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Retranslation in Dutch Film Subtitles

An Exploration of Cultural References in 90s Films

MA Thesis

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Abstract

This thesis explores retranslation in subtitling by analysing and comparing subtitles used by or created for VHS and Netflix. To establish whether Dutch subtitling conventions have changed towards a more foreignised and source-oriented approach in the course of the last twenty-five years, extralinguistic cultural references (ECRs) in the films *Forrest Gump* and *Dazed and Confused* were analysed and labelled according to translation procedure. Examining two different translations of the same film showed how conventions have indeed changed. In more than one third of the cases, the retranslations appear to be more foreignising than the first translations with regard to their treatment of ECRs. What has caused this change has not been explored in this study, but, as other studies suggested, this may be caused by globalisation, technology, and a better knowledge of the English language and its cultures. One explanation for this, verified by the results, is the many omissions in the VHS versions, which left no room for the retention of ECRs. In contrast, retention is the most common translation procedure in the retranslations. More research into retranslation in subtitling needs to be done to establish whether Dutch subtitles have really become more foreignising.

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1. Introduction

When Berman claimed, in what was later coined the Retranslation Hypothesis (Brownlie qtd. in Paloposki and Koskinen, “Reprocessing Texts” 48), that later translations are more likely to be foreignised and source-oriented, he was only referring to the more traditional form of text translation and in particular literary translation (1-7). Subtitling, as part of audiovisual translation, was still a relatively unresearched and upcoming field (Pérez-González, *Audiovisual Translation Theories* 12), which may be one of the reasons why this type of translation was not included in the scope of this hypothesis and other studies following Berman’s article. However, almost thirty years later, retranslation in subtitling remains a topic that is ignored in translation studies (Koskinen and Paloposki 295), even though the development from VHS to DVD and from DVD to digital media platforms such as Netflix has proven to be one of the reasons for the retranslation of subtitles. Different mediums show the need for multiple translations of the same film (Díaz-Cintas and Remael 24) and the advent of Netflix only emphasises the demand for new subtitled versions of films that were already translated many years ago.

The aim of this thesis is to explore whether Dutch subtitling conventions of English-speaking films have changed towards a more foreignised and source-oriented approach in the course of the last twenty-five years. To limit the scope of this study, only extralinguistic references to American (USA) culture will be analysed, which Pedersen describes as a good indicator of the overall translation strategy (*Subtitling Norms* 192). He explains how globalisation may be a reason why cultural substitution to translate cultural references is not used as much as it used to (“Cultural Interchangeability” 44). Also taking into account the easy access the Dutch have to American culture through TV shows and films, one may argue that Berman’s retranslation hypothesis is likely to apply to Dutch subtitling conventions. After all, there is no need for domestication in a country that is familiar with the source culture references (Pedersen, “Cultural Interchangeability” 46). In addition, Díaz-Cintas and Remael stated, in their book published in 2007, that there is a trend to retain cultural references in subtitling and that Dutch subtitlers do this even more and more when they encounter English or American cultural references (205-206). Zojer, too, emphasises this trend and argues that the reasons for this trend can be found in “digital globalisation” and the cultural “homogenisation of the world” (407-408). Considering the above, the expectation is that conventions in the translation of English dialogue into Dutch subtitles are indeed more likely to be foreignised in subtitles created for or used by Netflix (retranslations) compared to

subtitles that were produced for VHS in the nineties (first translations).

Any existing research on retranslation has primarily been conducted in the field of literary translation (Koskinen and Paloposki 295), although other fields such as scientific texts have not been ignored either (Gürçağlar 233). However, the only studies done in the field of audiovisual translation focused on comparing first versions created by subtitlers to second versions created by proofreaders (Di Giovanni), on differences between the dubbed and subtitled version of a film (Keating) or, without examining the concept of retranslation itself, on cultural or sexual references (Matielo and Espindola; Díaz-Cintas). This means that first subtitled versions of a film have rarely been compared to later subtitled versions of the same film zooming in on retranslation. Koskinen and Paloposki underline the importance of conducting research into retranslation to explore different topics (295), such as source and receiving systems (Susam-Sarajeva 4). As is the case with such research, retranslation in subtitling could provide useful insights for translation studies into, in this case, changing subtitling conventions. These conventions may indicate the preferred translation approach of translators during a specific period in time, e.g. domestication or foreignisation (Venuti 20), which may in turn be explained by the historical and socio-cultural context of the time of text production.

This thesis consists of five chapters, including this Introduction. In Chapter 2, the concepts of retranslation, subtitling, domestication and foreignisation, extralinguistic cultural references, and conventions will be discussed. Chapter 3 will give more information about the materials, method, and taxonomy used with regard to extralinguistic cultural references, which will be followed by the analysis and discussion in Chapter 4. The conclusion and limitations of the results will be provided in Chapter 5.

2. Theoretical Background

This chapter will start with an introduction to retranslation. After that, audiovisual translation, and in particular subtitling, will be discussed, which will be followed by an explanation of the gap between retranslation and subtitling. Three key concepts will be discussed and explained in section 2.4, namely domestication and foreignisation, extralinguistic cultural references, and conventions. The chapter will be concluded with a brief summary of all of the sections.

2.1 Retranslation

The concept of retranslation, which may be defined as a later translation of the same source text (e.g. a second, third, or even tenth translation of the same text into the same language), has been receiving close review in the 21st century (Koskinen and Paloposki 295). Many articles addressed the why of retranslation and concluded that the ageing of the first translation, new knowledge about the source text (including its author and culture), the need for a new translation by the receiving culture, and the influence and preferences of translators or publishing houses could all be reasons to retranslate a text (Koskinen and Paloposki 296; Gürçağlar 234; Desmidt 670; Paloposki and Koskinen, “Reprocessing Texts” 34-35, 39, 46). There clearly does not seem to be one sole reason for retranslation (Paloposki and Koskinen, “Reprocessing Texts” 46). The previously discussed motives and causes of retranslation are mostly related to traditional text translations. There are different reasons for retranslation in the field of subtitling. Copyright issues, no cooperation between companies, lower prices, and efficiency are all arguments to retranslate audiovisual texts (Di Giovanni 6). Díaz-Cintas and Remael describe how films after being first released continue to be shown and consequently, continue to be translated (200). Gottlieb also points out that there are often multiple subtitled versions of films (28). Retranslation is thus common practice in subtitling.

Studies on retranslation in general often refer to Berman’s article on the notion of first and second translations and use the term Retranslation Hypothesis, which is based on the premise that most translations ‘age’ and that first translations are incomplete (Berman 1). Koskinen and Paloposki summarise this hypothesis by saying that first translations only act as introductions, whereas second translations can use this introduction in order to be “truly loyal to the spirit of the source text” (295). This means that second translations have a tendency to be more source-oriented, whereas first translations are said to be more target-oriented (295). Even though the hypothesis may apply to some texts, there have been a number of studies which actually (indirectly) oppose this (Desmidt; Paloposki and Koskinen, “A Thousand and One Translations”, “Reprocessing Texts”; Tymoczko). Paloposki and Koskinen explain why

the hypothesis may nevertheless seem to apply sometimes. Firstly, if first translations tend to be more domesticating than second translations, this may be caused by “a *phase* in literature” (“A Thousand and One Translations” 29). This means that during a different phase in the development of a literature, there may be an opposite approach to the translation of texts (29). Secondly, translators are dependent on the extent to which the target culture will understand foreignising translations (36). In other words, a target culture may be unfamiliar with a certain source culture, which shows in a domesticating first translation, but after five years, this may have changed due to increased knowledge about this foreign culture and as a result, a more foreignising second translation is created. Aixelá also underlines the importance of time and how what used to be a cultural reference once can later be a shared concept by the source and target culture (58). These two explanations are not in line with Berman’s view of bad first translations and good second translations, but they show why the retranslation hypothesis may be accurate sometimes.

Previous studies done on retranslation in the field of subtitling, such as research conducted by Di Giovanni or Keating, do not test the retranslation hypothesis, but instead focus on subtitling competence, and ethnonyms and racial slurs, respectively. Di Giovanni’s study examines two versions of subtitles (a first version and a proofread version), which were created for the same medium and which were produced synchronically. Even though Keating actually takes retranslations into account of which some were produced diachronically, her comparison focuses on two different modes of audiovisual translation, namely dubbing and subtitling. While these two studies mention the term retranslation, Hurtado de Mendoza Azaola’s research on proper names in *Forrest Gump* does not refer to retranslation at all, even though she compares the dubbed and subtitled version of the same film. Her study is similar to the present study with regard to its focus and source text. She concludes that the target audience and the translation mode (subtitling) were two reasons for the subtitled version to be more foreignising than the dubbed version (81-82). She adds to this by stating that today’s access to other cultures is a reason for a more foreignising approach to cultural references in general (82), which will be elaborated on in section 2.3 and 2.4.2.

A study that more closely resembles the present study in terms of the mode of (re)translation and the different mediums for which these translations were produced is Díaz-Cintas’ study on the (re)translation of language with sexual connotations. He has compared two versions of subtitles created for different mediums, namely VHS and TV (47-67). His results show that the two mediums, VHS and TV, differ with regard to their approach to sexual references and that there may be many reasons for this difference to exist (64-65). The

most important conclusion of Díaz-Cintas' study that is relevant for the present one is that it shows that two translations of the same film can indeed differ in their translation approach and that this difference does not have to be minor. Another study comparing two versions of a translation is Matielo and Espindola's research on domestication and foreignisation in official and non-official subtitles. What is interesting about both Díaz-Cintas', and Matielo and Espindola's studies is that, surprisingly, none of them mention the term retranslation, even though these are one of the few studies done which have compared two subtitled versions of the same series/film. Many studies that compare two translations often focus on the differences between dubbing and subtitling (e.g. Keating, Törnqvist), but there are few that compare different subtitled versions of the same series or film.

One final important notion regarding retranslations is the problem of categorising them, i.e. what constitutes a retranslation and when can it be considered a revision instead? Paloposki and Koskinen point out how retranslations are sometimes presented as new translations, i.e. retranslations, even though they may be considered to be merely revised translations ("Reprocessing Texts" 47). The same may apply to the films used for this study. The VHS versions of these films may not technically be first translations, since there was a cinema version first. It is almost impossible to check whether the theatre versions and the VHS versions are the same, except for the unavoidable changes that usually take place when changing mediums (e.g. the number of subtitles in cinema versions are higher than in DVD versions) (Díaz-Cintas and Remael 23-25), or whether a different translation has been created altogether. This does not mean that the concept of retranslation cannot be studied. The subtitles used on Netflix are different from the VHS versions, but since no exact publication dates are known for these translations, it is hard to establish if these translations are third, fourth or maybe sixth translations. It is, however, safe to say that the VHS versions are older than the versions used by Netflix. The fact that these versions are actually different and that the Netflix versions were published later means the latter may indeed be considered retranslations. Even if the VHS versions are new translations, a comparison can still be drawn, but instead of comparing first and second translations, two retranslations will be compared. If the VHS versions are, however, based on the cinema versions, then they may not be recognised as retranslations at all, as small revisions applied to an existing translation may be placed towards the left of the continuum described by Paloposki and Koskinen ("Reprocessing Texts" 47). The right of this continuum would indicate a completely new translation (i.e. a retranslation) (see figure 1).

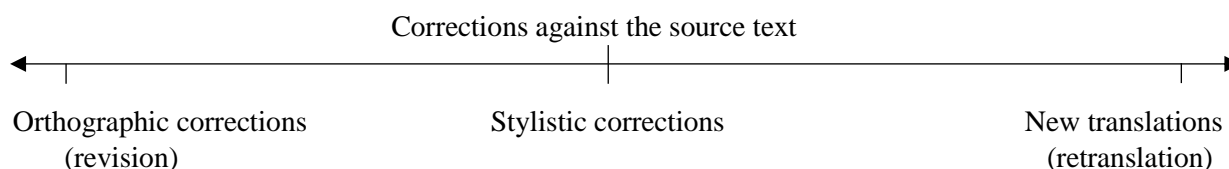


Figure 1

Continuum of different versions of translations¹

Assuming that the VHS versions are similar to or at least based on the cinema versions, a comparison can be made between first translations, the VHS versions, and later translations, the Netflix versions.

The link between retranslation and audiovisual translation will be established in section 2.3, in which the possibility of applying the retranslation hypothesis to audiovisual translation will be discussed. First, an overview of the history of subtitling and some background information on film semiotics will be given.

2.2 Subtitling

With intertitles coming into being at the beginning of the 20th century (Pérez-González, *Audiovisual Translation Theories* 40-41), subtitles in its earliest form soon followed in the late 1920s (Pérez-González, “Audiovisual translation” 14). Now, in the 21st century, audiovisual translation has been increasingly growing (Pérez-González, *Audiovisual Translation Theories* 14), and the arrival of digital media platforms and the continually improving technology have influenced the way consumers access and use audiovisual material (Pérez-González, *Audiovisual Translation Theories* 58, 62). Consumers are able to choose what kind of films and TV programmes they want to watch, and when and how to watch them. When VHS was still predominantly used for watching films or series at home, consumers were not able to choose between intralingual or interlingual subtitles or even select the language of the subtitles. Recent developments such as the advances of technology, and the use and availability of media have had and still have an influence on subtitling conventions (Pérez-González, *Audiovisual Translation Theories* 17). Before discussing this in section 2.3, the characteristics of (film) subtitling will be explained.

¹ This continuum is based on Paloposki and Koskinen’s explanation of revisions and retranslations

(“Reprocessing Texts” 47), but is by no means a black-and-white division. Paloposki and Koskinen explain how a continuum might not even be a good representation of this phenomenon (47), so this figure merely serves as an illustration of the distinction between revisions and retranslations. The labels revision and retranslation are thus not fixed either.

Subtitling used to be referred to as a constrained type of translation (Díaz-Cintas and Remael 11) because of its time and space limitations. Since a transfer needs to be made from spoken to written language, many characteristics of speech (e.g. false starts) need to be deleted to avoid any illegible or very long subtitles (Díaz-Cintas and Remael 61-64). Not only is this transition challenging, subtitlers only have a limited time and space to convey what has been said, because the reading speed of audiences, shot changes, the number of characters, and many more conventions and factors need to be taken into account in the translation process (81-99). This is why Zojer speaks of “extreme editing” of the spoken text (403-404).

Due to all these constraints and the presence of the source text, Díaz-Cintas and Remael use the term “vulnerable translation” (57). The fact that the audience has access to the source text and can thus judge, provided that the level of proficiency of the source language is high enough, whether the subtitles are being faithful to the source text is called the “gossiping effect” (Törnqvist 49) or the “feedback effect”. Nedergaard-Larsen describes the latter as possibly being problematic for translators in the case of, for example, proper names, gestures or the order of elements (212). She takes both the soundtrack and the visuals into account when she discusses the feedback effect and she relates this effect to cultural references. The original dialogue and the visuals can either aid or hinder the translation of culturally related items (214). For example, there is a reference to Dr Peppers in the film *Forrest Gump*. The main character, Forrest, tells that he has drunk too many bottles of this drink while the empty bottles are shown on screen. This is a case of redundancy (Nedergaard-Larsen 214), because the visuals portray the dialogue. As a result, the typically American drink cannot be substituted by a cultural equivalent, which is not necessarily a problem for a Dutch audience since the drink is sold in the Netherlands, but this may be a problem for countries where the audiences have never heard of this drink. Using cultural substitution would be a denial of what the audience hears and sees. The advantage of this particular situation may be that the term can be omitted altogether, because the audience may only need the visuals to understand the situation. The feedback effect does thus not only emphasise the limitations of this medium and this form of subtitling.

Another more positive view on subtitling, despite it being partly based on the constraints of subtitling, is Pedersen’s description of subtitling as “a pragmatic form of translation” in which “communication with the reader” is important (*Subtitling Norms* 37). Ramière also emphasises the pragmatic side of audiovisual translation and describes how technical constraints should always be taken into consideration when analysing translation procedures (160). These notions show how subtitling is different from other forms of

translation. However, the constraints involved, which the previous paragraph showed have a somewhat negative connotation, do not automatically have to be disadvantageous, because audiovisual translation does not rely on text only (Díaz-Cintas and Remael 145; Nedergaard-Larsen 214-215). It is certainly not the only form of translation that has to deal with certain issues during translation; all translation is basically challenging in its own way (Díaz-Cintas and Remael 145) and subtitling does not necessarily present more challenges than other types of translation (Nedergaard-Larsen 237).

What sets audiovisual translation apart from other forms of translation is the visual semiotic sign (image), which cooperates with the oral semiotic sign (sound) (Díaz-Cintas and Remael 9). Delabastita makes a similar distinction regarding signs in films, namely a verbal sign communicated through sound (dialogue) and sight (credits, letters, and documents), and a non-verbal sign communicated through sound (background noise, music) and sight (gestures) (101-102). The advantage of polysemiotic texts is that the visuals and sounds can replace the need for the (complete) translation of the verbal sign (Díaz-Cintas and Remael 145; Nedergaard-Larsen 214). Adding to that, the non-verbal visual signs are the main channel of communication to convey culture (Pedersen, *Subtitling Norms* 48), which should also aid the understanding of the foreign to the target culture. There is a “triangular relationship” between the dialogue and the visuals, namely the interaction between the characters in the film, the interaction between the characters’ dialogue and the film’s visual signs, and the interaction between the audience and the film’s verbal and visual signs (Vanoye qtd. in Díaz-Cintas and Remael 48). Speidel also describes how there is an “interplay between the visual and the audio, and between the word and the image” (80). This means that subtitlers cannot ignore the visual sign while translating the verbal sign, especially since it can render certain translations redundant.

2.3 The Gap Between Retranslation and Subtitling

As was established in the Introduction, retranslation in audiovisual translation has received little attention, and Di Giovanni encourages research into retranslations of film subtitles to learn more about any changes regarding language use and faithfulness to the source text (14), which is part of what this study will try to achieve. By examining extralinguistic cultural references, a possible change with regard to conventions could be shown, as well as the probability of the Retranslation Hypothesis in subtitling. In section 2.1 I referred to Paloposki and Koskinen’s explanation of why the hypothesis appears to be true in some cases. The “phase” in literature that they discuss (“A Thousand and One Translations” 29) may well be

applied to subtitles, because the developments in technology and media use discussed in section 2.2 together with globalisation may be a reason for subtitling to have arrived in a different phase from the one in the nineties. Pedersen describes how evolving technology and changing values in society may influence translation norms (*Subtitling Norms* 32). One example of the latter, mentioned in the Introduction and section 2.2 and related to retranslation in audiovisual translation, is Keating's comparison of dubbed and subtitled versions of different films. Although she does not explicitly zoom in on norms, she notes that changes in society regarding the acceptability of, in this case, "ethnic offence" may have influenced the translation choices of the subtitled versions, the retranslations, (310-311), thus showing that the time of production of a translation is important.

