lists

personal names as elements of culture that are easiest to identify as such, because in this case, knowledge of the language alone will not provide the reader with any information. Obviously, he notes that a single language can have multiple language communities, and so can multiple cultures—for example, elements of culture in British English may be incomprehensible to speakers of American English or Australian English. Although he claims that elements of culture constitute extralinguistic phenomena, they also include a “grey area” consisting of concepts that could be understood as intralingual elements but are so connected with extralinguistic culture that they cannot be ignored. As an example, he gives formal titles and expressions from slang (cf. Pedersen 2011: 44-48).

J. Franco Aixela, who calls such elements *culture-specific items* (CSI), argues that many authors avoid defining them and that they are determined by collective intuition, leading to excessive arbitrariness as well as the perception that they are static and immutable. He notes that culturally specific elements do not exist for themselves in the source text, but manifest themselves in the transfer to another language, which is why we can only talk about them when comparing two cultures. Franco Aixela gives an example of translating a figurative image of a lamb from the Bible. Due to the significance of the Bible in Western countries, in many European cultures, as well as in Croatia, lamb is associated with innocence and helplessness. If this concept were transferred from one European language to another, it would not be considered culturally specific. However, if it were transmitted into the language of a culture in which the Bible had no influence and the concept of lamb did not assume an association with innocence, then it would be an element of culture (cf. Franco Aixela 1996: 57-59). There is another problem in defining elements of culture. Although they are already defined as cases in which an equivalent phenomenon is completely lacking in one of the two cultures, there are also cases when an extralinguistic phenomenon exists in both cultures, but in a significantly different form or function, or with different connotations. For example, the concept of the education system can be very different in the two cultures observed. Although the phenomenon exists in both cultures, differences in their forms can cause communication problems.

It is also important to consider the variability over time. Elements of culture, especially in the age of globalization, can lose their status as “foreign elements” when they are domesticated in a foreign culture. One such example is the concept of *Halloween*, which somewhat lost its status as a culturally specific element when this once purely American holiday began to be celebrated among children in other countries, including Croatia. Pedersen introduces the concept of *transculturalism* as a parameter that determines how recognizable an element is in the target culture. Guided by the Diagram of R. Leppihalma, elements of culture are divided into three types based on their level of transculturality. The transcultural element is recognizable in both cultures that are compared, so it does not create problems in translation (but it is not recognizable in some other cultures). The monocultural

element is recognizable only in one of the two cultures and will be recognized by most members of the source culture, although not necessarily all. The infracultural element is tied to the original culture, but it is so specific that it will only be known to a small amount of its members. As an example of the monocultural element that eventually became transcultural, Pedersen mentions *Pocahontas*, a member of the Native American tribe whose name was unknown to many people outside North America before the release of the Disney film of the same name in 1995. He mentions a translation of the book from English into Norwegian that contains her name (the book was translated in 1989). The translator translated *Pocahontas* as *a Native American princess* because he assumed it would not be known to the target culture. In 2024, it can be assumed that most people are familiar with the name *Pocahontas*, even though not knowing everything about her life, but at least they can recognize the connotation of the Native American people (cf. Pedersen 2011: 106-109)

As for the division of extralinguistic elements of culture depending on their role in real life, Birgit Nedergaard-Larsen (1993) offers the most detailed classification, which includes geography (meteorology, biology, cultural geography), history (buildings, events, people), society (economy, social structure, politics, social conditions, lifestyle and customs), and culture (religion, education, media, leisure).

Having defined elements of culture, it is possible to discuss ways of translating them. Jan Pedersen developed a detailed taxonomy divided into strategies oriented to the source language and target language (Pedersen 2011): 75). Source-oriented strategies include retention, specification, and direct translation, while target-oriented strategies include generalization, substitution, and omission.<sup>4</sup> Pedersen also mentions another strategy that he did not classify in his taxonomy because he considers it a ready-made solution, and that is the use of *official equivalent*. It involves replacing the original element of culture with a pre-established equivalent, and the translator does not have to think about it extensively. Some of the elements that fall into that category are units of measurement, place names, famous fictional characters, etc. The official equivalent is often the result of direct translation.

Pedersen notes that his use of the word *strategy* is arbitrary. Different theorists use different names in their taxonomies, but Pedersen, whose taxonomy in this paper will be demonstrated in the analysis of the translation, calls problem solving at the "local" level a strategy, while in order to refer to making larger decisions, concerning the whole text, he uses the term methods. This taxonomy<sup>5</sup> is a product of constant improvement and upgrading and was created with subtitling in mind.

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4 Due to space constraints, we will not explain each of the strategies in detail here but refer to Pedersen (2011: 75), and we will show on examples in the corpus analysis what these strategies represent in practice.

5 Pedersen's taxonomy is very similar to those of other theorists, such as Vladimir Ivir (1987) and Diaz-Cintas and Remael (2007). These strategies are basically identical, except that they are fragmented and categorized in a different way.

## 4. Corpus Analysis

### 4.1. Selected Corpus

The theory discussed in the previous chapters will be applied in the analysis of the Croatian subtitles for the comedy series *Only Fools and Horses* (1981), with an emphasis on Pedersen's translation strategies. *Only Fools and Horses* is a British comedy by John Sullivan, which follows the life and intrigues of two brothers, Del Boy and Rodney Trotter, who live in a poor part of London in the eighties. Having achieved great popularity in the United Kingdom, the comedy was soon imported to other countries, including Croatia, where it was translated by Tomislav Pisak and gained cult status. The reason for choosing this comedy is the fact that it is deeply rooted in the culture of the English working class and abounds in culturally specific elements. The Croatian translator employed interesting solutions in translating the problematic elements. Twenty episodes of the comedy were randomly selected for the analysis of cultural elements and translation strategies. For each analysed text segment, the corresponding episode and the timestamp in minutes and seconds indicating when the selected subtitle appeared on the screen will be provided. The official Croatian translation is taken from the DVD-collection published by *Jutarnji list*.

Translation in question is a subtitle, i.e., a form of audiovisual translation, in which the translation of a dialogue appears as text on the screen. Due to the popularity of the Anglophone television industry in the world, subtitling is one of the most common forms of translation, and Croatia is one of the countries that favours it over dubbing. Subtitling as a transfer from sound to written medium has specific norms and limitations that influence the translator's decisions in the application of translation strategies. For example, due to the need to preserve space and shorten the time it takes the viewer to read the text, the translator will opt for an adequate solution that they might not have chosen when translating another form of text. Other factors influencing translation include genre, publisher rules, and audience needs.

### 4.2. The Text Approach

Several factors influenced the translator's approach to the text. Purpose, i.e., the scopos of the comedy series is primarily humour, and the translator had to ensure that the translation had the same (or at least very similar) impact on the Croatian audience as the source dialogue had on the British one, thus orienting itself towards dynamic equivalence instead of the formal one. The translator was guided by his own assumptions regarding the Croatian audience's knowledge about British culture (and other cultures), and translating the elements of culture that he assumed would not be understandable, he used a strategy that prioritizes impact rather than the faithful transfer of information. Due to the limitation to only two lines of text, as well as the time interval in which the original dialogue is heard on the screen, the translator was forced to make the necessary impact in as few words

as possible. Due to the nature of subtitling, there is an interesting conflict between the previously established theories. It was concluded that domestication by similarity coincides with the covert type of translation (bringing the text closer to the audience and using the cultural filter). However, subtitling is an overt type of translation because the reader is always aware that they are reading the translation, at the same time having access to the original dialogue. Nevertheless, the translator often tried to bring the original text closer to Croatian culture to the extent that in many cases he used a substitution, which replaces the original elements of culture with the Croatian ones. Due to this, dissonance can arise between what the viewer reads in the subtitle and what they hear. Domestication, however, is appropriate in the subtitling of humorous content, and for many viewers it can improve the experience. Although the translator often uses strategies oriented towards the target language, he also uses a retention strategy very frequently, which contributes to foreignness in translation.

### 4.3. Overview of Elements of Culture

In all twenty episodes totalling 578 minutes, a total of 477 elements of culture (EC) were identified, of which 292 originate from the source (English) culture, and 185 from various third cultures, most often American, Irish, or Indian. Oriented by the Nedergaard-Larsen classification, 59 elements fall into the category of *geography*, 37 into *history*, 133 into *society*, and 248 into the category of *culture*.

All terms from the geography category are cities, regions, or streets in England, most often in or near London, since the plot of the series takes place there. It can be assumed that the mention of geographical ECs leaves a completely different impact on someone who has been to that location or is familiar with it than on someone who hears about it for the first time. Of the 37 historical ECs, the most common are historical figures, whose mention plays a role in jokes, catchphrases, and exclamations.

In the corpus, trademarks are often mentioned, which fall into the class of *economy*, a subcategory of *society*. These are brands that in most cases originate from the United Kingdom, although many of them are also recognizable on the Croatian market. In the subcategory *social structure*, headlines from the ranks of the British police dominate, which is also appropriate because the protagonists engage in criminal activities. The majority of ECs from the category of *society*, however, belong to the subcategory *lifestyle and customs*, of which food and drink occupy by far the highest percentage.

The category *culture* includes the most identified ECs. Interestingly, three of the four identified ECs from the category of *religion* derive from Indian culture (Hinduism), while the fourth is a Catholic holiday directly associated with Irish culture. The subcategory *education* includes levels from the British education system as well as the names of British colleges. The subcategory *media* contains the names

of films, series, and shows. Although Nedergaard-Larsen does not include fictitious characters in her classification, they can also be classified within this subcategory. Popular fictional characters from British and American series, films, and comics are often the subject of humorous comparisons with characters from the series. Due to its versatility, the subcategory *leisure* contains the most ECs. Famous personalities such as actors, musicians, and athletes are the subject of many jokes, and their recognition by the Croatian viewer depends on their familiarity with British or American popular culture. In most cases, the translator left their names intact. In addition, the names of restaurants, hotels, and concert halls, predominantly those in London or near London, are also very common.