Another example, related to technological and societal changes, is the shift in translation approach towards a more foreignising strategy in Denmark after the 1990s (Pedersen, "Cultural Interchangeability" 43-44). Globalisation and the awareness of "Anglophone culture" in Scandinavia have changed the expectations of viewers towards subtitles to a lesser acceptance of cultural substitution (e.g. a reference to the source culture is replaced by a reference to the target culture) (44). It therefore seems likely that the same shift has happened in the Netherlands, since Denmark and Sweden are, just like the Netherlands, typical subtitling countries (Pérez-González, "Audiovisual translation" 18), which means that the audience is used to listening to foreign languages, and in particular English, and as Pedersen indicates, subtitling countries may prefer less domesticating procedures (*Subtitling Norms* 211). The similarities between the Netherlands and Scandinavia with regard to conventions will be further discussed in section 2.4.3. Even though the shift in Denmark was in the nineties, the changing conventions then may have developed towards an even more foreignising approach now.

2.4 Key Concepts

This study will use three concepts which need a definition and explanation before proceeding with the Materials and Method chapter. The first concept is related to Venuti's notions of domestication and foreignisation. After that, extralinguistic cultural references will be explained and discussed to show the scope of the extracted data. The third concept, conventions, needs to be clarified to show the type of regularities being researched here and how this term is different from related concepts such as norms and laws. Throughout this section, the terms *procedures* and *strategies* will be used, but it is important to clarify the use of them in this study. I will use the term *procedures* to refer to the way a translator has

handled certain individual items, whereas the term *strategies* is related to the overall approach to a translation.

2.4.1 Domestication Versus Foreignisation

The first reference to a translation strategy that involved domestication and foreignisation was from Schleiermacher when he argued that there are two possibilities to bring the source text writer and the target text reader together: “the translator leaves the writer in peace as much as possible and moves the reader toward him; or he leaves the reader in peace as much as possible and moves the writer toward him” (49). The first possibility requires a degree of flexibility regarding the language of the target text (55), whereas the second possibility is considered to be almost impossible (56). Schleiermacher claims the first way, foreignisation, to be the preferable method of translation (62). Venuti agrees with Schleiermacher’s choice for a foreignising translation, a term Venuti coins himself together with domestication, but he views foreignisation as a “cultural intervention”, a “form of resistance”, against the hegemony of English (20). Unlike Schleiermacher, who emphasises the importance of choosing one strategy only because combining strategies would result in ineffective communication (49), Venuti states that translators can decide on “the degree and direction of the violence at work” (19), which seems to be showing that the distinction between domestication and foreignisation is not black and white.

Pym offers an even more nuanced view of the opposites domestication and foreignisation by formulating the principle that no decision needs to be made between either one of the cultures, the source culture or target culture, and that the attention should instead be directed towards interculturality (167). Nedergaard-Larsen also highlights the fact that a translator does not necessarily employ one strategy only in a book or film (216). Translators sometimes even make contradictory decisions with regard to translation strategy (Tymoczko 55-57). In this study, the terms domestication and foreignisation will not be used as binary opposites either. Instead, they will be used to describe two different translation approaches: one approach tends to retain as many of the features of the source language and culture as possible (foreignisation), whereas the other tends to adapt the target text to the target language and culture as much as possible (domestication), which does not mean that a more foreignising approach never involves using a target-oriented procedure. These two opposites can be placed on a continuum. The focus of this study will be to establish which target text, the first translation or the later translation, is more foreignised in order to discover any changes in conventions.

Having analysed extralinguistic cultural references, which will be elaborated on in the next subsection, Pedersen concludes that polysemiotic texts such as films can never be truly target-oriented because of the presence of the source text and the other modes of communication in films such as the visuals (*Subtitling Norms* 192). The results of his study show that the majority of the translation procedures used to render cultural references are source-oriented (192-193). A study by Horbačasienė et al., based on Pedersen's taxonomy, shows similar results (226). This means that, as explained in 2.3, the tendency to foreignise, which started in the previous century, may prove to be even more foreignising now. In other words, the expectation is that the first translations used in this study are not necessarily very domesticating, but less foreignised than their retranslations. Pedersen proposes that this trend may be caused by the increased knowledge of English and its cultures, but also by the limited preparation time available to subtitlers (*Subtitling Norms* 193). Horbačasienė et al. attribute the tendency to foreignise to the subtitling situation in Lithuania, which is still in development (228).

As mentioned in the introduction and section 2.1, Matielo and Espindola have compared two subtitled versions of the series *Heroes*, of which one version is an official translation and one an unofficial translation. Their main focus is domestication and foreignisation, but they use culture-specific references to analyse these two concepts. This means that their research is very similar to the present study, except for the concept of retranslation. Their results are similar to the ones discussed in the previous paragraph: most of the cultural references are foreignised (Matielo and Espindola 89).

2.4.2 Extralinguistic Cultural References

There have been multiple articles and books on cultural references in translation in general (Aixelá; Baker; Dickins; Grit; Hervey and Higgins) and on cultural references in subtitling (Nedergaard-Larsen; Pedersen; Ramière; Zojer), but they are only a glimpse of the research on cultural references. What most of these studies have in common is that the researchers have created a list of translation procedures, sometimes based on other taxonomies, to render cultural references. Whereas some studies use real examples to clarify the translation procedures, only a few studies have examined actual texts. Opposing the studies that have created a taxonomy on the translation of cultural references, Ramière shows that labelling translations according to translation procedure is rather difficult, since a translator's decision may be interpreted in different ways and often, two procedures have been used at the same time, thus complicating deciding whether a translation is more foreignised or domesticised

(158). She adds to this by claiming that a translation procedure cannot be easily classified as foreignising or domesticising and that this is highly context-dependent (158). Ramière may be right to some extent in that one translation procedure does not have to be either a foreignisation or a domestication and that context is important, but this does not mean that labelling source text and target text pairs according to translation procedure is not useful when deciding which is the predominant strategy, especially not in retranslation where two target texts are compared. Since the context of these two target texts is the same, the comparison of the translation procedures used will be a way to determine which one of the two translations is more foreignised.

Zojer's article on cultural references in subtitling postulates that cultural references can be used as a "measuring indicator of the degree of interculturality of the cultures involved" (409). The retention of cultural references thus shows the extent to which cultures are connected and the extent to which globalisation has taken place (408-409). In other words, changing norms, in this case more foreignising norms, may be considered 'proof' of the "advance, progress and speed" of globalisation, which Zojer states requires more research (408-409). This is precisely what this study will try to explore: do retranslations of subtitles verify the progress of globalisation and does the latter result in the use of more foreignising translation procedures? The results of this study, however, need to be interpreted with caution. Gottlieb compared English-Danish and Danish-English subtitles with regard to ECRs and his results show that foreignisation in subtitling may not only occur when a target culture is familiar with the source culture (39-41). He demonstrates that "localisms" from Danish films do not necessarily have to be adapted to the American target audience (most of whom do not know the Danish language or culture) for films to be successful in the USA (41). More research certainly needs to be done (using mainstream films) (Gottlieb 41), but nonetheless, Gottlieb shows that one cannot simply claim that globalisation and the degree of culturality are the causes of more foreignising strategies.

The scope of this study, extralinguistic references to American culture, was outlined in the introduction and it was described how other cultures and intralinguistic features would be excluded to limit the scope of this study. What does an extralinguistic cultural reference actually entail? Pedersen defines the term as "an extralinguistic entity or process" that is expected to be known to the audience in question and that is conveyed by a "linguistic expression" (*Subtitling Norms* 43). In another article, he defines this term as "expressions that refer to entities outside language, such as names of people, places, institutions, food, customs etc., which a person may not know, even if s/he knows the language ("Cultural

Interchangeability” 30). Díaz-Cintas and Remael use a different term altogether, namely “culture-bound terms”, and define it as “extralinguistic references to items that are tied up with a country’s culture, history, or geography” (200). Ramière also includes non-verbal signs in the labelling of cultural references and defines culturally related items as “objects or concepts that are specific to the original sociocultural context of the film” (155). She adds that these objects and concepts differ from similar items and ideas in the target culture (155). These four definitions will be used as a basis for this study in that cultural items refer to extralinguistic phenomena related to, in this case, the USA that most viewers from this country who watch the selected source texts (films) are familiar with, but which may not be known to the target audience, in this case people from the Netherlands. Intralinguistic cultural references, which will be further elaborated on in the next two paragraphs according to Díaz-Cintas and Remael’s description of marked speech (187), are excluded. In order to limit the scope of this study, I will not include non-verbal signs, unlike Ramière. To facilitate the reading, extralinguistic cultural references will be referred to as ECRs, which corresponds with the abbreviation used by Pedersen (*Subtitling Norms* 43).

Since a linguistic expression needs to be used to convey an ECR, there is a grey area between intralinguistic and extralinguistic cultural references, because language can be considered to be part of everything, including ECRs (Nedergaard-Larsen 210; Pedersen, “How is Culture Rendered” 2). Pedersen clarifies this difference by stating that all cultural references are conveyed using language, but in the case of ECRs, the reference itself is extralinguistic (*Subtitling Norms* 45). Nedergaard-Larsen’s classification of culture-bound terms and their problem types serve as a good example of clarifying the meaning of extralinguistic cultural references even more (211). The list of problems she has compiled are cultural geography (e.g. names of towns), history (e.g. names of historical people), society (e.g. customs), and culture (e.g. education) (211). Although the difference between intralinguistic and extralinguistic references is not always black and white, which Pedersen underlines by stating that there is no clear line (*Subtitling Norms* 49), this overlap will not influence this study as its main focus is retranslation and the differences between the two target texts.

To contrast Nedergaard-Larsen’s list of examples, I will use Díaz-Cintas and Remael’s subdivisions of “marked speech” to show four types of language-related problems in subtitling, namely style, register, dialects, and emotionally charged words (187). The last three features are particularly relevant in this study, since they can refer to an object or person that is highly culturally related (e.g. *Negro*), but which may not be extralinguistic. Pedersen’s

exclusion of informal slang expressions and formal honorifics from extralinguistic cultural references is similar to these features of marked speech, because slang, for example, is often part of dialects and emotionally charged words (*Subtitling Norms* 49). Register may not always be strictly intralinguistic. In one of the films used in this study, there are many references to military ranks, which may be considered to be ECRs. Pedersen includes professional titles in the domains constituting ECRs (*Subtitling Norms* 59). However, they may also be labelled as register, since they belong to a certain topic and are determined by “a particular social situation”, which would make them intralinguistic (Díaz-Cintas and Remael 189). This example shows how there may be a thin line between intralinguistic and extralinguistic cultural references. In the Materials and Method chapter, there will be a more elaborate discussion on the identification of ECRs.

To end this subsection on ECRs, it seems appropriate to briefly examine any possible influences on the translation of these references, which will be referred back to in the discussion of the results. Pedersen proposes seven parameters that can explain why an ST-TT item has been translated in a certain way (*Subtitling Norms* 105). Not all of these parameters are relevant for this study. For example, the second parameter, extratextuality, is not relevant, since only fictional or non-fictional references that exist outside the film are analysed in this study and not fictional references that are only part of the film itself. This means that fictional proper names in the films will not be included in the analysis. The first parameter, transculturality, is related to the type of reference and whether it is bound to the source culture (106). This parameter is partly relevant, because this study only takes American references into account, which means that references to third cultures are irrelevant. Parameters that are of significance to the analysis are centrality, polysemiotics, co-text, media-specific constraints, and subtitling situation. Centrality concerns the importance of the cultural reference in the film on either a macro-level or micro-level (111-112). As a result, the degree of importance influences the appropriateness of the translation procedure (111-112). The concepts of polysemiotics and media-specific constraints and their importance regarding translation decisions were discussed earlier in section 2.2. Co-text (the dialogue) is similar to polysemiotics in that certain information can become redundant, because the information was given or explained earlier in the film (114). The last parameter, subtitling situation, is related to the overall text and the translation situation (115). Questions related to the text as a whole are, for example, “What genre is the ST?” (115). Pedersen underlines the significance of the subtitling situation, because it affects the micro-level translation decisions (116). Certain guidelines created by, for example, the publishing company also influence the overall

approach to translating the text and consequently, the translation of cultural references (116-177). The subtitling guidelines written by Netflix, which are of interest to the present study, will be discussed in the next section. Other factors belonging to the subtitling situation, such as the genre of the source text, will be discussed in the Materials and Method chapter.

2.4.3 Conventions

A translation can show the norms that governed the translator's behaviour (Pedersen, *Subtitling Norms* 28-29), since translation can be regarded as "norm-governed behaviour" (Schäffner 237). Norm-governed behaviour can be seen when multiple translations or translators share the same regularities (Pedersen, *Subtitling Norms* 34). Any observed regularities are, however, not automatically norms, but using these regularities, possible norms may be established (Toury 15). This can be done by extracting norms from regularities, because the latter are the result of norms (15). Referring to a quote by Toury about norms, Schäffner interprets his description of them (he calls them performance instructions) as "internalised behavioural constraints" that translators have (237). She states that norms show what a community thinks is appropriate (237). The community, which may in this case be regarded as the target audience, and the translators themselves both influence norms. Pedersen includes a third group, namely the commissioners of a translation (*Subtitling Norms* 34). There is thus an interaction between the producers, the commissioners, and the consumers of translations that may result in the creation of norms (34). Even though norms may give more insight into the behaviour of translators, the norms enforced by commissioners, and the expectations of the target audience, the focus in this study will mostly be on conventions, because the number of films being researched are simply too small. Therefore, it will be hard to establish definite norms. While norms are more prescriptive, showing what translators should do (Desmidt 670; Pedersen, *Subtitling Norms* 31), conventions show what translators "tend to do" (Pedersen, *Subtitling Norms* 31). The latter are too vague to serve as guidelines (Toury 14). If translators deviate from a norm, i.e. they do something that is different from the expectations of the audience, this may be noticed and, as Toury observes about the concept of norms, it will involve sanctions (16). This is different for conventions: any deviation from them does not have "serious consequences" (Pedersen, *Subtitling Norms* 31).

Pedersen places norms and conventions in the middle of a cline, in which there is a distinction between laws, rules, norms, conventions, regularities, and idiosyncracies (*Subtitling Norms* 30-33). Toury proposes a similar continuum with norms in the middle (16). An explanation was already given of why the emphasis will be on conventions rather than on

norms, but the other terms require clarification, too. Laws and rules are too strong terms in the context of the present study to describe the behaviour of the subtitlers, because, similar to norms, the number of films being studied are too few. Idiosyncracies (translator's personal preferences) may be noticed when comparing different target texts, but they are of less interest to this study. Regularities, which are described as "recurring patterns" that "may or may not have been noticed and shared by others" (Pedersen, *Subtitling Norms* 31), may be found as well, because some behaviour may be too irregular to become conventions. The main focus will be on conventions and this term will be used throughout the following chapters. Before certain conventions may be found in the translations to be studied, I will examine the subtitling guidelines currently used by Netflix, which may be considered part of norms but mostly of rules imposed by the streaming service. These guidelines can be informative as regards extratextual influences on translators' behaviour (Schäffner 239-240). As discussed in section 2.2, subtitling, similar to other forms of translation, can be limited by certain factors such as time, which, besides guidelines, may also be of influence on translators' decisions.

Netflix has its own style guide for "timed text" with general requirements, and additionally, Netflix offers extra guidelines for different countries, including the Netherlands. The requirements cover topics such as duration, frame gap, line treatment, and consistency. The following three requirements are rather interesting: (1) Netflix employs a seven-second rule regarding the maximum duration of subtitles on the screen, (2) Netflix does not want currency to be converted into a local currency, and (3) Netflix requires that the name of the subtitler is mentioned at the end of the video. Requirement one deviates from the much applied "six-second rule", which describes that "an average viewer can comfortably read in six seconds the text written on two full subtitle lines" (Díaz-Cintas and Remael 96). However, Díaz-Cintas and Remael emphasise that some companies may not follow this rule (97). Requirement two shows a degree of foreignisation, but unfortunately, Netflix does not explain why this is important. Requirement three shows that Netflix attaches importance to acknowledging the subtitler and his/her visibility.

The requirements of the Dutch guidelines show a tendency to foreignise. Proper names, nicknames, and main titles may generally not be translated unless there is an official translation or unless it is stated otherwise (Netflix). However, any measurements should be changed to the metric system and it is recommended not to use Anglicisms unless they are commonly used in Dutch. Netflix states that no censoring regarding expletives should take place, which is interesting since seeing them in subtitles may have a stronger impact than just

hearing them (Díaz-Cintas and Remael 196). On the other hand, expletives have become more common in European subtitling (197). Netflix notes that the preferred strategy for a Dutch audience is “condensed translation”. The last two requirements about expletives and condensation were part of the heading “Special Instructions”. It is interesting to note that in the German guidelines these two requirements are not included, whereas the no censoring requirement is included in the French and Italian guidelines and both requirements are included in the Danish, Norwegian and Swedish guidelines. The reason for the condensation of subtitles in the Netherlands and in Scandinavian countries may be found in the high English proficiency level of these audiences (*EF English Proficiency Index*), which Gottlieb labels as one of the influencing factors of “the degree of fidelity” (24), but also in the fact that these countries are labelled as “subtitling countries” (Pérez-González, “Audiovisual translation” 18) where similar conventions are apparently observed.

2.5 Summary

This chapter started with the concept of retranslation. This phenomenon is relatively unresearched in the field of subtitling, which is why it is an interesting topic for research. The form of translation being researched is film subtitling. This type of audiovisual translation is influenced by many factors, such as visuals, space constraints, and the presence of the source text. The focus of the research, however, will be on retranslation. The question is whether later translations show a different approach to translation than first translations. This is when the concepts domestication and foreignisation are needed to discover the tendencies in both translations. These two opposites, which are not viewed as mutually exclusive translation approaches, will be used as a way to compare and analyse the ST-TT items and their translation procedures. The extracted items concern extralinguistic references to American culture, which means intralinguistic cultural references such as slang are excluded. After the analysis, certain tendencies, i.e. conventions, may be discovered, which may result in concluding that one of the translations is more foreignised than the other.

3. Materials and Method

To discover whether Dutch subtitling conventions in American films have changed towards a more foreignising approach in the last twenty-five years, I extracted extralinguistic cultural references from two source texts, the process of which will be discussed in the next two sections. Once the selection of ECRs was completed, their translations, the first translation (TT1) and the retranslation (TT2), were extracted. These data, the source text (ST) and its two translations, were collected in a table. In order to aid the identification of the more foreignising approach when comparing TT1 and TT2, the translations of the ECRs were labelled according to translation procedure. It was then decided which one of the two translations was more foreignising. Unlike Pedersen, who only analysed types, each ECR and its TT rendering (tokens) were extracted from the STs and included in the analysis (*Subtitling Norms* 151). The approach to the STs was thus different, because each occurrence of an ECR was extracted and analysed so that a comparison could be made between the way the ECR was treated in TT1 and TT2. In section 3.1, the materials (two films) will be discussed. Section 3.2 will provide more insight into the selection of ECRs and the labelling by translation procedure.

3.1 Materials

The award-winning drama film *Forrest Gump*, directed by Robert Zemeckis, was released in 1994 and is based on a book by Winston Groom (Bauer). The main character of the film is a man with a low IQ who shares his personal experiences from a bus stop bench. Because he is part of many historical events, the film contains numerous cultural references. The film from 1994 without any subtitles was used as the ST. As explained in section 2.1, the two TTs consisted of a VHS (TT1) version, which was translated by Mirjam Beerse, and a Netflix version (TT2). It is important to note that the Netflix version is the same as the DVD version, which means that Netflix probably bought the copyrights of these subtitles. Even though this Netflix version is not technically created by them, but only used by them, I will refer to these subtitles as the Netflix version. According to *Netflix Nederland*, the film was uploaded to the website on 19th August 2017, but an earlier article on *Netflix Nederland* shows that it was also available in 2015. The film was probably temporarily unavailable and was uploaded again in 2017. The Dutch subtitles were most likely created in 2001, as stated on the DVD released in the Netherlands.