## 5. Analysis of Translation Strategies on Examples<sup>6</sup>

### 5.1. Retention

Retention is one of the most commonly used strategies in the translation in question and is mostly used for names of celebrities, names of geographic locations and car brands, which in most cases remain unchanged and unmarked. Untranslated food and beverage names are indicated in quotation marks or slashes, although the translator is not always consistent in choosing which ECs to mark and which not to. One of the types of cases in which the translator had to use this strategy is when the very name of the EC has an impact on humour. In example (1), Del Boy tries to convince his partner Raquel to perform at a nightclub, assuring her that it would not be her first time:

(1)

Raquel: Del, I've never sung in a real nightclub before!

Del Boy: You showed us that poster of when you appeared on the same bill as **Otis Redding** at the Talk of the Town, London.

Raquel: It was **Laurie London** at the Talk of the Town, Reading.

Raquel: Nisam pjevala u pravom noćnom klubu.

Del Boy: Jesi! Imaš plakat: Ti i **Otis Redding** u Londonu.

Raquel: Ne. Ja i **Laurie London** u **Readingu!**

(S7E3, 12:30)

Although the EC *Talk of the Town*, referring to the London concert hall, was omitted, the translator decided to leave the other ECs intact. This was because the similarity between the phrases “Otis Redding in London” and “Laurie London in Reading” caused Del Boy’s confusion—he thought that it was a performance with a

<sup>6</sup> Of the total of 477 examples of the elements of culture, we have chosen 42 that in our opinion represent everything we wanted to show in this research when it comes to translation strategies and decisions the translator had to make in order to successfully convey the originally intended information and humour.

popular American soul singer, rather than a lesser known English former child star. Nevertheless, the most Croatians probably would not know who they are. Retention in these cases may be inadequate in conveying information but allowed because the information is not the scope of the text. In example (2), Rodney tries to convince a noblewoman to live in a luxurious part of the city, describing it as follows:

(2)

Rodney: It's, er, well, like a little **St John's Wood** you know, just south of the water

Rodney: To je zapravo kao **St. John's Wood** u malome.  
(S2E7, 12:51)

St. John's Wood is a luxurious district in London, known for many sights such as the cricket club and its association with the famous music group *The Beatles*. Croatian viewers may not be able to recognize the EC, but it is clear from the context what Rodney's intention is, and no further explanation is needed.

Another example of the use of retention is when EC information is visible on the screen. In example (3), Del Boy mentions the Vauxhall Velox, a classic model of a luxury car produced by the British company *Vauxhall Motors*. Even if viewers from the name itself cannot recognize what it is, the screen shows that it is a car, and the translator is not required to provide further clarification.

(3)

Del Boy: listen, look I've got the **Vauxhall Velox** outside haven't I, and...

Del Boy: Vani mi je moj **Vauxhall Velox**.  
(S1E3, 01:29)

Example (4) demonstrates retention with adaptation to the pronunciation of the Croatian language. *Lady* is the title used in the UK to refer to women of noble birth. Although it literally means *dama* in Croatian, this title is an example of Pedersen's previously mentioned "grey zones" in which the intralingual term is tightly related to culture:

(4)

Lady Ridgemere: I'm **Lady** Ridgemere!

Lady Ridgemere: Ja sam **ledi** Ridgemere!  
(S2E704:50)

An interesting example of retention with adaptation to the target language occurs in the case of musical groups whose name consists of one plural noun. Although grammatically incorrect, in the Croatian language, a continuation of *-i* is often added to such names to denote the plural, despite the fact that the original noun in English is already in the plural form:

(5)

Del Boy: Raquel and Tony could become the new... the new **Carpenters**. Rodney: Or plumbers or brickers...

Del Boy: Mogli bi biti novi "**Carpenter-si**". Rodney: Ili „Bravari“...  
(S7E3, 24:27)

In the scene we are considering, Del Boy wants to convince Rodney that he can make a new popular musical duo from his girlfriend and the singer he found in a nightclub, saying that they will be as popular as the American music duo *The Carpenters*. Although this group is popular enough to be recognized by music lovers from Croatia, leaving an untranslated title completely prevents viewers who do not speak English from understanding the following joke. *Carpenter* translated to Croatian means “tesar”, and Rodney in response stingily calls the hypothetical musical duo plumbers or brickers, although the translator decided to translate this as “Locksmiths” (Bravari).

While retention is the simplest translation strategy, a translator must be very careful in deciding when it is acceptable to use it. In many cases, retention can prevent the target audience from accessing information and the intended impact of the source text, particularly in translations of humorous content.

## 5.2. Direct translation

Direct translation is most commonly used in names consisting of common nouns, and Pedersen considers this strategy identical to the classical way of literal translation. Calque is a form of direct translation in which no shift in the type of word has occurred, as seen in example (6) in which Rodney compares his musical band to the famous English pop band from Liverpool:

(6)

Rodney: We're styling ourselves on  
**Frankie Goes to Hollywood!**

Rodney: Uzor nam je “**Frankie ide u  
Hollywood!**” (S4E4, 04:00)

The translation of the element from the third culture using calque is visible in example (7). The term *silver bird* is a direct translation of the name of the German model of the *Silbervogel* warplane used in World War II. The question in the example is addressed to a woman who travelled to England from Germany, and the term itself can be recognizable only to those who have knowledge of warplanes:

(7)

Albert: You just came in then? Gatwick  
airport – **silver bird**?

Albert: Sad si doputovala? Sletjela si **sre-  
brnom pticom**? (S5E1, 03:58)

The most common form of direct translation in the text is the translation with a shift in which the proper noun becomes an adjective:

(8)

Rodney: I took her down the **Star of  
Bengal**.

Rodney: Jeli smo u **Bengalskoj zvijezdi**.  
(S5E1, 8:01)

(9)

Del Boy: It was, um, it was this – this  
**Victorian globe.**

Del Boy: **Viktorijanski globus.**  
(S1E3, 14:37 (10))

(10)

Rodney: I didn't know whether to phone  
the police of the **Texas Rangers!**

Rodney: Nisam znao hoću li zvati policiju  
ili **teksaške rendžere!** (S1E3, 05:52)

While Croatian audience is unlikely to recognize that *Star of Bengal* (8) is a restaurant serving Indian food, this is clear from the context of the scene. It can be assumed that most Croatian viewers are familiar to some level with the concept of the Victorian era. Even if they do not know what a globe made in the style of that era looks like (9), that knowledge in the context of this translation is unnecessary because the globe itself is shown on screen. *Texas Rangers* (10) is a type of police service operating in the US state of Texas. In Croatia, the term was popularized by the American television series *Walker, Texas Ranger*, which aired from 1993 to 2001. Direct translation can significantly improve the fluency of the translation, but translators must ensure not to use it in cases where there is already an established translation.

### 5.3. Specification

Specification is a strategy that is rarely used because it takes up extra space, which is undesirable in subtitling. In example (11), the translator decided to supplement the name of the Ford brand car:

(11)

Del Boy: There is nothing I'd like more  
than to see you become someone! Nice  
little **Capri Ghia** and all that!

Del Boy: Najviše od svega želim da pos-  
taneš netko. Da voziš lijepi “**Ford Capri  
Ghia**”. (S4E4, 21:42)

In example (12), the complement is used together with a direct translation. The translator first determined that WI stands for *Women's Institute* and performed a direct translation, shifting the noun into an adjective:

(12)

Tony: No, it's the local **WI**. Still, you've  
got to keep them happy, eh?

Tony: **Ženski institut**. I to se mora.  
(S7E3, 27:00)

Specification is a strategy that removes ambiguity and reduces the scope of meaning of a term, the opposite of generalization, which increases it.

## 5.4. Generalization

Generalization is the most used strategy in subtitling, including the analysed translation. The specificity of an element of culture is often not crucial to humour and can be replaced by a more general term that the target audience will understand. Replacement through hyperonym is the most common form of generalization, especially in the case of brands:

(13)

Rodney: What are we gonna use, eh?  
Superglue and a bottle of **Windolene**,  
knowing you!

Rodney: A što ćemo mi rabiti? Super-  
ljepilo i **deterdžent**?  
(S2E7, 18:53)

(14)

Del Boy: I eat on the move, mobile phone  
in one hand, a **Pot Noodle** in the other.

Del Boy: Jedem u pokretu. U jednoj ruci  
mobitel, u drugoj **tjestenina**.  
(S7E3, 01:13) (15)

(15)

Del Boy: I mean, on one hand you've just  
had your hopes and dreams dashed! But  
on the other hand, I've got a van load of  
hooky **Maltesers**!

Del Boy: S jedne su ti se strane rasplinuli  
svi snovi. A s druge, imam furgon pun  
ukradene **čokolade**!  
(S4E4, 23:13)

In example (13), *Windolene* is a British brand of window washing detergent that is no longer produced. The specific brand is not at all relevant to the situation and it is possible that most of the audience will not recognize it, so the translator opted for its hyperonym. An identical case can be observed in examples (14) and (15), which contain *Pot Noodle* and *Maltesers*, British brands of pasta and chocolate bars.

Example (16) contains the term from cricket, a sport that is popular in the UK and Commonwealth countries, but has never reached great popularity in Croatia. *Wicket keeper* denotes a player who has the role of goalkeeper in cricket.

(16)

Del Boy: Kuvera was one of India'spre-  
mier **wicket-keepers**.

Del Boy: Kuvera je slavni indijski **igrač**  
**kriketa**. (S1E3, 09:34)

Geographical terms are also translated by generalization when what is there is more important than their name. In example (17), one of the most significant street markets in London, *Portobello Road Market*, has been replaced by a hyperonym:

(17)

Man: You can get them in **Portobello**  
**Road** for seventeen pounds each!

Man: Na **tržnici** se prodaju po 17 funta!  
(S1E3, 26:25)

Generalizing a personal name is seen in the following example. Esther Rantzen was the presenter of the UK-based television show *That’s Life!*, which dealt with a multitude of different topics. The EC *That’s Life!* is solved by substitution, which is why it makes no sense to keep the name of the presenter who builds on it in the text.

(18)

Del Boy: Here, couldn’t you write to That’s Life?  
Ram: If Lord Krishna himself couldn’t help us I really don’t think **Esther Rantzen** would stand much chance!