The comedy film *Dazed and Confused*, directed by Richard Linklater, was released in 1993 and features many actors who are now very famous (Augustyn). The film is set in the

seventies and revolves around the last day of school before the summer. Because the story involves high school students, there are many cultural references to school traditions such as initiations, but also topics that interest students such as music and sports. The film without subtitles was used as the ST. The first translation was a VHS version (TT1), which was translated by Johannes Hoogduin (from IFT Media Services A/S), and the retranslation was a Netflix version (TT2). The retranslation was uploaded to Netflix on 1st February 2018 (*Netflix Nederland*), which means that the subtitles were probably created in the same year.

The three reasons for using these two films are the many cultural references (as explained in the previous paragraphs), the availability of these films, and the time of distribution. What complicated the selection of films was their availability on both Netflix and VHS. Many potential source texts were discarded, because they could either not be easily purchased on VHS or they were suddenly removed from the Netflix website (the films and series on offer are updated every month). Another factor was the subtitles themselves, which needed to be different on both VHS and Netflix. Some of the subtitled versions were exactly the same, but there were also a few instances in which the Netflix subtitles highly resembled the VHS subtitles and only minor differences could be found. Di Giovanni describes how new translations may be based on earlier translations (6), and so these newer subtitles may not be considered retranslations at all, but revisions instead, as explained in section 2.1. When this was likely to be the case, the film was considered to be unsuitable for the analysis. Both of the films for analysis were distributed in the nineties, which means that the subtitles were created in the nineties as well. The retranslations were likely created in 2001 and 2018, so between the production of the first translation and the retranslation there is a seven-year gap (*Forrest Gump*) and a twenty-five-year gap (*Dazed and Confused*). This gap is part of the expectations (described in the introduction) that subtitling conventions have changed to a more foreignising approach in the course of the last twenty-five years. Even though the retranslation of *Dazed and Confused* is much more recent than the retranslation of *Forrest Gump*, differences between these two retranslations were not explored, because the main focus was on the differences between the first translations and the retranslations.

3.2 Method

3.2.1 Selecting ECRs

The definition of ECRs and the grey area between intralinguistic and extralinguistic items was explained in section 2.4.2. Only ECRs that referred to American references in the dialogue of the STs (including dialogue on TV) were extracted. Unlike Pedersen (*Subtitling Norms* 152),

this study included both monocultural ECRs (i.e. an ECR that is only known in the source culture) and transcultural ECRs (i.e. ECRs that are shared by the source and target culture), because what was once a monocultural may now be transcultural. Only transcultural ECRs that originated in the source culture were included. Extralinguistic means that intralinguistic references such as dialect and emotionally charged utterances were excluded, according to Díaz-Cintas and Remael's explanation of marked speech (187). Section 2.4.2 shows that besides these two features of marked speech, which are considered to be part of intralinguistic references in this study, Díaz-Cintas and Remael also discuss style and register when describing the translation of "non-standard language" (187). Register was established to be a borderline case in that it may be considered both intralinguistic and extralinguistic. Style often does not entail references, be they intralinguistic or extralinguistic, so this feature was not relevant in the selection of ECRs.

To clarify the differences between intralinguistic and extralinguistic cultural references, Pedersen explains that ECRs cannot be easily accessed by people from another culture, even if they know the source language (*Subtitling Norms* 46). This means that in order to be able to access a certain ECR, a target audience also needs knowledge of the source culture (46). This explanation underlines why dialect or swear words are not regarded as ECRs. Slang words refer to 'standard' words in a language, which are often not ECRs, e.g. *pig – police*. Understanding slang thus requires knowledge of the language, which is why all slang items were excluded. To determine whether an item was slang (e.g. *grunt*), I used Cambridge Dictionary, Van Dale and Merriam-Webster. Even if only one dictionary labelled an item as such, I excluded it from the analysis. Some terms were not listed in these dictionaries, so other (online) dictionaries were consulted to clarify the meaning of the term and to establish if the term could be considered slang. Dalzell's dictionary on slang of the Vietnam War, for example, was a useful source in deciding whether any of the military words in *Forrest Gump* were slang.

Using Pedersen's explanation, it is possible to also eliminate sayings or nicknames, because the first requires knowledge of the language to understand them and the latter can be expressed using a more standard term, which often is not extralinguistic. However, if the more standard term of a nickname could be considered an ECR or if the nickname itself was an ECR and the referent was a fictional ECR, it was included in the analysis (e.g. *The King*, a nickname but the reference is extralinguistic; *Bernstein*, a nickname which is an ECR, but its referent is the name of a fictional character). Nicknames are somewhat similar to words that the dictionary labels as *informal*. Items considered to be informal were dealt with similarly to

nicknames and they were only included in the analysis if the referent was extralinguistic (e.g. *bucks – dollars*). For example, informal names for objects such as fighter aircrafts, in this case *fast movers*, show that its referent is not an ECR, whereas the term itself may be obscure even if you understand English. This example may even be considered to be part of slang, “a secret language” (Díaz-Cintas and Remael 191).

To understand register, knowledge of the language is required, but this is slightly different from slang words, because register is often related to extralinguistic domains, such as sports. This is why register was treated differently from slang. To decide whether a term should be excluded, I established if there was a more standard term in the language that would refer to the same phenomenon. If not, the term could be considered an ECR. An example of this is jargon related to American football. Terms such as *quarterback* and *hut* cannot be expressed with a more standard term other than a paraphrase.

Finally, extralinguistic cultural references that are shared by different Anglo-Saxon cultures (e.g. *show-and-tell*), including the USA, were included. Even though it was emphasised earlier that only American cultural references were taken into account, shared ECRs are a valuable source of information as well. Excluding them would result in a smaller number of ECRs, because measurements (e.g. *feet*), too, would have to be disregarded. This does not mean that, for example, baseball terms were included, because even though it is a popular sport in the USA, it is played in many other non-Anglo-Saxon cultures, too.

To show how certain items were excluded, I will share two more examples of the extraction process. Even though Pedersen describes how identifying ECRs can often be done intuitively (*Subtitling Norms* 48), this is not the case for all items. Firstly, some American terms exist very similarly in the Netherlands, but since certain concepts in both countries are actually different, these terms should be included. Pedersen explains how *lieutenant* may have a similar term in Swedish, but both terms refer to a lieutenant working for a different army (*Subtitling Norms* 99-100). The same applies to a Dutch lieutenant and an American one, which is an example of an ECR in *Forrest Gump*. Even though the ranking in the Dutch and American army is very similar, there are some differences, which turns this borderline ECR into a more convincing ECR. This, however, does not mean that every term should be viewed this way, because many concepts, even an everyday object such as a mailbox, are slightly different in each country, but including these would obviously make this study too broad. *Lieutenant* always refers to a title given to someone in a certain country, whereas *mailbox* does not belong to one country only, even if the mailbox referred to in a film is one located in the USA. A second example is the distinction between fictional and non-fictional references,

the first of which were excluded from the analysis. In *Dazed and Confused*, there is a reference to situational locations (e.g. *Emporium*) and existing locations (e.g. *Centennial*). The latter were or are actual places in Austin whereas the first were only used in the film itself. This means that some research needed to be done in order to decide which ECRs should be extracted and which should not. The above observations show that the selection of ECRs was not always straightforward.

3.2.2 Translation Procedures

To aid the decision of deciding whether TT1 or TT2 was more foreignising, all TT items were labelled according to the translation procedure that was used. Pedersen's "taxonomy of ECR transfer strategies" was applied to determine how the ECR was rendered (*Subtitling Norms* 75). The reasons for choosing his taxonomy are threefold. Firstly, the taxonomy is focused on extralinguistic cultural references and subtitling norms, the first of which I zoomed in on to limit the scope of this study. Secondly, the model was developed for the empirical study of television subtitles, which means that it is not just a theoretical model but also a model put to practice. Thirdly, the data Pedersen used were mostly from Scandinavia, which sections 2.3 and 2.4.3 showed is similar to the Netherlands in terms of being a typical subtitling country and its people having a high level of English proficiency, and were based on English source texts (*Subtitling Norms* 2). There is thus a clear overlap between his study and the present study. Even though Pedersen's categorisation (75) highly resembles Nedergaard-Larsen's taxonomy (219), Pedersen's study is more recent, more specific, and contains more data, which renders it more relevant to the present study.

The seven procedures that Pedersen proposed will be discussed to show how his taxonomy was used in this study. Not all of Pedersen's subcategories were used, because some did not provide much more information regarding domestication and foreignisation. Only in cases where TT1 and TT2 showed a difference within these subcategories, they were highlighted. Some of the procedures will be compared to Díaz Cintas and Remael's strategies (202) to clarify the parameters of each procedure. After each procedure has been explained, a table will be presented with all of the procedures, including examples from the studied materials to clarify the use of each procedure. The procedures are presented from source-oriented to target-oriented, according to Pedersen's overview (official equivalents excluded, because they are not part of a linguistic process but an administrative one) (*Subtitling Norms* 75, 97). However, not all of these procedures are strictly source-oriented or target-oriented. Direct translation (source-oriented), generalisation (target-oriented), and omission (target-

oriented) can “only vaguely” be placed within these strategies (75-76). Retention and specification are two clear-cut source-oriented procedures and substitution is the only clear-cut target-oriented procedure (75-76).

a. Retention

Pedersen uses this term to describe ECRs that are “retained in the subtitle unchanged, or slightly adapted to meet TL requirements” (*Subtitling Norms* 76). He makes a distinction between *complete* and *TL-adjusted* retentions (e.g. ST – *The King*, TT1 – *de King*, TT2 – *The King*), but this division was only interesting when, as the previous example shows, the TTs differed within this procedure. In such cases, complete retention would be most foreignising. Capital letters were not taken into account when distinguishing between complete retention and TL-adjusted retention, because their use was not always clear in the STs, source language, and/or target language. On the other hand, other punctuation marks such as hyphens were included in establishing the more foreignising TT, because these seem to be a more conscious decision from the subtitler.

Another distinction within complete retention is *marked* and *unmarked* retention (Pedersen, *Subtitling Norms* 77-78). Even though there were some instances in which one of the TTs used a marked complete retention, whereas the other TT did not, this distinction was not included in the analysis, since none of the two is more foreignising than the other. Marked retentions are only there to aid the reader in reading the retention correctly.

Díaz Cintas and Remael use the term *loan* to refer to words that are exactly the same in both the source text and the target text (202). Their definition, however, indicates that the reference has been accepted and used in the target language as a borrowing (202), which means that the term *loan* does not include retentions of terms that are unknown to the target audience. Retention, according to Pedersen’s description, captures both loan words, which may also be named *official equivalents* (which will be discussed later), and transferences.

b. Specification

This term is used to refer to retentions that are accompanied by information that the source text does not include (Pedersen, *Subtitling Norms* 79). Pedersen explains how many studies use the term *explicitation*, but just like Díaz Cintas and Remael’s explanation of explicitation, this procedure would include both specification and generalisation. Because the focus in this study is on domestication and foreignisation, it was important to distinguish between these two terms, since generalisation may be considered to be more domesticising.

Pedersen makes a distinction between two types of specifications, namely *completion*

and *addition* (79). The first means that the extra information in the target text is “latent in the ST” in terms of the linguistic sign, such as abbreviations that are spelled out (79). Addition means that the latent information in the source text in terms of the sense or connotations are added to the source text ECR (80). This subdivision was not taken into account, because there were no cases in which both TTs used a specification. Pedersen mentions one other form of specification, namely *subordination* (the addition of semantic features rather than information), but its use is rare (82).

c. Direct translation

The term is similar to terms such as *calque* and *literal translation*, but because the latter may also be considered to be a synonym for word-for-word translation, Pedersen uses *direct translation* to refer to the “literalness” of translations (Pedersen, *Subtitling Norms* 83). Direct translation means that there is only translation involved, but no additions or omissions, which means that the sense and connotations of an ECR are not conveyed (83). The two subcategories for this term are *calque* and *shifted*, but their difference is rather small, so these two categories were only included in the analysis if the first and later translation differed within the procedure of direct translation. Using a calque would result in a more foreignising approach than a shifted direct translation, because the latter is less obtrusive to the target reader (84).

d. Generalisation

The term *generalisation* is used to show that a target text is more general than its source text, which means that the source text term (or its translation) is not transferred to the target text. There are some exceptions (e.g. *Alabamans – Alabama*). Pedersen makes a distinction between a *superordinate term* and a *paraphrase* (*Subtitling Norms* 85). The first is described as “an upward movement on a hyponymy scale” (88). Paraphrasing means that the sense and connotations of the source text are retained without the presence of the source text ECR (88). These two subcategories were of less importance to this study, because neither one of the procedures is more foreignising than the other. If both terms were categorised as a generalisation, they would not be compared regarding their degree of foreignisation. The reason for this is that generalisations often convey different parts of a source text, which makes it harder to determine which of the target texts is the least generalised rendering.

e. Substitution

The source text ECR is replaced by another ECR or something else completely when *substitution* is used as a procedure (Pedersen, *Subtitling Norms* 89). Pedersen makes a

distinction between *cultural substitution* and *situational substitution* (89). Cultural substitution involves the replacement of an ECR in the source text by a different ECR from the source culture, the target culture, or a third culture (90). The most domesticated form of cultural substitution is using a target culture reference. Situational substitution does not involve any connection between the source text item and the target text item (95-96). This procedure does not take the sense of the source text item into account, but only the situation itself (95). The replacement itself is usually not an ECR (96). Díaz Cintas and Remael refer to substitution as *transposition*, but they only include the replacement of an ECR by another culture (204). Making a distinction between the type of substitution and the culture by which the ECR is replaced showed a difference in terms of domestication and this is why the details of this procedure were important in the analysis.

f. Omission

This term mostly speaks for itself and means that there is no translation or rendering of the source text ECR (Pedersen, *Subtitling Norms* 96). It is simply removed. Even though omission is not categorised as source-oriented or target-oriented by Pedersen (76), he suggests it can be viewed as the most domesticating procedure (96), which is how this procedure was used in the analysis.

g. Official equivalent

Pedersen describes *official equivalents* as renderings of ECRs that are established by a decree (e.g. a publishing company has decided how, in all cases, a certain term should be translated) or by entrenchment (e.g. *the Statue of Liberty* is always translated, in Dutch, as *het Vrijheidsbeeld*) (*Subtitling Norms* 98). This distinction was not relevant for the analysis in this study. The category itself was not used as a separate category either, unless neither one of the categories applied and this procedure seemed to be the only right explanation. If one TT was labelled as an official equivalent while the other TT was labelled as one of the other procedures, both of the renderings were compared to see which one of the two was considered to be more foreignising. This was done on a case-by-case basis, which means that no predetermined rules were established for official equivalents.

One category that has not been discussed yet and that is not included in Pedersen's taxonomy is deixis, which Díaz-Cintas and Remael describe as the "[u]se of pronouns (demonstrative, personal, possessive) and other deictics to replace nouns, or noun phrases" when discussing condensation and reformulation in subtitles (160). Deixis cannot be easily categorised, because it does not convey any information with regard to the ECR, but instead is often used

to save space. Whenever a deixis was used, it was labelled as such. It cannot be easily categorised on a scale from source-oriented to target-oriented procedures, because no cultural information is provided and the viewer is expected to understand the ECR through, as Pedersen explains, its co-text and context (*Subtitling Norms* 101). That is why this category is similar to omissions with regard to its degree of domestication, and similar to official equivalents with regard to its category being additional in case no other category can be assigned to a translation.

Some ST-TT items were not easily classified into one of the above categories, which meant that some procedures received more than one label. Please refer to table 1 to see an overview of all of the possible translation procedures including examples.

PROCEDURE	DEFINITION	EXAMPLE
Retention	Retaining the ST item unchanged in the TT	ST: So I was in the <i>Special Services</i> , traveling around the country... TT: Dus ik reisde met de <i>Special Services</i> het land door...
Specification	Adding information to the ST item or using a subordinate term	ST: 10 TT1: 10 dollar
Direct translation	Translating the ST item literally without adding or omitting information	ST: University of Alabama TT: Universiteit van Alabama
Generalisation	Using a more general term than the ST item	ST: National Guardsmen TT: landsverdedigers
Substitution	Replacing the ST item by a different ECR or something else completely	ST: Captain Kangaroo TT: Sesamstraat
Omission	Omitting the ST item completely	ST: Any of you girls gonna be ready to play some <i>football</i> this fall? TT: Zijn jullie klaar voor 't najaar?
Official equivalent	A separate category which could involve all of the above translation procedures. An established translation either by decree or entrenchment.	ST: dollars TT: dollar ST: California TT: Californië
Deixis	When the ST item is replaced by a pronoun or other deictics.	ST: I swore to God I'd never come to a <i>Top Notch</i> ... TT: Ik zou <i>hier</i> nooit meer komen.

Table 1

Translation procedures based on Pedersen's taxonomy (*Subtitling Norms* 75)

3.3 Limitations

The selection of extralinguistic cultural references may not have been entirely objective, because the difference between intralinguistic and extralinguistic is not black and white.

Pedersen notes how objectivity is "impossible to reach" when dealing with items that are in a

grey area (49). This is a limitation of the way the data were extracted. However, the focus of this study is on retranslation, which means that the inclusion or exclusion of a certain item may not have necessarily affected the final results, since establishing a tendency to foreignise was not based on one item only, but on all of the extracted items.

Deciding whether a source text item could be understood by a target audience through language alone or that knowledge of the source culture would be required as well has helped to simplify the extraction process, but this does not mean that there were not any borderline cases. For example, the term *G.I. gear* refers to an extralinguistic phenomenon (American soldiers and their equipment), but it is also intralinguistic as G.I. is an informal reference, a nickname, to American soldiers. The abbreviation stands for *galvanized iron* (Merriam-Webster), but is now used differently. Even though the referent can be understood without knowledge of the culture, the term refers to one army only, namely the American army, which means that the term is an ECR. Another example is the exclusion of the term *O.D. green*. This particular abbreviation does not refer to an extralinguistic phenomenon related to only the USA and mostly requires knowledge of the language.

Labelling each ST-TT item according to translation procedure should produce similar results. However, there may be an overlap between certain categories, and some labelling depends on the interpretation of the translation (Ramière 158). I will share three examples, which show how certain translations can be ambiguous sometimes. First, *public school – openbare school* could either be a direct translation, but categorising it as a substitution would be possible, too, because the translation of this term has different connotations in the Netherlands. Second, *pounds – pond* could be both a direct translation and a substitution, because there are fewer grams in a pound than in a *pond*. Third, *football – voetbal* could be both a direct translation and a substitution. These examples are proof that it was sometimes difficult to decide which procedure the translator had in mind.