Del Boy: A da pišeš u Potrazi?  
Ram: Ako nam Krišna nije mogao pomoći bojim se da onda neće ni **televizija**.  
(S1E3, 08:38)

The following examples contain a comparison of generalizing the same term in two different ways. *Yuppie* (“young urban professional”) is a derogative term used in the 1980s to refer to young people who have well-paid jobs in urban areas. *Yuppies* are entrepreneurs, and the stereotype is that they have a “dandy” dressing style, so if necessary and according to the context, it is possible to choose which connotation to use. In example (19), generalization is well used because Del Boy describes his supposedly entrepreneurial lifestyle, but in example (20), in which his friend reproaches him for being summoned to court, saying that it is not good for his *yuppie* image, it would be more appropriate to use an adjective related to professionalism.

(19)

Del Boy: I’m out there on that **yuppie** tight rope, nerves on red alert.

Del Boy: Hodam na **poduzetničkoj** žici. Živci napeto rade. (S7E3, 01:07)

(20)

Boycie: Del Boy! I hear you’re in court tomorrow. Don’t do a lot for your **yuppie** image, does it?

Boycie: Nije baš **šminkerski**.  
(S7E3, 31:31)

Paraphrasing is a form of generalization in which instead of the original EC, the translator conveys its meaning or connotations in their words and is used when the problem is too complex to be solved by the use of hyperonym. In example (21), Del Boy tries to convince Rodney that popular music is not just the one that appears on the charts. He mentions *Top of the Pops*, a music show that airs weekly in the United Kingdom and shows performances by musicians who are on the current UK charts.

(21)

Del Boy: I mean, you take that John Denver and Roger Whitaker, they never appear on **Top of the Pops** do they, but they still sell millions of records.

John Denver I Roger Whitaker, nikad nisu na **top-listi**, ali prodaju milijune ploča.  
(S7E3, 23:55)

In example (22), Del Boy describes the poor condition of the hotel in which he is staying, saying that it cannot be compared to the *Ritz*, a famous five-star London hotel, considered one of the most prestigious hotels in the world. The translator decided to paraphrase the connotative meaning:

(22)

Del Boy: I mean, take a look at this place, it's hardly <b>the Ritz</b> is it, eh?	Del Boy: Ovo nije baš <b>hotel s 5 zvjezdica</b> . (S1E3, 13:42)
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In example (23), Rodney explains to Del Boy that he searched for him for a long time at all Indian restaurants across a large area between two locations in south London. In order to preserve the place and unnecessary naming of the ECs, which would only burden Croatian viewers, the translator opted for a simple paraphrase:

(23)

Rodney: I've been crashing through the doors of every ccurry house and take-away from <b>Battersea Bridge to Colliers Wood tube station!</b>	Rodney: Upao sam u svaki azijski restoran u <b>južnom Londonu!</b> (S1E3, 06:08)
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An interesting case of generalizing is seen in example (24) in which *ruby*, a term from cockney jargon denoting *curry* or any other spicy Indian dish, is mentioned. Cockney is spoken among the working class of East London. The term was created by rhyming the word *curry* with the surname of British singer Ruby Murray:

(24)

Del Boy: D'you think a <b>ruby</b> was wise in her condition?	Del Boy: Misliš li kako je bilo pametno da jede tako <b>začinjenu hranu?</b> (S5E1, 08:08)
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Generalization is a strategy that can applied to ECs of all kinds. In most cases, these are monocultural ECs that are replaced by their transcultural hyperonyms. As a target text-oriented strategy, it significantly reduces the characteristic of foreignness in the original text.

## 5.5. Substitution

Substitution is the most difficult translation strategy for a translator because it requires not only their adequate knowledge of the original language and culture, but also their deep knowledge of the target culture, as well as sufficient creativity that will allow them to perform a replacement that will have the same impact in translation as the original. Since the scopos of the comedy series is not exclusively the transfer of information about the original culture but humour, the translator can allow themselves some level of "infidelity" to the source text.

In cultural substitution, one element of culture is replaced by another based on similarities or roles they play in their own cultures. Example (25) contains two monocultural ECs of the original language replaced by monocultural ECs of the target language:

(25)

Del Boy: He’s got two <b>O-Levels</b> and he thinks he’s <b>Bamber Cascoigne’s</b> vest!	Del Boy: Ima <b>malu maturu</b> i misli da je kralj <b>Kviskoteke!</b> (S1E3, 09:24)
--	--

In the UK secondary education system, O-Level (*Ordinary Level*) is a qualification that students aged fourteen to sixteen receive by passing the individual subject exam. As the lowest level of educational qualifications in the United Kingdom, the translator, based on this similarity, replaced it with “mala matura”, which is taken in Croatia by pupils who have completed lower secondary school. Bamber Gascoigne was the host of the popular British television quiz *University Challenge*, which is similar to the Croatian *Kviskoteka*, which aired in Croatia from 1980 to 1995. In this situation, it would be more correct to replace the host of the British quiz with the host of the Croatian quiz, but the translator opted for the term “kralj *Kviskoteke*” (the king of *Kviskoteka*), which possibly achieves a similar effect, but it should also be said that the translator’s strategy in this example compromises veridicity. In the observed scene, Del Boy teases his brother for pretending to know who the Hindu god Kuver is, saying that by achieving some level of education, he considers himself someone who would know the answers to all the questions on a quiz.

In example (26), in which the characters discuss the baselessness of their fear of being in a place where a serial killer supposedly wanders, the translator decided to replace one transcultural element with another. *Ghoul*, a monster from the legend, the one that eats people, is not known in Croatian culture, nor is there a Croatian name for it (although it is often translated as “zloduh”, which is also not quite the same). Instead, the translator wrote “vukodlak” (werewolf), another type of monster, which Croatian viewers will recognize, and the effect remained the same:

(26)

Del Boy: Here you are Rodney. See what I mean, there ain’t no ghosties or <b>ghoulies</b> out here!	Del Boy: Vidiš? Nema ni duhova ni <b>vu-kodlaka!</b> (S3E3, 11:34)
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In examples (27), (28), and (29), the characters play the popular board game *Monopoly*, whose board features street names, usually including the capital of the state in which it is localized. The characters mention the streets in London where their figurine is located. The translator decided to replace them with geographical elements of Croatian language culture, albeit recklessly because he replaced the street names with the names of the city, mountain, and island:

(27)

Del Boy: **Park lane**. I think that's one of my properties Rodney.

Del Boy: **Dubrovnik!** Mislim da je to moje. (S3E3, 14:25) (28)

(28)

Rodney: No, I don't, no I don't. Look, you've got **Coventry Street**. Grandad's got the Waterworks and all that. Ah, yeah, Park Lane, with one hotel,vtwo thousand please.

Rodney: Nisam! Vidi: imaš **Velebit**, a djed ima „fast food“.vTu imam hotel... Duguješ mi 2000 funta. (S3E3, 14:32)

(29)

Rodney: **Ah, Piccadilly**. Right, that's mine and I've got a hotel, so that's twelve hundred pounds!

Rodney: **Korčula!** To je moje i imam hotel! Plati 1200! (S3E3, 14:59)

When using substitution as a translation strategy, there can often be a dissonance between what viewers see and read. In a situation like this, it might be unusual to read that characters living in England play *Monopoly* with geographical concepts of Croatia, which, as already mentioned, compromises veridicity of the series.

A skilfully executed substitution in which the translator managed to keep the original joke intact is seen in example (30). Trying to convince the noblewoman that he was a car connoisseur, Del Boy tells her that he drove for *the John Player Special*, referring to the Formula 1 racing team *Lotus*, which was sponsored by the British cigarette brand *John Player & Sons*. When asked if it was Formula 1, Del Boy's grandfather replied that he was actually driving as a cigarette delivery man. As this specific brand of cigarettes was never sold in Croatia, the translator replaced the EC with the Marlboro cigarette brand, which is well known in Croatia, and was also a sponsor of numerous Formula 1 racing teams:

(30)

Del Boy: I used to drive for the **John Player Special** team!

Lady Ridgemere: Oh, the Grand Prix circuit?

Grandad: No, delivering fags round Lew-isham.

Del Boy: Vozio sam za „**Marlboro**“! Lady Ridgemere: Formule jedan?

Djed: Ne. Dostavljao je cigarete u Lew-ishamu.

(S2E7, 04:29 – 04:33)

The case of substituting one EC from a third culture with another EC from the same culture is shown in the following example. *Pfennig* is the name of money used in Germany before the introduction of the euro in 2002. The translator replaced it with the *Bundesbank*, the central bank of Germany:

(31)

Albert: Best of luck darling, keep yer hand on yer **pfennig!**

Albert: Bog, zlato! I pazi na svoju **Bundesbanku!** (S5E1, 04:56)

The extralinguistic phenomena that exist in many cultures can be expressed by expressions rooted in culture. The informal English term for police *Old Bill*, whose etymology is unclear, is substituted by the term “žbiri”, which generally refers to informants and spies:

(32)

Del Boy: What do you think you’re playing at, inviting the bloody **Old Bill** round here?

Del Boy: Kog jarca radiš?! Što si zvao **žbire?** (S4E4, 19:04)

We can see situational substitution in example (33) in which the translator completely changed the meaning of the sentence. In the scene, Del Boy is in a cabin with a serial killer waiting for the arrival of the police. Hearing the sound of a helicopter from the outside, the killer asks him if it is the police, and Del Boy tries to lie to him saying that it is not. *Barratt Developments* is a British home construction company known for its advertising campaigns using helicopters. Since Croatian viewers would not be familiar with this, the translator has completely changed the meaning so that it fits into the situation anyway—mosquito dusting may seem like a helicopter, appropriate for the situation in question:

(33)

Del Boy: No, you’re alright. It’s **Barratts!**

Del Boy: Nije. **Zaprašuju komarce!** (S3E3, 26:38)

Example (34) also contains situational substitution. After visiting local nobles, Rodney reproaches Del Boy for wanting to become part of their society:

(34)

Rodney: He can’t wait to get a shotgun and a retriever and go marching across the grouse moors all done up like a **ploughman’s lunch**, can he?