Some of the ST-TT items received two procedures, because it was difficult to assign one procedure to a particular translation. For example, *George Wallace – Wallace* was categorised as retention and omission. Labelling this item as a generalisation would be wrong, since *Wallace* is not a superordinate of *George Wallace*, nor is it a paraphrase. As Ramière explains, assigning two procedures to one ST-TT item means that it is harder to determine the translation strategy (158), but also the most common translation procedure, because a retention and omission would be analysed as a combined procedure. To avoid this as much as possible, only the ECRs themselves were highlighted and they were separated from other adjacent words (e.g. *senior year, football star*). If *football star* were taken into account as a

complete ECR, a translation such as *football ster* would be categorised as a retention and direct translation. This would complicate the analysis, because many of the items would then be analysed as combined procedures, even though half of the ECR cannot be strictly viewed as one. In addition, it would be more difficult to clearly see which TT is more foreignising with regard to the translation of the ECR, because co-text would then be taken into account. Only multiple-word ECRs that were considered to be one concept and that would have a different meaning without the other words were highlighted as one ECR (e.g. *a quarter mile, 50 yards line*). Some noun phrases were thus separated because they involved two ECRs (e.g. *Governor Wallace*).

3.4 Summary

An analysis of extralinguistic cultural references occurring in the films *Forrest Gump* and *Dazed and Confused* will show whether subtitling conventions have changed to a more foreignising approach in the course of the last twenty-five years. Any references to extralinguistic phenomena were extracted from the two STs, after which the VHS translation (TT1) and the Netflix translation (TT2) were extracted and analysed. The latter was done by determining the translation procedure(s) used for each ST-TT item using Pedersen's taxonomy of ECR transfer strategies (*Subtitling Norms 75*). Using this information, one of the two TTs was labelled as more foreignising than the other. If the same procedure was used for both TTs, the abbreviation N/A would be assigned to the ST-TT item.

4. Analysis and Discussion

The complete results of my analyses of TT1 and TT2 can be found in Appendix 1 (Forrest Gump) and Appendix 2 (Dazed and Confused). I will first present the results of each film regarding the most foreignising TT and the most common translation procedures. I will then combine these results, followed by a discussion of these results in which I will comment on some interpretation and analysis issues which I encountered during the analysis.

4.1 Forrest Gump

In this film of two hours and 22 minutes there were a total of 217 ECRs in 164 subtitles, which means that some subtitles contained multiple ECRs. In 140 cases, both TTs used the same procedure(s), and consequently, no decision could be made with regard to the more foreignising TT. In around 81 per cent of the other 77 cases, TT2 (the retranslation) was more foreignising than TT1 (the first translation). TT1 was more foreignising than TT2 in around 19 per cent of these cases. Table 2 illustrates the exact number of cases which were indecisive (N/A) and the number of cases in which one of the two TTs was more foreignising than the other. All of the percentages included in the following table and the ones following are rounded to two decimal places.

	Number	%
Not applicable	140	64.52
TT 1	15	6.91
TT 2	62	28.57
Total	217	100

Table 2

Comparison of TT1 and TT2 with regard to foreignisation in *Forrest Gump*

As table 3 shows, the two most common translation procedures in both TTs were retention and substitution, both representing the most foreignising and most domesticating procedure, respectively. The biggest difference between TT1 and TT2 was the number of omissions, which TT1 used in approximately one fifth of the cases.

	TT1	%	TT2	%
Retention	63	29.03	86	39.63
Specification	2	0.92	0	0.00
Direct translation	16	7.37	18	8.29
Generalisation	27	12.44	25	11.52
Substitution	47	21.66	66	30.41
Omission	45	20.74	13	5.99
Official equivalent	6	2.76	6	2.76
Deixis	3	1.38	0	0.00
Combined procedures	8	3.69	3	1.38
Total	217	100	217	100

Table 3

Comparison of TT1 and TT2 with regard to translation procedures in *Forrest Gump*

As explained in section 3.2.2, Pedersen's "taxonomy of ECR transfer strategies" consists of obvious and less obvious source-oriented and target-oriented procedures (*Subtitling Norms* 75-76). Table 4 shows the division between these source-oriented procedures and target-oriented procedures. When only the clear-cut source-oriented and target-oriented procedures were taken into account, both TTs used more foreignising procedures than domesticating procedures. The results were different with the inclusion of all source-oriented and target-oriented procedures. TT1 used more domesticating procedures than foreignising procedures, whereas TT2 used the same number of domesticating and foreignising procedures. All ECRs, including official equivalent, deixis, and combined procedures, were included in the total number (217) used in the calculation.

		TT1	% of total procedures	TT2	% of total procedures
Source-oriented	Retention + specification	65	29.95	86	39.63
	Retention + specification + direct translation	81	37.33	104	47.93
Target-oriented	Substitution	47	21.66	66	30.41
	Substitution + generalisation + omission	119	54.84	104	47.93

Table 4

Overview of source-oriented and target-oriented procedures in *Forrest Gump*

4.2 Dazed and Confused

A total of 134 ECRs in 119 subtitles were extracted from the subtitles of *Dazed and Confused*, a film of one hour and 42 minutes. Nearly two fifths of these cases could not be labelled as more foreignising, because both TTs used the same procedure. Table 5 shows that TT2 (the retranslation) was more foreignising than TT1 (the first translation) in more than 50 per cent of the cases.

	Number	%
Not applicable	53	39.55
TT1	10	7.46
TT2	71	52.99
Total	134	100

Table 5

Comparison of TT1 and TT2 with regard to foreignisation in *Dazed and Confused*

The most common procedure in TT1 was omission, whereas the most common procedure in TT2 was retention. Generalisation was the second most common procedure in both TTs. Table 6 displays the different translation procedures used in each TT.

	TT1	%	TT2	%
Retention	17	12.69	49	36.57
Specification	1	0.75	1	0.75
Direct translation	8	5.97	11	8.21
Generalisation	31	23.13	40	29.85
Substitution	13	9.70	20	14.93
Omission	50	37.31	8	5.97
Official equivalent	1	0.75	1	0.75
Deixis	6	4.48	1	0.75
Combined procedures	7	5.22	3	2.24
Total	134	100	134	100

Table 6

Comparison of TT1 and TT2 with regard to translation procedures in *Dazed and Confused*

Table 7 illustrates that both TTs used more foreignising than domesticating procedures when only the clear-cut source-oriented (retention and specification) and target-oriented (substitution) procedures were taken into account. However, including all source-oriented and target-oriented procedures resulted in a different outcome. Around 70 per cent of the procedures used in TT1 were domesticating. TT2 used slightly more than 50 per cent of domesticating procedures. All ECRs were included in the total number (134) used in the calculation.

		TT1	% of total procedures	TT2	% of total procedures
Source-oriented	Retention + specification	18	13.43	50	37.31
	Retention + specification + direct translation	26	19.40	61	45.52
Target-oriented	Substitution	13	9.70	20	14.93
	Substitution + generalisation + omission	94	70.15	68	50.75

Table 7

Overview of source-oriented and target-oriented procedures in *Dazed and Confused*

4.3 Comparison TTs1 and TTs2

To see the overall tendency concerning foreignisation and translation procedures, the results of both films were brought together. Table 8 illustrates that the retranslations were more foreignising than the first translations in more than one third of the cases. More than half of the cases were indecisive, because the same procedures were used in both TTs.

	Number	%
Not applicable	193	54.99
TTs1	25	7.12
TTs2	133	37.89
Total	351	100

Table 8

Comparison of TTs1 and TTs2 with regard to foreignisation in *Forrest Gump* and *Dazed and Confused*

The most common translation procedure in TTs1 (the first translations) was omission, followed by retention. TTs2 (the retranslations) used retention in almost 40 per cent of the cases, followed by substitution. Specification, official equivalent, deixis, and combined procedures were the least common procedures in both TTs1 and TTs2. The latter three of these procedures were not included in the taxonomy and were only resorted to in case no other procedure could be assigned. Overall, specification is thus the least common procedure. Please refer to table 9 for a complete overview of all of the translation procedures.

	TTs1	%	TTs2	%
Retention	80	22.79	135	38.46
Specification	3	0.85	1	0.28
Direct translation	24	6.84	29	8.26
Generalisation	58	16.52	65	18.52
Substitution	60	17.09	86	24.50
Omission	95	27.07	21	5.98
Official equivalent	7	1.99	7	1.99
Deixis	9	2.56	1	0.28
Combined procedures	15	4.27	6	1.71
Total	351	100	351	100

Table 9

Comparison of TTs1 and TTs2 with regard to translation procedures in *Forrest Gump* and *Dazed and Confused*

TTs1 (the first translations) were domesticating in around 61 per cent of the cases, whereas TTs2 (the retranslations) were domesticating in 49 per cent of the cases. If only retention and specification, and substitution were taken into account, the results would be different. Both TTs1 and TTs2 would be more foreignising in the majority of the cases (see table 10).

		TTs1	% of total procedures	TTs2	% of total procedures
Source-oriented	Retention + specification	83	23.65	136	38.75
	Retention + specification + direct translation	107	30.48	165	47.01
Target-oriented	Substitution	60	17.09	86	24.50
	Substitution + generalisation + omission	213	60.68	172	49.00

Table 10

Overview of source-oriented and target-oriented procedures in *Forrest Gump* and *Dazed and Confused*

4.4 Discussion

The results of both films confirm the retranslation hypothesis discussed in the Theoretical Background. In other words, retranslations may have a tendency to be more foreignising than earlier translations. This confirmation is only tentative, because only two source texts were used in the analysis. It is nevertheless interesting to see that in both films the retranslations (the Netflix versions) were more foreignising than the first translations (the VHS versions). There are a few remarks regarding these results, because they cannot be understood without explaining how they were constructed.

4.4.1 Forrest Gump

Almost two thirds of the ECRs in *Forrest Gump* were translated similarly in both TTs, which meant that the same translation procedure was used and that these results could not be taken into account in the comparison of the first translations and retranslations. However, these translation procedures are a source of information about the overall approach to ECRs. The fact that retention was the most common translation procedure in both TTs shows that subtitles in the nineties were not necessarily very domesticating, but already rather foreignising, as expected (see section 2.4.1). Even though substitution was the number two translation procedure in both TTs, indicating quite a degree of domestication, this was mostly the result of the many military titles that were used in the ST, *lieutenant* in particular, which Pedersen states are substitutions (*Subtitling Norms* 99). Additionally, measurements were often converted to the metric system. Approximately 94 per cent of all the substitutions in both TTs were used to render military titles or measurements. Only few cases involved substitutions for other ECRs (e.g. *Captain Kangaroo – Sesamstraat*). This means that even though substitution was common in both TTs, target culture substitution mostly took place in the domains of titles and measurements. As Pedersen explains, using cultural substitution in “certain domains” does not necessarily have to be very visible to the target audience, because its use could be “a long-standing tradition” (*Subtitling Norms* 93). For example, measurements being converted to the metric system was included in Netflix’ style guide for Dutch subtitles, discussed in section 2.4.3. Although both translations were not subjected to these rules, many measurements were adjusted to the target audience, thus showing that this is common practice. Therefore, the use of substitution in *Forrest Gump* does not indicate very domesticating subtitles.

TT1 also contained quite a number of omissions (around 20 per cent). These omissions can either imply that subtitlers were more likely to omit ECRs in the nineties or that subtitlers

tended to condense the source text more. Whether the omissions were the result of a domesticating approach or condensation, both strategies resulted in a less foreignising TT. This was demonstrated in the number of cases in which TT2 was more foreignising than TT1. More than half of these cases (35 out of 62) involved complete omissions in TT1.

Table 4 in section 4.1 showed that even though retention is the most common translation procedure in both TTs, indicating a foreignising approach, the overall translation approach was different. TT1 was more domesticating than foreignising and TT2 was balanced between the two opposites. This is not in line with the results of studies done by Horbačauskienė et al., Matielo and Espindola, and Pedersen, which all showed that the majority of the procedures used in screen translation were source-oriented. Horbačauskienė et al. and Pedersen used the exact same taxonomy. Only if the clear-cut source-oriented (retention and specification) and target-oriented (substitution) procedures were taken into account would both TTs employ more foreignising procedures than domesticating procedures. However, Pedersen included each ECR only once when it was translated the same (*Subtitling Norms* 151). To show how this approach could change the results of the present study, a few ECRs that were commonly used in *Forrest Gump* related to one specific domain will be excluded from the results.

As described earlier, many of the substitutions involved military titles. To show how this influenced the results, a calculation was made excluding all of the military titles rendered as substitutions (e.g. *general*, (*drill, platoon*) *sergeant*, *private (first class)*, *officer*, *lieutenant*). In 44 cases, military titles were rendered as substitutions in TT1. Deducting these 44 cases from the total number of ECRs (217), thus including the procedures which cannot be categorised as source-oriented or target-oriented, would result in a total of 173 ECRs. There were 55 cases in which military titles were rendered as substitutions in TT2, which resulted in a total of 162 ECRs. Table 11 illustrates how excluding translations of military titles labelled as substitutions from the analysis of TT1 resulted in a small majority of foreignising procedures being used instead of a majority of domesticating procedures (see table 4). TT2 was even more foreignising and almost two thirds of procedures were source-oriented, compared to slightly less than 50 per cent when these military titles were included (see table 4). Because *lieutenant* was included as an ECR every time it was used, this ECR strongly influenced the results. This is probably the reason why Pedersen included each ECR only once if its rendering was the same each time it was used (*Subtitling Norms* 151).

		TT1	% of total procedures	TT2	% of total procedures
Source-oriented	Retention + specification	65	37.57	86	53.09
	Retention + specification + direct translation	81	46.82	104	64.20
Target-oriented	Substitution	3	1.73	11	6.79
	Substitution + generalisation + omission	75	43.35	49	30.25

Table 11

Overview of source-oriented and target-oriented procedures in *Forrest Gump* without substitutions for military titles

4.4.2 Dazed and Confused

The number of ECRs that were translated using the same procedure were fewer than in *Forrest Gump*, namely almost 40 per cent. The difference between TT1 and TT2 was larger, because TT2 was more foreignising than TT1 in around 88 per cent of the 81 cases, compared to 81 per cent (of the 77 cases) in *Forrest Gump*. However, the tables presented in 4.2 represent more than only numbers and percentages. What is interesting to note is that out of the 71 cases in which TT2 was more foreignising than TT1, a complete omission was used in 42 cases in TT1. If quasi-omissions (a combined procedure including an omission such as retention + omission) were added to that, 47 cases out of 71 would involve omissions. These results show that the reason for a more foreignising retranslation was mostly due to the condensed first translation, which omitted ECRs in more than one third of the cases. In contrast, the retranslation used a similar number of retentions.

Since there were quite a number of generalisations used in both TTs, it is of importance to mention that the degree of generalisation can be rather high (e.g. *dollar bill – dinging*), but this was not taken into account in the decision regarding the more foreignising TT. For example, TT1 often translated *freshman* into *groentje*, whereas TT2 used *eerstejaars*. Both translations used a different aspect of the source term.

Another interesting observation is that TT2 used more substitutions than TT1 (20

versus 13). These results may indicate that TT2 was more often domesticating than TT1, but in seven of these cases TT2 rendered the translation, whereas TT1 omitted the ST altogether. TT1 used one very obvious cultural substitution, namely *de HAVO* to render *high school* (two times) and *freshmen* (one time). Other substitutions that were used in both TTs were either measurements, titles, or situational.

As in *Forrest Gump*, both TTs used more foreignising procedures than domesticating procedures (taking only retention and specification, and substitution into account). Including all source-oriented and target-oriented procedures showed that both TTs were more domesticating than foreignising. Again, these results differ from other studies, because the results from similar studies regarding domestication and foreignisation showed a majority of foreignising procedures being used (Horbačauskienė et al.; Matielo and Espindola; Pedersen). Because all ECRs were included in the present study, no matter how many times they occurred, the results deviated from these previous studies. That is why one ECR that was used multiple times in *Dazed and Confused* will only be included in the results once to show how it influenced the total number of source-oriented and target-oriented procedures.

As was the case with *lieutenant* in *Forrest Gump*, *Dazed and Confused* contained quite a number of the same ECRs. The word *freshman/freshmen* was rendered as a generalisation 15 times in TT1 and 24 times in TT2. If this generalisation was only included in the calculation once, the results would be different, in particular for TT2. There would be 120 ECRs if the 14 remaining renderings of *freshman/freshmen* as generalisations were excluded from the analysis of TT1. A total of 111 ECRs remained when the 23 generalisations of *freshman/freshmen* were excluded from the calculation of TT2. The results for TT1 did not differ much, since there is only a 3.5 per cent difference between the total number of target-oriented procedures in this calculation and the calculation including all generalisations for *freshman/freshmen*, the latter being slightly more target-oriented. TT2 showed a different result: more than 50 per cent of the procedures were source-oriented compared to less than 50 per cent when all instances of generalisations for *freshman/freshmen* were included.

		TT1	% of total procedures	TT2	% of total procedures
Source-oriented	Retention + specification	18	15.00	50	45.05
	Retention + specification + direct translation	26	21.67	61	54.95
Target-oriented	Substitution	13	10.83	20	18.02
	Substitution + generalisation + omission	80	66.67	45	40.54

Table 12

Overview of source-oriented and target-oriented procedures in *Dazed and confused* including one generalisation of *freshman/freshmen*

4.4.3 Context considerations

The fact that the retranlations were more foreignising than the first translations is obvious, but the overall translation approach to the STs is more complicated. The results and information provided in the previous sections show that it is rather difficult to draw conclusions with regard to domesticating and foreignising conventions, since there are many factors that influenced the translators' decisions. Using the parameters proposed by Pedersen (*Subtitling Norms* 105), discussed in section 2.4.2, I will relate one or more examples from the analyses to each parameter to show how context may have influenced the translation. Ramière also underlined the importance of context considerations and described what context could entail (160). Her list of context considerations is very similar to Pedersen's parameters.

The first parameter is transculturality, which is related to the extent to which the source culture and target culture share certain references (Pedersen, *Subtitling Norms* 106). An example of an ECR in *Dazed and Confused* that is bound to the source culture but easily accessible by the target culture is *Aerosmith*. The band is well-known all over the world and this shows in the translation procedure of both TTs, namely a retention. This ECR does not necessarily prove that the cultural distance between the USA and the Netherlands has decreased in the past twenty to thirty years, because Aerosmith's popularity is the reason why this ECR is accessible to the Dutch target culture. The retention of *high school* in the

retranslation of *Dazed and Confused* is a better example of a decreased cultural distance between the source and target culture. However, both the first translation and the retranslation of *Forrest Gump* use a substitution (similarly to the first translation of *Dazed and Confused*), indicating no change in cultural distance at all. The reason for this difference may be the different time of production of the retranslations. The retranslation of *Forrest Gump* was created around seventeen years earlier than the retranslation of *Dazed and Confused*.

The second parameter, third in Pedersen's overview, is centrality and relates to the importance of the ECR on a macro-level or micro-level (Pedersen, *Subtitling Norms* 106). In *Dazed and Confused* there is a reference to a television series called *The Waltons* when one of the characters says goodnight to the other characters.

No 99a	Night, John-Boy .	TT1: Goeienacht.
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The ECR is not translated in TT1. The reason for this may be because of its lack of importance on the macro-level (the theme of the film) and the micro-level (the local dialogue). Retaining the term would mean that many viewers may not understand the reference and substituting it would require quite some effort from the subtitler. There is thus not much use to rendering this ECR, because the information in the ECR is not necessary to understand the entire film or the preceding and following dialogue.