Rodney: Jedva čeka da nabavi sačmaricu i retrivera i da krene u lov na fazane obučen k’o **reklama za paštetu.** (S2E7, 19:41)

*Ploughman’s lunch* is an English cold dish consisting of bread, cheese, onions, ham, eggs, and salad. In the situation in the series, Rodney says that the noble way of dressing resembles the dish in question, and the translator assumed that most Croats would not know what the dish looked like and replaced it with the phrase “reklama za paštetu” (pâté advertisement), which evokes a similar mental picture of breakfast as in the original EC.

Situational substitution as a solution to the translation of the wordplay in which the EC is located is shown by the following example. *Essoldo Kilburn*, primarily called *The Kilburn Empire Music Hall*, is a concert hall in London. Due to the unfamiliarity of this EC to the Croatian viewers, the translator had to come up with another idea to build on the word “empire”:

(35)

Ram: You see, our families have been engaged in a vendetta for many, many years. It goes back to the days of the Old Empire.

Rodney: He means the British Empire, not the **Kilburn!**

Ram: Naše su obitelji dugo upletene u ogorčen sukob. Još od dana starog Carstva.

Rodney: Britanskog, ne **životinjskog!**  
(S1E3, 07:51)

In the following example, the names of institutions are approached through situational substitution. *Rampton* and *Broadmoor* are strictly protected psychiatric institutions in England. The translator translated one as a correctional facility and the other as a prison, which is not true, but it can fit into the situation in the text that talks about a young delinquent.

(36)

Mickey: I’ve never been to **Rampton!** I’ve been to **Broadmoor**, once or twice, but that’s not the point.

Mickey: Nikad nisam bio u **popravnom!** Bio sam u **zatvoru**, al’ to nema veze.  
(S4E4, 11:09)

Substitution is arguably the most interesting translation strategy that, in the hands of a creative translator, can elevate humorous content for the target audience.

## 5.6. Omission

Omission is used when a translator determines that an element is unnecessary in conveying a message. When subtitled, the reason is primarily to preserve the space and keep the subtitle as short as possible, so that it is easier to read it in a short time. In example (37), which contains two cases of detention, the geographical EC (Nine Elms) is omitted:

(37)

Del Boy: But me, I’m one of them that’s accepted anywhere – whether it’s drinking lager with the market boys down at **Nine Elms**, or sipping Pimm’s fruit cup at Hendon regatta!

Del Boy: (...) kad pijem pivo s dečkima s tržnice ili kad pijuckam “Pimms” na Hendonskoj regati! (S2E707:53)

The translator concluded that keeping this EC in this situation is not necessary, as it will not contribute anything to the Croatian audience. However, this is also

questionable for the two retained ECs in the example, in which Del Boy tries to emphasize that he is accepted in “high” society as much as he is in “ordinary” society. *Nine Elms* is an industrial region in London, and *Pimm’s* is a type of fruit cocktail, the direct opposite of beer. It is possible that the term “Hendonska regata” (Hendon Regatta) is the result of confusion with the royal regatta at Henley.

In the following example, the phrase “up the wooden hill to Bedfordshire”<sup>7</sup> is completely omitted, the meaning of which is to go to sleep (to a room upstairs):

(38)

Del Boy: Alright then, well, why don’t you go **up the wooden hill to Bedfordshire** and check it out?<sup>7</sup>

Del Boy: Idi ti gore i provjeri!  
(S3E3, 12:59)

The omission is clearly visible in the difference in the length of the original text and the translation in example (39):

(39)

Rodney: I can now leap out of the **Vauxhall Velox, Dukes of Hazzard** fashion, make a **chapati** and say get stuffed in Urdu!

Rodney: Sad znam sve pozdrave i psovke na urdskom!  
(S1E3, 06:12)

*Vauxhall Velox* has already been mentioned in the paper, so it does not require explanation. *Dukes of Hazzard* is an American comedy series, first aired in 1979, known for scenes in which a car flies into the air. *Chapati* is an Indian type of unleavened bread. It is evident that only one-third of the message from the original text was transmitted in the translation.

Regarding the acceptability of omission as a translation strategy, Pedersen quotes Leppihalme: “the translator may choose to use omission responsibly, having rejected all alternative strategies, or irresponsibly, in order to avoid seeking information about something unknown to him” (Leppihalme 1994: 93, cited in Pedersen 2011: 96).<sup>8</sup> It would not be fair to say that in these cases the translator chose omission because of laziness or ignorance. When subtitling, sacrificing certain parts of the text is inevitable due to adaptation to the medium, especially in cases of quick speech and very complex ECs, the subtitling of which would leave a large amount of text on the screen in a very short time.

7 Literal translation: “po drvenom brežuljku (stepenice) u Bedfordshire (‘grad kreveta’)”.

8 “A translator may choose omission responsibly, after rejecting all alternative strategies, or irresponsibly, to save him/herself the trouble of looking up something s/he does not know.”

## 5.7. The official equivalent

This strategy involves reaching for an already existing solution, which has already been decided by some authority. This is often the case when mentioning films or literary works that have already been translated for the Croatian market.

(40)

Del Boy: Alright then, who have you seen <b>Hawkeye</b> ?	Del Boy: Koga si vidio, <b>Oko Sokolovo?</b> (S3E3, 10:31)
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(41)

Del Boy: As Macbeth said to Hamlet in <b>A Midsummer Night’s Dream</b> , ‘We’ve been done up like a couple of kippers.’	Del Boy: Kao što je Hamlet rekao Macbethu u <b>Snu Ivanjske noći</b> : ispali smo pravi mulci. (S1E3, 27:57)
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*Oko Sokolovo* (40) is a hero from Marvel comics that are sold all over the world. *San Ivanjske noći* (41) is a classic comedy by one of the most famous writers in the world, William Shakespeare, so it has been translated into Croatian as well. Due to the very fact that official equivalents exist, it can be said that these ECs are transcultural.

Units of measurement are also almost always transmitted by official translation. As the Imperial System of Measures is used in the United Kingdom, it is customary for the quantities expressed in this system to be converted into the metric system used in Croatia:

(42)

Lady Ridgemere: I’m trying to get to Ridgemere Hall, it’s that large estate about <b>five miles</b> back up the road.	Lady Ridgemere: Idem u Ridgemere Hall. To je posjed udaljen <b>8 kilometara</b> . (S2E7, 04:41)
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The official equivalent may arise using any of the strategies mentioned above (except omission).

## 6. Conclusion

The frequency of the elements of culture is expected, but still staggering. A closer consideration of everything that the elements of culture actually encompass makes it even clearer how inevitable they are in the text. The translator has used all the above translation strategies, but one can discern his fondness for generalizing and substitution, that is, strategies oriented towards the target text that reduce the foreignness in the source text and bring it closer to the target audience. This can also be seen in the fact that, reading only the translation, many elements of the culture of the original language remain unnoticed. This was also expected—since the genre was a comedy, the translator had to ensure that its primary goal, humour, was available to the target audience, even if it meant losing the cultural specificity of

the original. The very popularity of the series *Only Fools and Horses* in Croatia proves that he was successful in the transmission of humour. Nevertheless, it is clear that a certain percentage of humour has been lost in translation, precisely because of the impossibility of transmitting the elements of culture. It must also be noted that many elements of culture in the original may not be recognizable to members of the original culture as well, which makes their transfer to the target culture even more difficult.

From the analysis of the translations, it is clear that the very choice of translation strategies does not depend strictly on the category of the element of culture being translated, but on the context of the expression. Pedersen's taxonomy of translation strategies has proven to be a useful tool for evaluating translations, as well as for exploring ways of translating elements of culture that can help with future translations. However, it must be pointed out that the procedures used in the translation are not strictly defined by the above strategies and can arise from their combination. A translator can use previously defined strategies, approaches, aids, and norms in creating translations, but in the end their mind is their most important tool, which is why two translators will never produce exactly the same translation of the same text.

## 7. List of episodes

1. "Go West Young Man." *Only Fools and Horses*, created by John Sullivan, season 1, episode 2, BBC, 1981.
2. "Cash and Curry." *Only Fools and Horses*, created by John Sullivan, season 1, episode 3, BBC, 1981.
3. "The Second Time Around." *Only Fools and Horses*, created by John Sullivan, season 1, episode 4, BBC, 1981.
4. "The Russians Are Coming." *Only Fools and Horses*, created by John Sullivan, season 1, episode 6, BBC, 1981.
5. "The Long Legs of the Law." *Only Fools and Horses*, created by John Sullivan, season 2, episode 1, BBC, 1981.
6. "No Greater Love." *Only Fools and Horses*, created by John Sullivan, season 2, episode 4, BBC, 1981.
7. "A Touch of Glass." *Only Fools and Horses*, created by John Sullivan, season 2, episode 7, BBC, 1982.
8. "Friday the 14th." *Only Fools and Horses*, created by John Sullivan, season 3, episode 3, BBC, 1983.
9. "Yesterday Never Comes." *Only Fools and Horses*, created by John Sullivan, season 3, episode 4, BBC, 1983.

10. "Wanted." *Only Fools and Horses*, created by John Sullivan, season 3, episode 6, BBC, 1983.
11. "Who's a Pretty Boy?" *Only Fools and Horses*, created by John Sullivan, season 3, episode 7, BBC, 1983.
12. "Strained Relations." *Only Fools and Horses*, created by John Sullivan, season 4, episode 2, BBC, 1985.
13. "It's Only Rock and Roll." *Only Fools and Horses*, created by John Sullivan, season 4, episode 4, BBC, 1985.
14. "Sleeping Dogs Lie." *Only Fools and Horses*, created by John Sullivan, season 4, episode 5, BBC, 1985.
15. "As One Door Closes." *Only Fools and Horses*, created by John Sullivan, season 4, episode 7, BBC, 1985.
16. "From Prussia with Love." *Only Fools and Horses*, created by John Sullivan, season 5, episode 1, BBC, 1986.
17. "The Longest Night." *Only Fools and Horses*, created by John Sullivan, season 5, episode 3, BBC, 1986.
18. "Who Wants to Be a Millionaire?" *Only Fools and Horses*, created by John Sullivan, season 5, episode 6, BBC, 1986.
19. "Stage Fright." *Only Fools and Horses*, created by John Sullivan, season 7, episode 3, BBC, 1991.
20. "The Class of '62." *Only Fools and Horses*, created by John Sullivan, season 7, episode 4, BBC, 1991.

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