The third parameter is polysemiotics, the different visual and verbal signs in films (Pedersen, *Subtitling Norms* 113). When some of the characters in *Dazed and Confused* are on a football field at night and they are caught by the police, the visuals speak for themselves when they refer to being on a football field in the dialogue, which is why deixis is used.

No 113	Is it illegal to be on the football field?	TT1: Je mag hier toch wel zijn?
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Visuals often support the ECRs in *Forrest Gump*, too. When a historical situation is referred to in the dialogue, the real footage from such an event is shown, which may help the reader to remember who President Ford was, for example.

The fourth parameter is co-text, other dialogue that explains the ECR earlier or later in the film (Pedersen, *Subtitling Norms* 114). When the main character in *Forrest Gump* visits a Black Panther headquarters, the dialogue before and after the ECR (partially) shows what the party stands for, which is why, other than space constraints, there may be no specification of the term in both TTs.

No 82	We are here to offer protection and help for all of those who need our help, because we, the Black Panthers , are against the war in Vietnam.	TT1: Wij beschermen en helpen iedereen die dat nodig heeft. De Zwarte Panters zijn tegen de oorlog in Vietnam.	TT2: We bieden hulp en bescherming aan wie onze hulp behoeven. Want wij Black Panthers zijn tegen de oorlog in Vietnam.
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The fifth parameter is media-specific constraints (Pedersen, *Subtitling Norms* 115), discussed in section 2.2. There are many examples of condensed subtitles in both TTs, but I will share one example from *Dazed and confused* which shows how one of two sentences was omitted due to time and space constraints.

No 107	<i>Man, she's gotten bigger lately, man.</i> She was only 6'2" , 195 in my day.	TT1: O, dan is ze dik geworden. -
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The second sentence mostly explains the first sentence, which is why it may have been omitted. TT2 has retained both sentences. The overall tendency in TT1 of *Dazed and Confused* seemed condensation through omission, whereas this was not the case in TT2. Other examples of media-specific constraints, of which these are related to sound, are the following from *Forrest Gump*:

No 112	You belong in Ripley's Believe It or Not! You should be in a sideshow!	TT1: Je bent niet goed bij je hoofd.	TT2: Je moet bij 't circus.
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No 152	Moments ago, at 2:25 p.m., as President Reagan was leaving the Washington Hilton Hotel five or six gunshots were fired by an unknown would-be assassin.	TT1: Om 14.25 uur, toen president Reagan 't Washington Hilton verliet werden er vijf of zes schoten gelost.	TT2: Kort geleden, om 14:25, toen president Reagan zijn...vijf of zes kogels afgevuurd door een onbekende.
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In No 112, three people are shouting at the same time and it is difficult to hear what they are all saying. Both TTs chose one aspect of the ST. In No 152, the cultural reference to the *Washington Hilton Hotel* can barely be heard because gun shots are fired, which drowns out the sound of the commentator on TV. This may be why the subtitler of TT2 decided to omit this information. These examples show how screen translators need to make a decision on the

most salient information in a source text, which may result in condensation and omission (Díaz-Cintas and Remael 145-146).

The final parameter is the subtitling situation, related to any information “*about the text*” (Pedersen, *Subtitling Norms* 115). One example already mentioned in 2.4.3 and 4.4.1 is the style guide by Netflix, to which the retranslation of *Dazed and Confused* was subjected. This showed in the conversion of measurements and the retention of the local currency, the dollar. Another strategy specifically aimed at a Dutch audience was a “condensed translation”, which surprisingly does not really show in the retranslation of *Dazed and Confused*, especially when compared to its first translation (the VHS version), which seems much more condensed than the Netflix version. One explanation might be that the pace of the VHS version is slightly faster than the Netflix version, leaving less time for subtitles to be shown on screen.

Another example which may have influenced the translations is the broadcaster. The first translations were released on VHS, which means that viewers either bought the video themselves or they rented it from a video store. This indicates a rather conscious decision to watch a film (Díaz-Cintas 52). The retranslations were shown on Netflix and contrary to VHS, Netflix offers many films at once and offers easier and quicker access to films than VHS. This difference may influence the type of target audience. Netflix has a huge variety of users who all have their own account and can access the media platform on mobile phones, laptops, and TVs, whereas VHS could only be accessed through TVs and video recorders, of which there were usually not more than one or two in one house. This means that the target audience for VHS was probably smaller than Netflix. If the audience of Netflix is indeed more heterogeneous, the subtitles should be adapted to this and, similar to TV subtitles, should have a lower reading speed than VHS (Díaz-Cintas and Remael 23-24). Clearly, this is not the case for the TTs for analysis, because the VHS translations seemed to be more condensed than the Netflix translations. As explained in the previous paragraph, this may be due to the faster pace of the VHS version. Nonetheless, these differences may also indicate a change in subtitling conventions. It is important to again note that the retranslation of *Forrest Gump* was originally produced for DVD, which may have a similar target audience to VHS, but which does not necessarily result in similar subtitles.

One final example regarding the subtitling situation is pragmatic considerations, which are related to the working situation of subtitlers (deadlines, experience, et cetera) (Pedersen, *Subtitling Norms* 118). Since these conditions cannot be retrieved, I can only use examples from the translations to discover a glimpse of the working situation. The following two

examples are from *Forrest Gump*. Number 46 shows how both translators have not done research into the meaning of *gumbo* as a typical Louisiana dish and instead translate the word as a type of vegetable.

No 46	There's, uh, shrimp kabobs, shrimp Creole, shrimp gumbo , pan fried, deep fried, stir fried.	TT1: Je hebt garnalen-kebab, garnalen à la Creole, garnalen met okra . Je kunt ze bakken, frituren, roerbakken.	TT2: Je hebt garnalenkebabs, Creoolse garnalen, garnalen- okra , in de koekenpan, de frietenpan, de wok.
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The following example shows how the translator of TT2 has probably misheard the ST.

Another more likely explanation is that the translator based his/her translations on the English closed captions, which state *Forrest Gump*.

No 119	Sergeant Gump.	TT1: Sergeant Gump.	TT2: Forrest Gump.
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The following two examples are from *Dazed and Confused*. The first example is similar to the one above, because the retention of *Ford over-30* is exactly the same as the English closed captioning, even though a different expression is used in the ST.

No 56	We've got 411 Positrac out back, 750 double pumper, Edelbrock intakes, bored over .30 , 11-to-1 pop-up pistons, Turbo-jet, 390 horsepower.	TT2: We hebben 411 Posi-Track, 750 dubbele pomp, Edelbrock-opname, Ford over-30 , en 11 tegen één pop-up zuigers, turbojet 290 pk.
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The second example is related to the time available to do research on certain expressions. Being selected for an all-district team involves a list of the best football players of the season, but does not involve an actual team. A generalisation was used in TT1, since the all-district team involves a first team, a second team, and an honourable mention. TT2 seems to imply that an actual team has won a district championship.

No 117	You shouldn't still be mad cause I got all-district and you didn't.	TT1: Ben je nog steeds boos dat ik werd geselecteerd voor 't 1 ?	TT2: Je moet niet boos zijn omdat ik district-kampioen was en jij niet.
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The above shows how many factors may influence the translations and consequently, the results. Analysing tokens instead of types influenced the total number of source-oriented

and target-oriented procedures, whereas context may have influenced the decision-making of the subtitlers. The next chapter will draw conclusions regarding all of the observations and results shown in this chapter.

5. Conclusion

To discover whether subtitling conventions in the Netherlands have moved to a more foreignising approach in the last twenty-five years, two different translations of the same films (*Forrest Gump* and *Dazed and Confused*) were compared with regard to their rendering of extralinguistic cultural references. Both of the retranslations (TTs2) clearly proved to be more foreignising than the first translations (TTs1). One explanation for the more foreignising retranslations was that the first translations were more condensed, and consequently, many ECRs were omitted, which resulted in omission being the most common translation procedure in the first translations. Retention was used in almost 40 per cent of the cases in the retranslations.

5.1 Research Question

Have subtitling conventions in translations from English into Dutch moved to a more foreignising approach in the course of the last twenty-five years? The answer to this question is a tentative yes. The totals of all four TTs showed how the retranslations used a more foreignising rendering of the ECRs than the first translations in almost 38 per cent of the 351 cases. This is in line with the expectation that the retranslation hypothesis could apply to the past and more recent subtitling situation of the Netherlands. The subtitles from the nineties (TTs1) were less foreignising than the subtitles produced seven and twenty-five years later (TTs2). Aged and incomplete translations (Berman 1), however, are probably not the reason for the accuracy of the hypothesis. What has caused this change has not been explored in this study, but the condensed VHS versions, which resulted in many omissions, was one explanation of these results. Because of these omissions, there was less room for the retention of ECRs. This meant that many of the cases in which the retranslations were more foreignising than the first translations involved omissions. Other explanations, which are more tentative, involve globalisation, the simple and easy access to foreign cultures due to fast-changing technology, an increased knowledge of English and their cultures, and changing values in society, which may have all influenced the use of a more foreignising approach (Hurtado de Mendoza Azaola 82; Pedersen, “Cultural Interchangeability” 44, *Subtitling Norms* 193; Paloposki and Koskinen, “A Thousand and One Translations” 36; Zojer 407-408).

These causes are linked to the importance of the time of production and its consequence on the translation approach, as was discussed in the Theoretical Background (Aixelá; Keating). Zojer described how a more foreignising approach may be proof of a

smaller cultural distance between countries and how the extent of globalisation can be measured this way (408-409). The fact that the retranslations were more foreignising than the first translations may thus show that the cultural distance between the Netherlands and the USA has decreased due to an increased access and knowledge of Anglophone culture in the Netherlands. The more foreignising retranslations may also verify the progress of globalisation. As Pedersen states, adapting the text to the target audience is not necessary when this audience has knowledge of the source culture (“Cultural Interchangeability” 46). This is why the expectations of the Dutch audience might have changed, the same way they have changed for the Scandinavian audience due to the influence and awareness of Anglophone culture (44). The target audience being more familiar with the source culture is similar to the reasons given for retranslation in text translation, namely “increased knowledge of the source text, author and culture” (Koskinen and Paloposki 296).

Moreover, the so-called “phase” of subtitling the Netherlands may now be in, which Paloposki and Koskinen discussed in relation to different phases in literature and how translations can be approached differently depending on the phase a literature is in (“A Thousand and One Translations” 29), is different from the one in the nineties, because the Netflix translations were more foreignising than the VHS translations. This was mainly the result of the condensed VHS subtitles, which contained many more omissions of ECRs than their Netflix counterparts. These changing conventions may all be part of these different phases, but they are all speculative since only two films were analysed and no information from subtitlers was obtained. Moreover, the Netflix translation of *Forrest Gump* was produced for DVD in 2001, which means that the transition between different phases may have occurred around that time, since the first translation of this film was created in 1994. A quick analysis of any differences between the two retranslations shows that the only major difference lies in the many substitutions (around 30 per cent) in *Forrest Gump* and the many generalisations (around 30 percent) in *Dazed and Confused*, which were the result of the many repetitions of the same ECR (see section 4.4). Other than these two procedures, the results of the different translation procedures used are quite similar in both retranslations. This may demonstrate that the subtitling phase in the Netherlands has been the same since around 2000 or that, similar to the shift in Denmark in the 1990s, subtitles started to become more foreignising in the nineties and have slowly developed towards more foreignisation in the past twenty-five years. Clearly, no conclusion can be drawn from this, because no thorough analysis was carried out and only two retranslations were compared.

As discussed in section 4.4, the results of this study partially overlap with previous

studies on the treatment of cultural references in subtitles. Because this study included all ECRs no matter the number of occurrences of the same ECRs, the results were different. Table 11 and 12 show a more nuanced overview of the results and especially table 12 shows how the results of this study are more similar to other studies when one of the ECRs and its rendering (in this case *freshman* as a generalisation) was only included once. The tables illustrate that TTs2 included more foreignising than domesticating procedures, which is similar to results from other studies (Horbačauskienė et al. 226; Matielo and Espindola 89; Pedersen, *Subtitling Norms* 192-193). The fact that retention was the most common translation procedure in TTs2 (table 9) and the second most common translation procedure in TTs1 (omission being number one) verifies Díaz-Cintas and Remael's observation that cultural references are increasingly retained in subtitles (205). The results of this study also confirm that subtitlers do not choose one approach only to base their translation procedures on (Nedergaard-Larsen 216; Pym 167; Tymoczko 55-57), but that both source-oriented and target-oriented procedures are used to render ECRs.

5.2 Limitations

The selection of ECRs and the labelling by translation procedure were not a very straightforward task, as discussed in 3.3. This means that replicating this study may result in slightly different results, because certain ECRs may or may not be included and some translations may be assigned a different translation procedure. Small changes in the analysis of the data may result in considerably different percentages, because the data for analysis are relatively small (Gottlieb 43). For example, there were a few cases which were ambiguous, but even if such cases were excluded or analysed differently, the fact remains that the retranslations were more foreignising than the first translations. This result will not be influenced by small changes, because the difference between the number of more foreignising cases in the first translations and retranslations is too great. There might be a smaller or larger difference between TTs1 and TTs2, but the overall tendency of retranslations being more foreignising will stay the same. Bigger changes in the classification of translation procedures may lead to different results, as was underlined by the exclusion of *lieutenant* and the inclusion of only one generalisation of *freshman*, which resulted in completely different percentages. However, the focus of this study was on retranslation. Examining the translation procedures of both TTs was a means to decide which TT was more foreignising.

5.3 Implications

Because the Netflix versions, the retranslations, were more foreignising than the VHS versions, the first translations, there may be an actual change in conventions with regard to the rendering of ECRs, but instead of a case study, corpus-studies similar to Pedersen's book on subtitling norms need to be conducted to verify this. Conventions may then even become norms. Such a corpus focused on retranslation could also be used to analyse other conventions and norms that may have changed, such as the translation of taboo words. Not only VHS and Netflix subtitles, but also TV subtitles could be analysed and compared. A comparison could even be made between VHS, DVD, TV, and Netflix subtitles. The challenge is to retrieve all these data, because not all material can be easily accessed and many materials are bound by copyright. Netflix using DVD subtitles, as in *Forrest Gump*, is another factor that would need to be taken into account. Despite the guidelines of Netflix stating that condensed translation should be aimed for, the Netflix subtitles of *Dazed and Confused* were much less condensed than the VHS subtitles. It will be interesting to explore whether this is true for most of the VHS and Netflix translations into Dutch. If this is indeed the case, the increasing use of foreignising procedures may be caused by condensation instead of globalisation or one of the other causes mentioned earlier. Another question that arises when the increasing use of foreignising procedures can actually be established is when this subtitling phase will end. Will subtitling conventions return to more domesticating procedures again or will eventually no translation be needed?

All in all, it is difficult to draw conclusions because of the limited amount of data and the context considerations. Some of the cases in which one of the two TTs was more foreignising showed that when examining the context, the least foreignising TT had good reason to do so (e.g. No 152). This does not take away the fact that those instances in which items were omitted, especially in TTs1, the target audience is not given access to the foreign element. Now that more and more foreign elements are shown to the audience with few or without target culture adaptations, the foreign prevails over the familiar. To completely take a quote by the character Wooderson in *Dazed and Confused* out of context, and changing it too, let me finish by stating that as films get older, their subtitles clearly do not stay the same.

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Appendices

No refers to a complete subtitle. If a subtitle contained multiple ECRs, a letter (starting with *a*, then *b*, et cetera) was added to the number. *Time* stands for the hours, minutes, and seconds of the progress bar in Netflix. It shows when the subtitle appeared (counting down instead of up). The column *more foreignising* shows which TT was more foreignising than the other and contains *N/A* when both TTs used the same procedure.

Appendix 1

Analysis *Forrest Gump*

No	Time	ST	TT1	TT2	Translation procedure	More foreignising
1	2:17:13	Now, when I was a baby, mama named me after the great Civil War hero, General Nathan Bedford Forrest .	Mama noemde me naar de grote held uit de Burgeroorlog generaal Nathan Bedford Forrest .	Als baby vernoemde mama mij naar de held in de Burgeroorlog , Generaal Nathan Bedford Forrest .		
1a		Now, when I was a baby, mama named me after the great Civil War hero,	Mama noemde me naar de grote held uit de Burgeroorlog	Als baby vernoemde mama mij naar de held in de Burgeroorlog ,	TT1: direct translation TT2: direct translation	N/A
1b		General	generaal	Generaal	TT1: substitution TT2: substitution	N/A
1c		Nathan Bedford Forrest .	Nathan Bedford Forrest .	Nathan Bedford Forrest .	TT1: retention TT2: retention	N/A
2	2:17:05	And, what he did was, he started up this club called the Ku Klux Klan .	Hij was die club begonnen, de Ku Klux Klan .	Hij zette een club op, de Ku Klux Klan .	TT1: retention TT2: retention	N/A

3	2:15:56	We lived about a quarter mile off Route 17 , about a half mile from the town of Greenbow, Alabama .	We woonden zo'n halve kilometer van route 17 . Ongeveer 'n kilometer van Greenbow in Alabama .	We woonden een paar honderd meter van Route 17 , zo'n 800 m. van Greenbow, Alabama .		
3a		We lived about a quarter mile	We woonden zo'n halve kilometer	We woonden een paar honderd meter	TT1: substitution TT2: substitution	N/A
3b		off Route 17 ,	van route 17 .	van Route 17 ,	TT1: retention TT2: retention	N/A
3c		about a half mile	Ongeveer 'n kilometer	zo'n 800 m.	TT1: substitution TT2: substitution	N/A
3d		from the town of Greenbow, Alabama .	van Greenbow in Alabama .	van Greenbow, Alabama .	TT1: specification TT2: retention	TT2
4	2:15:50	That's in the county of Greenbow.	In 't district Greenbow.	Dat is in de gemeente van Greenbow.	TT1: generalisation TT2: substitution	TT1
5	2:15:35	Cause it was just me and mama and we had all these empty rooms, mama decided to let those rooms out, mostly to people passing through, like from, oh, Mobile, Montgomery , places like that.	Omdat alleen mama en ik er woonden, besloot mama kamers te verhuren. Meestal aan mensen op doorreis. Ze kwamen uit Mobile of Montgomery .	Omdat mama en ik alleen waren en we al die lege kamers hadden, besloot mama ze te verhuren, meestal aan mensen op doorreis, van Mobile, Montgomery , dat soort plekken.		
5a		Cause it was just me and mama and we had all these empty rooms, mama decided to let those rooms out, mostly to people passing through, like from, oh, Mobile ,	Omdat alleen mama en ik er woonden, besloot mama kamers te verhuren. Meestal aan mensen op doorreis. Ze kwamen uit Mobile	Omdat mama en ik alleen waren en we al die lege kamers hadden, besloot mama ze te verhuren, meestal aan mensen op doorreis, van Mobile ,	TT1: retention TT2: retention	N/A

5b		Montgomery, places like that.	of Montgomery.	Montgomery, dat soort plekken.	TT1: retention TT2: retention	N/A
6	2:14:31	The state requires a minimum I.Q. of 80 to attend public school , Mrs. Gump.	Voor 'n openbare school is minimaal 'n IQ van 80 nodig.	Voor een normale school vereist de staat een IQ van boven de 80.		
6a		The state requires a minimum I.Q. of 80	-	...vereist de staat een IQ van boven de 80.	TT1: omission TT2: direct translation	TT2
6b		to attend public school , Mrs. Gump.	Voor 'n openbare school ...	Voor een normale school ...	TT1: direct translation TT2: generalisation	TT1
7	2:13:55	We're a progressive school system .	We zijn 'n progressieve school .	We zijn een progressieve school .	TT1: generalisation TT2: generalisation	N/A
8	2:12:20	Supper! It's supper , everyone!	We gaan eten .	Eten! Iedereen aan tafel!		
8a		Supper!	We gaan eten .	Eten!	TT1: generalisation TT2: generalisation	N/A
8b		It's supper , everyone!	We gaan eten .	Iedereen aan tafel!	TT1: generalisation TT2: generalisation	N/A
9	2:12:02	Forrest Gump, it's supper time!	-	Forrest Gump, etenstijd!	TT1: omission TT2: generalisation	TT2
10	2:11:31	Alright, supper 's ready if y'all want to eat.	Goed, maar 't eten is klaar.	Het eten is klaar, als jullie willen eten.	TT1: generalisation TT2: generalisation	N/A
11	2:10:27	Some years later, that handsome young man who they called The King , well, he sung too many songs.	Jaren later had die knappe jongeman, die men de King noemde te veel liedjes gezongen.	Een paar jaar later was die jongeman, ze noemden hem The King ... Nou, hij had teveel liedjes gezongen.	TT1: retention (TL-adjusted) TT2: retention (complete)	TT2
12	2:04:39	Well, she lived in a house that was as old as Alabama .	Ze woonde in 'n huis zo oud als Alabama .	Ze woonde in een huis, zo oud als Alabama .	TT1: retention TT2: retention	N/A
13	2:02:46	Anyway, Jenny and me was best friends all the	Jenny en ik waren dikke vrienden, ook	Jenny en ik waren beste vrienden tot het einde	TT1: substitution TT2: substitution	N/A

		way up through high school .	tijdens de middelbare school .	van de middelbare school .		
14	2:01:08	I got to go to college , too.	Ik mocht ook studeren .	Ik ging ook naar college .	TT1: generalisation TT2: retention	TT2
15	2:00:11	Now, maybe it's just me, but college was very confusing times.	Misschien ligt 't aan mij, maar m'n studietijd was erg verwarrend.	Misschien lag het aan mij, maar mijn studietijd was verwarrend.	TT1: generalisation TT2: generalisation	N/A
16	2:00:05	Federal troops, enforcing a court order, integrated the University of Alabama today.	Op last van de rechter zijn twee negers toegelaten op de universiteit van Alabama ...	Federale troepen, op bevel van de rechter, integreerden vandaag de Universiteit van Alabama .	TT1: direct translation TT2: direct translation	N/A
17	2:00:00	Two negroes were admitted, but only after Governor George Wallace had carried out his symbolic threat to stand in the schoolhouse door.	...nadat gouverneurs Wallace zich uit de ingang had teruggetrokken.	Twee negers werden toegelaten nadat gouverneur George Wallace zijn dreiging had uitgevoerd door voor de deur te gaan staan.		
17a		Two negroes were admitted, but only after Governor	...nadat gouverneurs	Twee negers werden toegelaten nadat gouverneur	TT1: direct translation TT2: direct translation	N/A
17b		George Wallace had carried out his symbolic threat to stand in the schoolhouse door.	Wallace zich uit de ingang had teruggetrokken.	George Wallace zijn dreiging had uitgevoerd door voor de deur te gaan staan.	TT1: retention + omission TT2: retention	TT2
18	1:59:32	Shortly after Governor Wallace had carried out his promise to block the doorway, President Kennedy	De gouverneur wilde de ingang te blokkeren en president Kennedy droeg op militairen in te zetten.	Kort nadat gouverneur zijn belofte uitvoerde door voor de deur te gaan staan, gaf president Kennedy		

		ordered the Secretary of Defense then to use military force.		opdracht militairen in te zetten.		
18a		Shortly after Governor	De gouverneur	Kort nadat gouverneur	TT1: direct translation TT2: direct translation	N/A
18b		Wallace had carried out his promise to block the doorway,	wilde de ingang te blokkeren	Wallace zijn belofte uitvoerde door voor de deur te gaan staan,	TT1: omission TT2: retention	TT2
18c		President Kennedy ordered	en president Kennedy droeg op	gaf president Kennedy opdracht	TT1: retention TT2: retention	N/A
18d		the Secretary of Defense then to use military force.	Militairen in te zetten.	Militairen in te zetten.	TT1: omission TT2: omission	N/A
19	1:59:24	Here, by videotape, is the encounter by General Graham, Commander of the National Guard, and Governor Wallace.	We zien nu de confrontatie tussen generaal Graham en de gouverneur.	Hier is de ontmoeting tussen generaal Graham en gouverneur Wallace.		
19a		Here, by videotape, is the encounter by General	We zien nu de confrontatie tussen generaal	Hier is de ontmoeting tussen generaal	TT1: substitution TT2: substitution	N/A
19b		Graham,	Graham	Graham	TT1: retention TT2: retention	N/A
19c		Commander of the National Guard,			TT1: omission TT2: omission	N/A
19d		and Governor	en de gouverneur.	En gouverneur	TT1: direct translation TT2: direct translation	N/A
19e		Wallace.	En de gouverneur.	Wallace.	TT1: omission + deixis TT2: retention	TT2

20	1:59:18	Because these National Guardsmen are here today as federal soldiers for Alabamans .	De Nationale Garde is hier aanwezig voor de mensen van Alabama .	Vandaag zijn deze landsverdedigers hier federale soldaten voor Alabama .		
20a		Because these National Guardsmen are here today	De Nationale Garde is hier aanwezig	Vandaag zijn deze landsverdedigers hier	TT1: generalisation TT2: generalisation	N/A
20b		as federal soldiers for Alabamans .	voor de mensen van Alabama .	federale soldaten voor Alabama .	TT1: generalisation TT2: generalisation	N/A
21	1:58:47	And so at day's end the University of Alabama in Tuscaloosa had been desegregated and students Jimmy Hood and Vivian Malone had been signed up for summer classes.	En zo werd de universiteit van Alabama opengesteld voor Jimmy Hood en Vivian Malone die 'n zomercursus mogen volgen.	En zo eindigt vandaag de rassenscheiding aan de Universiteit van Alabama , en hebben de studenten Jimmy Hood en Vivian Malone zich ingeschreven voor de zomercursus.		
21a		And so at day's end the University of Alabama	En zo werd de universiteit van Alabama opengesteld voor	En zo eindigt vandaag de rassenscheiding aan de Universiteit van Alabama ,	TT1: direct translation TT2: direct translation	N/A
21b		in Tuscaloosa had been desegregated	-	-	TT1: omission TT2: omission	N/A
21c		and students Jimmy Hood	Jimmy Hood .	en hebben de studenten Jimmy Hood	TT1: retention TT2: retention	N/A
21d		and Vivian Malone had been signed up for summer classes.	en Vivian Malone die 'n zomercursus mogen volgen.	en Vivian Malone zich ingeschreven voor de zomercursus.	TT1: retention TT2: retention	N/A
22	1:58:30	Governor Wallace did what he promised to do	Gouverneur Wallace deed wat hij had	Gouverneur Wallace voorkwam		

		by being on the Tuscaloosa campus he kept the mob <i>from gathering and prevented violence</i> .	beloofd. Hij was op de campus .	bendevorming door op de campus te zijn...		
22a		Governor	Gouverneur	Gouverneur	TT1: direct translation TT2: direct translation	N/A
22b		Wallace did what he promised to do	Wallace deed wat hij had beloofd.	Wallace	TT1: retention TT2: retention	N/A
22c		by being on the Tuscaloosa	Hij was op de	voorkwam bendevorming door op de	TT1: omission TT2: omission	N/A
22d		campus he kept the mob <i>from gathering and prevented violence</i> .	campus .	campus te zijn...	TT1: retention TT2: retention	N/A
23	1:57:42	I remember when that happened, when Wallace got shot.	Ik weet nog dat Wallace werd neergeschoten.	Ik herinner me dat nog, toen iemand op Wallace schoot.	TT1: retention TT2: retention	N/A
24	1:57:38	I was in college .	Ik studeerde toen.	Ik studeerde .	TT1: generalisation TT2: generalisation	N/A
25	1:57:37	Did you go to a girls' college or to a girls' and boys' together college ?	Op 'n meisjes college of waren er ook jongens?	Een meisjes college of een gemengd college ?		
25a		Did you go to a girls' college	Op 'n meisjes college	Een meisjes college	TT1: retention TT2: retention	N/A
25b		or to a girls' and boys' together college ?	of waren er ook jongens?	of een gemengd college ?	TT1: deixis TT2: retention	TT2
26	1:57:31	Cause Jenny went to a college I couldn't go to.	Ik kon niet met Jenny studeren .	Jenny ging naar een universiteit waar ik niet heen kon.	TT1: generalisation TT2: generalisation	N/A

27	1:57:28	It was a college just for girls.	Het was 'n college voor meisjes.	Voor meisjes.	TT1: retention TT2: omission	TT1
28	1:56:02	I'll go back to my college now.	Ik ga nu terug naar mijn college .	Ik ga terug naar m'n universiteit .	TT1: retention TT2: generalisation	TT1
29	1:55:15	I want to be a singer like Joan Baez .	Ik wil 'n zangeres worden zoals Joan Baez .	Ik wil een zangeres worden, zoals Joan Baez .	TT1: retention TT2: retention	N/A
30	1:53:05	College ran by real fast cause I played so much football .	M'n studietijd ging snel omdat ik zo veel football speelde.	Studietijd ging snel voorbij, omdat ik zoveel football speelde.		
30a		College ran by real fast	M'n studietijd ging snel	Studietijd ging snel voorbij,	TT1: generalisation TT2: generalisation	N/A
30b		cause I played so much football .	omdat ik zo veel football speelde.	omdat ik zoveel football speelde.	TT1: retention TT2: retention	N/A
31	1:53:00	They even put me on a thing called the All-American Team where you get to meet the President of the United States.	Ik kwam bij het All-American Team waar je de president van de Verenigde Staten ontmoet.	Ze plaatsten me zelfs in een team, het All-American-team , waarmee je de president van de Verenigde Staten ontmoet.	TT1: (partial) retention TT2: (partial) retention (TL-adjusted)	TT1
32	1:52:53	President Kennedy met with the Collegiate All-American Football Team at the Oval Office today.	President Kennedy ontving vandaag het All-American Football Team .	President Kennedy ontmoette vandaag de All-Americans in de Oval Office .		
32a		President Kennedy met	President Kennedy ontving vandaag	President Kennedy ontmoette vandaag	TT1: retention TT2: retention	N/A
32b		with the Collegiate All-American Football Team	het All-American Football Team .	de All-Americans	TT1: retention + omission TT2: generalisation	TT1

32c		at the Oval Office today.	-	in de Oval Office .	TT1: omission TT2: retention	TT2
33	1:52:35	And since number one, I wasn't hungry but thirsty, and number two, they was free, I must have drank me about fifteen Dr Peppers .	Omdat ik geen honger had, maar wel dorst en omdat het gratis was dronk ik zo'n vijftien Dr. Peppers .	Maar omdat ik, één, geen honger had maar dorst, en, twee, ze gratis waren, moet ik zo'n 15 Dr Peppers hebben gedronken.	TT1: retention (TL-adjusted) TT2: retention (complete)	TT2
34	1:53:23	How does it feel to be an All-American ?	Hoe voelt het om 'n All-American te zijn?	Hoe voelt 't om een All-American te zijn?	TT1: retention TT2: retention	N/A
35	1:51:24	After only five years of playing football , I got a college degree .	Na vijf jaar football spelen kreeg ik m'n diploma .	Na maar vijf jaar football kreeg ik een universiteitsgraad .		
35a		After only five years of playing football ,	Na vijf jaar football spelen	Na maar vijf jaar football	TT1: retention TT2: retention	N/A
35b		I got a college degree.	kreeg ik m'n diploma.	kreeg ik een universiteitsgraad .	TT1: omission TT2: generalisation	TT2
36	1:49:45	So Bubba was from Bayou La Batre, Alabama , and his mama cooked shrimp.	Bubba kwam uit Bayou la Batre en z'n mama maakte garnalen klaar.	Bubba kwam uit Bayou La Batre, Alabama en z'n mama kookte garnalen.		
36a		So Bubba was from Bayou La Batre,	Bubba kwam uit Bayou la Batre	Bubba kwam uit Bayou La Batre,	TT1: retention TT2: retention	N/A
36b		Alabama , and his mama cooked shrimp.	en z'n mama maakte garnalen klaar.	Alabama en z'n mama kookte garnalen.	TT1: omission TT2: retention	TT2
37	1:49:12	To do whatever you tell me to do, drill sergeant .	Doen wat u me opdraagt, sergeant .	Doen wat u me zegt, sergeant!	TT1: substitution TT2: substitution	N/A
38	1:49:01	You are goddamn gifted, Private Gump.	Je hebt verdomd veel talent, soldaat Gump.	Jij hebt talent, soldaat Gump.	TT1: substitution TT2: substitution	N/A

39	1:48:49	You just make your bed real neat, remember to stand up straight, and always answer every question with “Yes, drill sergeant. ”	Je maakt je bed mooi op, je staat rechtop. En je antwoordt altijd met “Ja, sergeant ”.	Je maakt gewoon je bed netjes op, staat rechtop, en beantwoordt elke vraag met “Ja, sergeant. ”	TT1: substitution TT2: substitution	N/A
40	1:48:40	Yes, drill sergeant!	Ja, sergeant.	Ja, sergeant!	TT1: substitution TT2: substitution	N/A
41	1:48:34	On a good day, you can catch over a hundred pounds of shrimp.	Op goeie dagen vang je meer dan 100 pond.	Op een goede dag kun je wel 60 kilo garnalen vangen.	TT1: direct translation TT2: substitution	TT1
42	1:48:23	Done, drill sergeant!	Klaar, sergeant.	Klaar, sergeant!	TT1: substitution TT2: substitution	N/A
43	1:48:15	You told me to, drill sergeant.	Omdat u me dat opdroeg.	Omdat u dat zei, sergeant.	TT1: omission TT2: substitution	TT2
44	1:48:10	If it wouldn't be a waste of such a damn fine enlisted man, I'd recommend you for O.C.S., Private Gump.	Het is dat je zo'n goed soldaat bent, anders werd je officier.	Zonde van zo'n fijne dienstsoldaat, maar anders had ik je aanbevolen als officier.		
44a		If it wouldn't be a waste of such a damn fine enlisted man, I'd recommend you for O.C.S.,	Het is dat je zo'n goed soldaat bent, anders werd je officier.	Zonde van zo'n fijne dienstsoldaat, maar anders had ik je aanbevolen als officier.	TT1: generalisation TT2: generalisation	N/A
44b		Private Gump.	-	-	TT1: omission TT2: omission	N/A
45	1:48:05	You are going to be a general someday, Gump!	Eens word je generaal.	Jij wordt nog eens generaal!	TT1: substitution TT2: substitution	N/A
46	1:47:49	There's, uh, shrimp kabobs, shrimp Creole,	Je hebt garnalen-kebab, garnalen à la Creole,	Je hebt garnalenkebabs, Creoolse garnalen,		

		shrimp gumbo , pan fried, deep fried, stir fried.	garnalen met okra . Je kunt ze bakken, frituren, roerbakken.	garnalen- okra , in de koekenpan, de frietenpan, de wok.		
46a		There's, uh, shrimp kabobs, shrimp Creole ,	Je hebt garnalen-kebab, garnalen à la Creole ,	Je hebt garnalenkebabs, Creoolse garnalen,	TT1: specification TT2: direct translation	TT1
46b		shrimp gumbo , pan fried, deep fried, stir fried.	garnalen met okra . Je kunt ze bakken, frituren, roerbakken.	garnalen- okra , in de koekenpan, de frietenpan, de wok.	TT1: direct translation (shifted) TT2: direct translation (calque)	TT2
47	1:46:46	Turns out, Jenny had gotten into some trouble over some photos of her in her college sweater.	Jenny had problemen gekregen over foto's van haar in 'n trui van de universiteit .	Jenny bleek in de problemen te zijn geraakt met foto's van haar in haar universiteitstrui .	TT1: generalisation TT2: generalisation	N/A
48	1:46:33	But that wasn't a bad thing, cause a man who owns a theater in Memphis, Tennessee , saw those photos and offered Jenny a job singing in a show.	Maar het was niet erg want 'n theater-eigenaar uit Memphis, Tennessee zag de foto's en bood Jenny 'n baan aan als zangeres.	Maar dat was nog niet zo slecht want een man die een theater had in Memphis, Tennessee , zag die foto's en bood Jenny werk aan als zangeres in een show.		
48a		But that wasn't a bad thing, cause a man who owns a theater in Memphis,	Maar het was niet erg want 'n theater-eigenaar uit Memphis,	Maar dat was nog niet zo slecht want een man die een theater had in Memphis,	TT1: retention TT2: retention	N/A
48b		Tennessee , saw those photos and offered Jenny a job singing in a show.	Tennessee zag de foto's en bood Jenny 'n baan aan als zangeres.	Tennessee , zag die foto's en bood Jenny werk aan als zangeres in een show.	TT1: retention TT2: retention	N/A
49	1:46:21	The first chance I got, I took the bus up to	Zodra ik kon, nam ik de bus naar Memphis om haar te zien optreden.	Zodra ik de kans kreeg, nam ik een bus naar	TT1: retention TT2: retention	N/A

		Memphis to see her perform in that show.		Memphis om haar op te zien treden.		
50	1:46:10	And now, for your listening and viewing pleasure, direct from Hollywood, California , our very own beatnik beauty.	En nu, leuk om naar te luisteren en om te zien, zo uit Hollywood onze eigen schone .	En nu, voor uw luisteren en kijkplezier, uit Hollywood, Californië , onze beatnikschoonheid .		
50a		And now, for your listening and viewing pleasure, direct from Hollywood,	En nu, leuk om naar te luisteren en om te zien, zo uit Hollywood	En nu, voor uw luisteren en kijkplezier, uit Hollywood,	TT1: retention TT2: retention	N/A
50b		California,	-	Californië,	TT1: omission TT2: official equivalent	TT2
50c		our very own beatnik beauty.	onze eigen schone .	onze beatnikschoonheid .	TT1: omission TT2: retention	TT2
51	1:45:10	This ain't Captain Kangaroo .	Dit is geen kindervoorstelling .	Dit is Sesamstraat niet!	TT1: generalisation TT2: substitution	TT1
52	1:40:36	There are goddamn snipers all around this area who would love to grease an officer .	Overal zitten sluipschutters die graag 'n officier omleggen.	Er zitten hier overal scherpschutters die graag een officier neerleggen.	TT1: substitution TT2: substitution	N/A
53	1:40:30	I'm lieutenant Dan Taylor.	Ik ben luitenant Dan Taylor.	Ik ben Luitenant Dan Taylor.	TT1: substitution TT2: substitution	N/A
54	1:40:13	Alabama , Sir!	Alabama , luitenant.	Alabama , sir!	TT1: retention TT2: retention	N/A
55	1:39:53	There is one item of G.I. gear that can be the difference between a live grunt and a dead grunt. Socks.	Eén ding kan 't verschil zijn tussen 'n levende en 'n dooie soldaat. Sokken.	Er is één stuk soldatenuitrusting dat 't verschil kan betekenen tussen leven en dood: sokken.	TT1: omission TT2: generalisation	TT2
56	1:39:35	Sergeant Sims.	Sergeant Sims, ...	Sergeant Sims.	TT1: substitution	N/A

					TT2: substitution	
57	1:39:27	Lieutenant Dan sure knew his stuff.	Luitenant Dan wist alles.	Luitenant Dan wist wat ie deed.	TT1: substitution TT2: substitution	N/A
58	1:39:25	I felt real lucky he was my lieutenant .	Ik was blij dat hij m'n luitenant was.	Ik was blij dat hij mijn luitenant was.	TT1: substitution TT2: substitution	N/A
59	1:39:08	I'm on it lieutenant .	-	-	TT1: omission TT2: omission	N/A
60	1:38:59	So, you boys are from Arkansas , huh?	Jullie komen dus uit Arkansas .	Zo, jullie komen uit Arkansas ?	TT1: retention TT2: retention	N/A
61	1:38:55	Little Rock 's a fine town.	Little Rock is 'n mooie stad.	Little Rock is een mooie stad.	TT1: retention TT2: retention	N/A
62	1:38:49	Now, go shake down your gear, see the platoon sergeant , draw what you need for the field.	Pak je spullen, ga naar de sergeant en haal wat je nodig hebt.	Oké, spullen weg. Naar je pelotons-sergeant en jullie spullen pakken voor patrouille.	TT1: substitution (target culture) TT2: substitution (target culture)	N/A
63	1:37:38	Lieutenant Dan was always getting these funny feelings about a rock or a trail or the road, so he'd tell us to get down, shut up.	Lt. Dan had altijd vreemde vermoedens over 'n steen of 'n pad of de weg. Dan moesten we liggen en stil zijn.	Luitenant Dan had steeds van die voorgevoelens over een rots, een spoor, de weg, dan moesten we gaan liggen en stil zijn.	TT1: substitution TT2: substitution	N/A
64	1:37:00	There was Dallas from Phoenix .	Je had Dallas uit Phoenix .	Dallas uit Phoenix .	TT1: retention TT2: retention	N/A
65	1:36:56	Cleveland, he was from Detroit .	Cleveland kwam uit Detroit .	Cleveland kwam uit Detroit .	TT1: retention TT2: retention	N/A
66	1:34:55	So many pounds of shrimp to pay off the boat, so many pounds for gas.	Zoveel pond garnalen om de boot af te betalen, en voor de benzine.	Met zoveel kilo garnalen betalen we de boot. Zoveel kilo voor benzine.		

66a		So many pounds of shrimp to pay off the boat,	Zoveel pond garnalen om de boot af te betalen,	Met zoveel kilo garnalen betalen we de boot.	TT1: direct translation TT2: substitution	TT1
66b		so many pounds for gas.	en voor de benzine.	Zoveel kilo voor benzine.	TT1: omission TT2: substitution	TT2
67	1:29:59	Lieutenant Dan, Coleman's dead!	Lt. Dan, Coleman is dood.	Luitenant Dan, Coleman is dood!	TT1: substitution TT2: substitution	N/A
68	1:25:50	They said it was a million dollar wound, but the army must keep that money, cause I still ain't seen a nickel of that million dollars .	Het was 'n miljoen dollar-wond , zeiden ze. Het leger houdt 't geld, denk ik, want ik heb nog geen cent gezien.	Ze zeiden dat die wond een miljoen dollar waard was, maar het leger houdt dat geld zeker, want ik heb nog geen cent gezien van die miljoen dollar .		
68a		They said it was a million dollar wound,	Het was 'n miljoen dollar-wond , zeiden ze.	Ze zeiden dat die wond een miljoen dollar waard was,	TT1: official equivalent TT2: official equivalent	N/A
68b		but the army must keep that money, cause I still ain't seen a nickel	Het leger houdt 't geld, denk ik, want ik heb nog geen cent gezien.	maar het leger houdt dat geld zeker, want ik heb nog geen cent gezien	TT1: generalisation TT2: generalisation	N/A
68c		of that million dollars .	-	van die miljoen dollar .	TT1: omission TT2: official equivalent	TT2
69	1:25:24	Lieutenant Dan, I got you some ice cream.	Luitenant Dan, ik heb 'n ijsje voor je.	Luitenant Dan, ik heb ijs voor u.	TT1: substitution TT2: substitution	N/A
70	1:25:19	Lieutenant Dan, ice cream.	Luitenant Dan, ijs.	Luitenant Dan, ijs!	TT1: substitution TT2: substitution	N/A
71	1:25:06	It's time for your bath, lieutenant .	Tijd voor je bad, luitenant .	Tijd voor uw bad, Luitenant .	TT1: substitution TT2: substitution	N/A
72	1:24:05	You are tuned to the American Forces Vietnam Network .	-	Dit is Zender Vietnam .	TT1: omission TT2: generalisation	TT2

73	1:22:59	Even Lieutenant Dan would come and watch me play.	Zelfs luitenant Dan kwam naar me kijken.	Zelfs luitenant Dan kwam naar me kijken.	TT1: substitution TT2: substitution	N/A
74	1:21:25	I was Lieutenant Dan Taylor.	Ik was luitenant Dan Taylor.	Ik was luitenant Dan Taylor.	TT1: substitution TT2: substitution	N/A
75	1:21:16	You're still Lieutenant Dan.	Je bent nog steeds luitenant Dan.	U bent nog steeds luitenant Dan.	TT1: substitution TT2: substitution	N/A
76	1:20:29	PFC Gump?	Soldaat eerste klas Gump.	Soldaat-Eerste-Klasse Gump?	TT1: substitution TT2: substitution	N/A
77	1:20:21	Son, you've been awarded the Medal of Honor .	Jongen, je krijgt de eremedaile .	Jongen, je krijgt de Eremedaile .	TT1: direct translation TT2: direct translation	N/A
78	1:20:17	Guess what, Lieutenant Dan?	Raad 's, luitenant Dan.	Weet u, luitenant Dan?	TT1: substitution TT2: substitution	N/A
79	1:20:05	Ma'am, what'd they do with Lieutenant Dan?	Juffrouw, wat hebben ze met luitenant Dan gedaan?	Mevrouw, wat hebben ze met luitenant Dan gedaan?	TT1: substitution TT2: substitution	N/A
80	1:19:43	President Johnson awarded four Medals of Honor to men from each of the armed services.	President Johnson reikte vier eremedailles uit.	President Johnson deelde vier eremedailles uit aan mannen van...		
80a		President Johnson awarded	President Johnson reikte	President Johnson deelde	TT1: retention TT2: retention	N/A
80b		four Medals of Honor to men from each of the armed services.	vier eremedailles uit.	vier eremedailles uit aan mannen van...	TT1: direct translation TT2: direct translation	N/A
81	1:14:14	Wesley and I live together in Berkeley , and he's the president of the Berkeley chapter of S.D.S.	We hebben samengewoond op Berkeley .	Wesley en ik wonen samen in Berkeley , hij is president van de Studenten-Democraten .		

81a		Wesley and I live together in Berkeley ,	We hebben samengewoond op Berkeley .	Wesley en ik wonen samen in Berkeley ,	TT1: retention TT2: retention	N/A
81b		and he's the president of the Berkeley chapter	-	hij is president	TT1: omission TT2: omission	N/A
81c		of S.D.S.	-	van de Studenten-Democraten .	TT1: omission TT2: generalisation	TT2
82	1:14:08	We are here to offer protection and help for all of those who need our help, because we, the Black Panthers , are against the war in Vietnam.	Wij beschermen en helpen iedereen die dat nodig heeft. De Zwarte Panthers zijn tegen de oorlog in Vietnam.	We bieden hulp en bescherming aan wie onze hulp behoeven. Want wij Black Panthers zijn tegen de oorlog in Vietnam.	TT1: direct translation TT2: retention	TT2
83	1:12:52	Sorry I had a fight in the middle of your Black Panther party.	Sorry dat ik ruzie kreeg tijdens je Zwarte Panter -feestje.	Het spijt me dat ik moest vechten midden in je Black Panther -feestje.	TT1: direct translation TT2: retention	TT2
84	1:11:52	She told me about all the traveling she'd done and how she discovered ways to expand her mind and learn how to live in harmony, which must be out west somewhere, cause she made it all the way to California .	Ze vertelde me over haar reizen en hoe ze manieren ontdekte om haar geest te verruimen en hoe ze in harmonie leefde. Dat moet in 't Westen liggen, want ze was in Californië geweest.	Zij vertelde mij over al haar reizen en hoe ze manieren had gevonden om haar geest te verruimen en leerde te leven in harmonie, dat is ergens in 't Westen, want ze ging helemaal naar Californië .	TT1: official equivalent TT2: official equivalent	N/A
85	1:11:30	Anybody want to go to San Francisco ?	Wil er iemand naar San Francisco ?	Wil er iemand naar San Francisco ?	TT1: retention TT2: retention	N/A

86	1:11:05	It's just this war and that lying son of a bitch Johnson and ...	Het komt door die oorlog en die leugenaar van 'n Johnson .	Die oorlog, die liegende klootzak van een Johnson en...	TT1: retention TT2: retention	N/A
87	1:10:50	I think you should go home to Greenbow, Alabama .	Ik denk dat je terug naar huis moet in Greenbow, Alabama!	Ik vind dat je naar huis moet, naar Greenbow, Alabama!	TT1: retention TT2: retention	N/A
88	1:08:46	So I was in the Special Services , traveling around the country, cheering up all them wounded veterans and showing them how to play ping-pong.	Ik reisde 't land rond, vrolijkte gewonden op en liet zien hoe je ping pong speelt.	Dus ik reisde met de Special Services het land door, gewonde veteranen opmonteren en ze laten zien hoe je pingponggt.	TT1: omission TT2: retention	TT2
89	1:08:37	I was so good that some years later, the army decided that I should be on the All-American Ping-Pong Team .	Ik was zo goed dat ik bij 't All-American Ping Pong Team kwam.	Ik was zo goed, dat ik in het All-American pingpongteam werd gezet.	TT1: retention TT2: retention	N/A
90	1:08:19	When I got home, I was a national celebrity, famouser even than Captain Kangaroo .	Ik werd 'n beroemdheid. Heel erg beroemd.	Toen ik thuiskwam, was ik een nationale beroemdheid, nog bekender dan Sesamstraat .	TT1: omission TT2: substitution	TT2
91	1:07:11	They gave you the Congressional Medal of Honor .	Jij hebt de eremedaille gekregen.	Ze gaven je de Eremedaille van de regering .	TT1: generalisation TT2: direct translation + generalisation	TT2
92	1:07:06	Now, that's Lieutenant Dan .	Dat is luitenant Dan.	Dat is luitenant Dan.	TT1: substitution TT2: substitution	N/A
93	1:07:02	Lieutenant Dan!	-	Luitenant Dan!	TT1: omission TT2: substitution	TT2

94	1:06:59	They gave you the Congressional Medal of Honor.	Jij hebt de eremedaille gekregen.	Ze gaven je de Eremedaille van 't Congres.	TT1: generalisation TT2: direct translation	TT2
95	1:06:51	They gave you, an imbecile, a moron who goes on television and makes a fool out of himself in front of the whole damn country, the Congressional Medal of Honor.	Jij een imbeciel, 'n idioot die zichzelf op TV voor gek zet voor 't hele land, hebt de eremedaille gekregen.	Ze gaven jou, een imbeciel, een debiel die op tv verschijnt en zichzelf voor gek zet ten overstaan van 't hele land, de Eremedaille van 't Congres.	TT1: generalisation TT2: direct translation	TT2
96	1:06:15	Lieutenant Dan!	-	Luitenant Dan!	TT1: omission TT2: substitution	TT2
97	1:06:12	Lieutenant Dan said he was living in a hotel and because he didn't have nog legs, he spent most of his time exercising his arms.	Luitenant Dan woonde in 'n hotel.	Luitenant Dan zei dat hij in een hotel woonde.	TT1: substitution TT2: substitution	N/A
98	1:05:54	What do you do here in New York, Lieutenant Dan?	Wat doe je hier in New York?	Wat doet u hier in New York, Luitenant Dan?		
98a		What do you do here in New York,	Wat doe je hier in New York?	Wat doet u hier in New York,	TT1: retention TT2: retention	N/A
98b		Lieutenant Dan?	-	Luitenant Dan?	TT1: omission TT2: substitution	TT2
99	1:05:31	I stayed with Lieutenant Dan and celebrated the holidays.	Ik bleef de feestdagen bij luitenant Dan.	Ik bleef bij luitenant Dan om de feestdagen te vieren.	TT1: substitution TT2: substitution	N/A
100	1:05:02	That's all these cripples down at the V.A. --	Al die invaliden in het ziekenhuis praten over niets anders.	Al die kreupele veteranen , dat is 't	TT1: generalisation TT2: generalisation	N/A

		that's all they ever talk about.		enige waar ze over praten.		
101	1:04:14	I'm going to heaven, Lieutenant Dan.	Ik ga naar de hemel, luitenant Dan.	Ik ga naar de hemel, luitenant Dan.	TT1: substitution TT2: substitution	N/A
102	1:03:58	Before you go, why don't you get your ass down to the corner and get us another bottle of Ripple?	Loop voor je gaat eerst naar de hoek en pak nog 'n fles wijn.	Voordat je gaat, kun je even naar de winkel op de hoek om nog wat meer drank te halen?	TT1: generalisation TT2: generalisation	N/A
103	1:03:52	We're at approximately 45th Street in New York City at One Astor Plaza.	We zijn in 45th Street in New York. Op 1 Astor Plaza...	We zijn ongeveer bij 45th street in New York City bij Astor Plaza 1.		
103a		We're at approximately 45th Street	We zijn in 45th Street	We zijn ongeveer bij 45th street	TT1: retention TT2: retention	N/A
103b		in New York City	in New York.	in New York City	TT1: retention + omission TT2: retention	TT2
103c		at One Astor Plaza.	Op 1 Astor Plaza...	bij Astor Plaza 1.	TT1: retention (complete) TT2: retention (TL-adjusted)	TT1
104	1:03:47	This is the site of the old Astor Hotel.	...het Astor Hotel.	Hier is het oude Astor Hotel...	TT1: retention TT2: retention	N/A
105	1:03:45	What the hell is in Bayou La Batre?	Wat is er in Bayou la Batre?	Wat is er verdomme in Bayou La Batre?	TT1: retention TT2: retention	N/A
106	1:03:20	A promise is a promise, Lieutenant Dan.	Beloofd is beloofd, luitenant Dan.	Beloofd is beloofd, Luitenant Dan.	TT1: substitution TT2: substitution	N/A
107	1:03:12	Private Gump here is gonna be a shrimp boat captain.	Soldaat Gump wordt kapitein van 'n garnalenboot.	Soldaat Gump hier wordt kapitein op een garnalenboot.	TT1: substitution TT2: substitution	N/A

108	1:03:07	Well, I tell you what, Gilligan , the day that you are a shrimp boat captain, I will come and be your first mate.	Gilligan , zodra jij kapitein bent, word ik je eerste stuurman.	Luister, mafkees , de dag dat jij kapitein wordt op een garnalenboot, word ik je eerste matroos.	TT1: retention TT2: substitution	TT1
109	1:02:25	That's at Times Square .	Dat is op Times Square .	Times Square .	TT1: retention TT2: retention	N/A
110	1:02:10	Wondering how she was spending her New Year's night out in California .	Ik vroeg me af hoe zij haar oudejaarsavond doorbracht.	Ik vroeg me af hoe 't met haar zou zijn, met Oud en Nieuw in Californië .	TT1: omission TT2: official equivalent	TT2
111	1:01:16	Happy new year, Lieutenant Dan !	Gelukkig Nieuwjaar!	Gelukkig nieuwjaar, luitenant Dan !	TT1: omission TT2: substitution	TT2
112	1:00:17	You belong in Ripley's Believe It or Not! You should be in a sideshow!	Je bent niet goed bij je hoofd.	Je moet bij 't circus .		
112a		You belong in Ripley's Believe It or Not!	Je bent niet goed bij je hoofd .	-	TT1: generalisation TT2: omission	TT1
112b		You should be in a sideshow!	-	Je moet bij 't circus .	TT1: omission TT2: generalisation	TT2
113	0:59:33	I'm sorry I ruined your New Year's Eve party, Lieutenant Dan .	Sorry dat ik je oudejaarsfeestje hebt verpest.	Sorry dat ik uw nieuwjaarsfeestje heb verpest, luitenant Dan .	TT1: omission TT2: substitution	TT2
114	0:59:10	I guess Lieutenant Dan figured there's some things you just can't change.	Luitenant Dan dacht vast dat je sommige dingen niet kunt veranderen.	Ik denk dat luitenant Dan dacht dat sommige dingen nooit veranderen.	TT1: substitution TT2: substitution	N/A
115	0:58:49	The U.S. ping-pong team met with President Nixon today	Het ping pong-team van de VS werd door Nixon ontvangen.	Het pingpongteam ontmoette president Nixon ...		

		at an Oval Office ceremony ...				
115a		The U.S. ping-pong team met with President Nixon today	Het ping pong-team van de VS werd door Nixon ontvangen.	Het pingpongteam ontmoette president Nixon ...	TT1: retention + omission TT2: retention	TT2
115b		at an Oval Office ceremony ...	-	-	TT1: omission TT2: omission	N/A
116	0:58:44	A few months later, they invited me and the ping-pong team to visit the White House .	Een paar maanden later werden we uitgenodigd in 't Witte Huis .	Een paar maanden later nodigden ze mij en het pingpongteam uit in het Witte Huis .	TT1: direct translation TT2: direct translation	N/A
117	0:58:12	Security, Frank Wills .	Bewaking.	Bewaking.	TT1: omission TT2: omission	N/A
118	0:57:43	Vice President Ford will be sworn in as president at that hour in his office.	Vice-president Ford wordt op dat tijdstip tot president beëdigd.	Vice-president Ford zal op dat tijdstip in dit kantoor worden ingezworen als president.	TT1: retention TT2: retention	N/A
119	0:57:26	Sergeant Gump .	Sergeant Gump .	Forrest Gump .	TT1: substitution (cultural, target culture) TT2: substitution (situational, source culture)	TT2
120	0:56:18	One man even left a check for 25,000 dollars if you'd be agreeable to saying you like using their paddle.	Een man geeft 'n cheque voor 25.000 dollar als jij zegt dat je hun batje gebruikt.	Een man liet zelfs een cheque voor \$25.000 achter, voor als je zegt dat je zijn bat gebruikt.	TT1: official equivalent TT2: retention	TT2
121	0:56:05	I know that, I know that, but it is 25,000 dollars , Forrest.	Dat weet ik. Maar het is wel 25.000 dollar .	Dat weet ik, maar het is \$25.000 , Forrest.	TT1: official equivalent TT2: retention	TT2

122	0:55:44	So I went on down to Bayou La Batre to meet Bubba's family and make their introduction.	Dus ging ik naar Bayou la Batre om Bubba's familie te leren kennen.	Dus ging ik naar Bayou La Batre om Bubba's familie te ontmoeten.	TT1: retention TT2: retention	N/A
123	0:55:12	I'm taking the 24,562 dollars and 47 cent that I got, well, that's left after a new haircut and a new suit and I took mama out to a real fancy dinner, and I bought a bus ticket, then three Dr Peppers .	Ik heb nog 24.562 dollar en 47 cent . Dat is nog over na de kapper en 'n nieuw pak en 'n chic etentje voor mama, 'n buskaartje en drie Dr. Peppers .	Ik neem de \$24.562,47 die ik heb, da's over na de kapper, een nieuw pak, mama mee uitnemen naar een sjiek restaurant, en een buskaartje en drie Dr Peppers .		
123a		I'm taking the 24,562 dollars and 47 cent that I got, well, that's left after a new haircut and a new suit and I took mama out to a real fancy dinner, and I bought a bus ticket,	Ik heb nog 24.562 dollar en 47 cent . Dat is nog over na de kapper en 'n nieuw pak en 'n chic etentje voor mama, 'n buskaartje	Ik neem de \$24.562,47 die ik heb, da's over na de kapper, een nieuw pak, mama mee uitnemen naar een sjiek restaurant, en een buskaartje	TT1: official equivalent TT2: retention	TT2
123b		then three Dr Peppers .	en drie Dr. Peppers .	en drie Dr Peppers .	TT1: retention (TL-adjusted) TT2: retention (complete)	TT2
124	0:54:48	Well, that's what's left after me saying, "When I was in China on the All-America Ping-Pong Team, I just loved playing ping-pong with	Dat is er over nadat ik had gezegd: In China speelde ik graag ping pong met m'n Flex-O-Light-batje. Wat niet waar is. Maar 'n	Dat is over nadat ik zei: "In China met het All-American pingpongteam, pingpongde ik het liefst met mijn Flex-o-lite	TT1: omission TT2: (partial) retention	TT2

		my Flex-o-lite ping-pong paddle”, which everybody knows isn’t true, but mama said it was just a little white lie, so it wouldn’t hurt nobody.	leugentje doet niemand kwaad, zei mama.	pingpong-bat.” Iedereen wist dat ’t niet waar was, maar mama zei dat een onschuldig leugentje niemand kwaad deed.		
125	0:50:16	Lieutenant Dan, what are you doing here?	Luitenant Dan, wat doe jij hier?	Luitenant Dan, wat doet u hier?	TT1: substitution TT2: substitution	N/A
126	0:50:08	Well, you ain’t got no legs, Lieutenant Dan.	Je hebt geen benen.	U heeft geen benen, luitenant Dan.	TT1: omission TT2: substitution	TT2
127	0:48:35	Still no shrimp, Lieutenant Dan.	Nog steeds geen garnalen.	Geen garnalen, luitenant Dan.	TT1: omission TT2: substitution	TT2
128	0:48:13	Sometimes Lieutenant Dan came, too, though I think he left the praying up to me.	Soms kwam Lt. Dan ook. Maar hij liet ’t bidden aan mij over.	Soms kwam luitenant Dan ook, hoewel hij mij het bidden liet doen.	TT1: substitution TT2: substitution	N/A
129	0:47:47	It’s funny Lieutenant Dan said that cause right then God showed up.	Grappig dat hij dat zei. Want op dat moment kwam God opdagen.	Raar dat luitenant Dan dat zei, want op dat moment liet Hij zich zien.	TT1: deixis TT2: substitution	TT2
130	0:47:22	Now, me, I was scared, but Lieutenant Dan, he was mad.	Ik was bang, maar luitenant Dan was door ’t dolle.	Nou, ik was bang, maar luitenant Dan was boos.	TT1: substitution TT2: substitution	N/A
131	0:46:48	Hurricane Carmen came through here yesterday, destroying nearly everything in its path.	Orkaan Carmen heeft gister bijna alles op haar pad vernietigd.	Orkaan Carmen kwam hierlangs en vernielde bijna alles op haar pad.	TT1: retention TT2: retention	N/A
132	0:46:44	And as in other towns up and down the coast, Bayou La Batre ’s	Net als overal is de garnalenindustrie van Bayou la Batre door	En zoals aan de rest van de kust, viel Bayou La Batre ’s gehele		

		entire shrimping industry has fallen victim to Carmen and has been left in utter ruin.	Carmen volkomen verwoest.	garnalenindustrie ten slachtoffer aan Carmen en werd geheel geruïneerd.		
132a		And as in other towns up and down the coast, Bayou La Batre 's entire shrimping industry	Net als overal is de garnalenindustrie van Bayou la Batre	En zoals aan de rest van de kust, viel Bayou La Batre 's gehele garnalenindustrie	TT1: retention TT2: retention	N/A
132b		has fallen victim to Carmen and has been left in utter ruin.	door Carmen volkomen verwoest.	ten slachtoffer aan Carmen en werd geheel geruïneerd.	TT1: retention TT2: retention	N/A
133	0:46:16	And since people still needed them shrimps for shrimp cocktails and barbeques and all, and we were the only boat left standing, Bubba Gump shrimp's what they got.	Omdat men garnalen nodig had voor barbecues en cocktails en zo en wij de enige boot waren, kregen ze Bubba-Gump -garnalen.	En omdat men ze nog steeds nodig had voor garnalencocktails en barbecues en zo. En omdat wij de enige boot waren die nog heel was, kregen ze Bubba-Gump -garnalen.	TT1: retention TT2: retention	N/A
134	0:46:03	Twelve Jennys, big old warehouse. We even have hats that say Bubba Gump on 'em.	Twaalf Jenny's, een grote opslagplaats, en zelfs petjes met Bubba-Gump erop.	Twaalf Jenny's, een oud warehouse. We hadden zelfs hoedjes met " Bubba-Gump " erop.	TT1: retention TT2: retention	N/A
135	0:45:57	Bubba Gump Shrimp.	-	Bubba-Gump-garnalen.	TT1: omission TT2: retention + direct translation	TT2
136	0:45:52	Are you telling me you're the owner of the	Ben jij de eigenaar van de Bubba-Gump-	Ben jij de eigenaar van de Bubba-Gump Shrimp Corporation?	TT1: retention + direct translation TT2: retention	TT2

		Bubba Gump Shrimp Corporation?	garnalen-maatschappij?			
137	0:45:47	We got more money than Davy Crockett .	We hebben meer geld dan Davy Crockett .	We hebben meer geld dan Davy Crockett .	TT1: retention TT2: retention	N/A
138	0:45:18	Would you like to see what Lieutenant Dan looks like?	Wilt u zien hoe luitenant Dan eruit ziet?	Wilt u een foto zien van luitenant Dan ?	TT1: substitution TT2: substitution	N/A
139	0:45:04	And let me tell you something about Lieutenant Dan .	En ik zal u wat over hem zeggen...	Ik zal u iets vertellen over luitenant Dan .	TT1: deixis TT2: substitution	TT2
140	0:44:12	For the second time in 17 days, President Ford escaped possible assassination today.	Voor de tweede keer in 17 dagen ontsnapt president Ford aan 'n aanslag.	Voor de tweede maal in 17 dagen ontsnapte president Ford vandaag aan een aanslag.	TT1: retention TT2: retention	N/A
141	0:40:58	Now, because I had been a football star and a war hero and a national celebrity and a shrimping boat captain and a college graduate, the city fathers of Greenbow, Alabama , decided to get together and offered me a fine job.	Omdat ik football-ster was geweest, en oorlogsheld en 'n beroemdheid en garnalenboot-kapitein boden de stadsbestuurders van Greenbow me 'n mooie baan aan.	Nou, omdat ik football-ster en oorlogsheld was geweest, en een nationale held en kapitein op een garnalenboot en student , besloot het bestuur van Greenbow, Alabama , mij een mooie baan aan te bieden.		
141a		Now, because I had been a football star and a war hero and a national celebrity and a shrimping boat captain	Omdat ik football-ster was geweest, en oorlogsheld en 'n beroemdheid en garnalenboot-kapitein	Nou, omdat ik football-ster en oorlogsheld was geweest, en een nationale held en kapitein op een garnalenboot	TT1: retention TT2: retention	N/A

141b		and a college graduate,	-	en student ,	TT1: omission TT2: generalisation	TT2
141c		the city fathers of Greenbow, Alabama , decided to get together and offered me a fine job.	boden de stadsbestuurders van Greenbow me 'n mooie baan aan.	besloot het bestuur van Greenbow, Alabama , mij een mooie baan aan te bieden.	TT1: omission TT2: retention	TT2
142	0:40:42	So I never went back to work for Lieutenant Dan, though he did take care of my Bubba Gump money.	Ik ging niet terug naar Lt. Dan. Hij zorgde goed voor m'n geld.	Dus werkte ik nooit meer voor luitenant Dan, hoewel hij op mijn Bubba-Gump -geld paste.		
142a		So I never went back to work for Lieutenant Dan,	Ik ging niet terug naar Lt. Dan.	Dus werkte ik nooit meer voor luitenant Dan,	TT1: substitution TT2: substitution	N/A
142b		though he did take care of my Bubba Gump money.	Hij zorgde goed voor m'n geld.	hoewel hij op mijn Bubba-Gump -geld paste.	TT1: omission TT2: retention	TT2
143	0:40:00	And even though Bubba was dead and Lieutenant Dan said I was nuts, I gave Bubba's mama Bubba's share.	En ook al was Bubba dood en zei Lt. Dan dat ik gek was gaf ik Bubba's mama Bubba's deel.	En hoewel Bubba dood was en luitenant Dan zei dat ik gek was, gaf ik Bubba's deel aan zijn mama.	TT1: substitution TT2: substitution	N/A
144	0:29:50	President Carter , suffering from heat exhaustion...	-	President Carter leidde aan oververmoeidheid...	TT1: omission TT2: retention	TT2
145	0:29:46	And when I got there, I thought maybe I'd just run across Greenbow County .	En toen ik daar was dacht ik: Laat ik 't district door rennen.	En toen ik daar was, dacht ik misschien door Greenbow County te rennen.	TT1: generalisation TT2: retention	TT2

146	0:29:40	Now, I figured since I run this far, maybe I'd just run across the great state of Alabama.	Toen ik zover was, dacht ik: Laat ik heel Alabama door rennen.	En omdat ik al zo ver was, dacht ik, misschien helemaal door de staat Alabama.		
146a		Now, I figured since I run this far, maybe I'd just run across the great state	Toen ik zover was, dacht ik: Laat ik heel	En omdat ik al zo ver was, dacht ik, misschien helemaal door de staat	TT1: omission TT2: direct translation	TT2
146b		of Alabama.	Alabama ...	Alabama.	TT1: retention TT2: retention	N/A
147	0:29:32	I ran clear across Alabama.	Ik rende de hele staat door.	Ik rende helemaal door Alabama.	TT1: generalisation TT2: retention	TT2
148	0:28:04	I'd think a lot about mama and Bubba and Lieutenant Dan.	Ik dacht veel aan mama en Bubba en aan luitenant Dan.	Ik dacht veel na over mama en Bubba en luitenant Dan.	TT1: substitution TT2: substitution	N/A
149	0:27:51	For more than two years now, a man named Forrest Gump, a gardener from Greenbow, Alabama , stopping only to sleep, has been running across America.	Al meer dan twee jaar rent ene Forrest Gump, tuinman uit Greenbow, Amerika door. Hij stopt alleen om te slapen.	Al meer dan twee jaar rent een man genaamd Forrest Gump, tuinman uit Greenbow, Alabama , door Amerika, en stopt alleen maar om te slapen.	TT1: omission TT2: retention	TT2
150	0:27:39	For the fourth time on his journey across America, Forrest Gump, the gardener from Greenbow, Alabama , is about to cross the Mississippi River again today.	Voor de vierde keer zal Forrest Gump, tuinman uit Greenbow, de Mississippi oversteken.	Voor de vierde keer sinds zijn reis door Amerika, zal Forrest Gump, de tuinman, de Mississippi oversteken.		

150a		For the fourth time on his journey across America, Forrest Gump, the gardener from Greenbow, Alabama ,	Voor de vierde keer zal Forrest Gump, tuinman uit Greenbow,	Voor de vierde keer sinds zijn reis door Amerika, zal Forrest Gump, de tuinman,	TT1: omission TT2: omission	N/A
150b		is about to cross the Mississippi River again today.	de Mississippi oversteken.	de Mississippi oversteken.	TT1: retention + omission TT2: retention + omission	N/A
151	0:23:48	So I went home to Alabama .	Dus ging ik naar huis in Alabama .	Dus ging ik naar huis in Alabama .	TT1: retention TT2: retention	N/A
152	0:23:46	Moments ago, at 2:25 p.m., as President Reagan was leaving the Washington Hilton Hotel five or six gunshots were fired by an unknown would-be assassin.	Om 14.25 uur, toen president Reagan 't Washington Hilton verliet werden er vijf of zes schoten gelost.	Kort geleden, om 14:25, toen president Reagan zijn... vijf of zes kogels afgevuurd door een onbekende.		
152a		Moments ago, at 2:25 p.m., as President Reagan was leaving	Om 14.25 uur, toen president Reagan	Kort geleden, om 14:25, toen president Reagan zijn...	TT1: retention TT2: retention	N/A
152b		the Washington Hilton Hotel five or six gunshots were fired by an unknown would-be assassin.	't Washington Hilton verliet werden er vijf of zes schoten gelost.	vijf of zes kogels afgevuurd door een onbekende.	TT1: retention + omission TT2: omission	TT1
153	0:23:31	And one day, out of the blue clear sky, I got a letter from Jenny	Zomaar ineens kreeg ik 'n brief van Jenny. Ze vroeg of ik haar kon	En op een dag, zomaar opeens, was er een brief van Jenny. Ze vroeg of	TT1: retention TT2: retention	N/A

		wondering if I could come down to Savannah and see her, and that's what I'm doing here.	komen opzoeken in Savannah . Dat doe ik nu.	ik haar op wilde komen zoeken in Savannah en daarom ben ik hier.		
154	0:23:16	I'm supposed to go on the number 9 bus to Richmond Street and get off and go one block left to 1947 Henry Street, apartment 4.	Ik moet met bus nummer 9 naar Richmond Street. Daar stap ik uit en loop ik naar 1947 Henry Street. Flat 4.	Ik moet met de nummer 9 naar Richmond Street en dan één blok naar links. Henry Street 1947, appartement 4.	TT1: omission TT2: direct translation	TT2
155	0:23:01	Henry Street is just five or six blocks down that way.	Henry Street is vijf of zes straten verderop.	Henry Street is vijf of zes blokken die kant op.	TT1: generalisation TT2: direct translation	TT2
156	0:21:12	This is my old friend from Alabama .	Dit is 'n oude vriend uit Alabama .	Dit is een vriendin uit Alabama .	TT1: retention TT2: retention	N/A
157	0:19:09	Bert and Ernie .	Bert en Ernie .	Bert en Ernie .	TT1: official equivalent TT2: official equivalent	N/A
158	0:17:09	Lieutenant Dan.	Luitenant Dan.	Luitenant Dan.	TT1: substitution TT2: substitution	N/A
159	0:16:51	Lieutenant Dan.	-	Luitenant Dan.	TT1: omission TT2: substitution	TT2
160	0:16:18	Lieutenant Dan.	Luitenant Dan!	Luitenant Dan.	TT1: substitution TT2: substitution	N/A
161	0:16:14	Lieutenant Dan, this is my Jenny.	Luitenant Dan, dit is mijn Jenny.	Luitenant Dan, dit is mijn Jenny.	TT1: substitution TT2: substitution	N/A
162	0:14:26	It was like just before the sun goes to bed down on the bayou .	Het was net als wanneer de zon naar bed ging in de rivier .	Net zoals wanneer de zon ging slapen in de bayou .	TT1: generalisation TT2: retention	TT2

163	0:11:16	Jenny, I don't know if mama was right or if it's Lieutenant Dan.	Ik weet niet of mama gelijk had of luitenant Dan.	Ik weet niet of mama gelijk had, of luitenant Dan.	TT1: substitution TT2: substitution	N/A
164	0:9:29	I'm gonna show that for show-and-tell because grandma used to read it to you.	Ik ga daarover in de klas vertellen omdat oma je dat altijd voorlas.	Dat bewaar ik voor een spreekbeurt , omdat grootmoeder het aan jou voorlas.	TT1: generalisation TT2: substitution	TT1

Appendix 2

Analysis *Dazed and Confused*

No	Time	ST	TT1	TT2	Translation procedure	More foreignising
1	1:38:14	Woodward, Bernstein.	Woodward. Bernstein.	Woodward. Bernstein.	TT1: retention TT2: retention	N/A
2	1:38:11	Guess that makes you Deep Throat.	Dan ben jij vast “ Deep Throat ”.	Dan moet jij Deep Throat zijn.	TT1: retention TT2: retention	N/A
3	1:37:55	Goodwin’s off on a senior trip.	-	Goodwin is naar de seniorentrip.	TT1: omission TT2: direct translation	TT2
4	1:37:06	But the head of Abraham Lincoln.	Met ’t hoofd van Abraham Lincoln.	Maar het hoofd van Abraham Lincoln.	TT1: retention TT2: retention	N/A
5	1:36:49	Gilligan’s transistor radio map.	“ Gilligans Transistor Radio Map”.	Gilligans transistorradio.	TT1: retention TT2: retention	N/A
6	1:36:36	The Mosquitoes.	-	The Mosquitoes.	TT1: omission TT2: retention	TT2
7	1:36:34	Ginger and Mary Ann formed their own little group.	-	Ginger en Mary Ann vormden ’n groep.	TT1: omission TT2: retention	TT2
8	1:34:53	See I just didn’t know that drugs and alcohol were such a big problem that they had to resort to neo-McCarthyism.	Is ’t zo’n probleem dat ze terug moeten grijpen naar McCarthyisme ?	Ik wist niet dat drugs en alcohol zo’n groot probleem waren dat ze zich beroepen op neo-Mccarthyisme.	TT1: direct translation + omission TT2: direct translation	TT2
9	1:34:43	Neo-McCarthyism.	Neo-McCarthyisme ...	Neo-Mccarthyisme.	TT1: direct translation TT2: direct translation	N/A
10	1:34:39	And there you guys were in class trying to list all the Gilligan’s	Hoe kunnen jullie “ Gilligans Island ” zo serieus nemen?	Jullie probeerden in de les een lijst te maken van alle Gilligan’s	TT1: retention (TL-adjusted)	TT2

		Island episodes without even a hint of irony.		<i>Island</i> afleveringen, zonder een greintje ironie.	TT2: retention (complete)	
11	1:34:29	Gilligan's Island?	-	<i>Gilligan's Island?</i>	TT1: omission TT2: retention	TT2
12	1:33:04	Those junior high kids are dead meat, I promise you.	Die kleuters zijn er geweest.	Die Junior High kinderen zijn er geweest. Dat beloof ik je.	TT1: generalisation TT2: retention	TT2
13	1:32:48	Okay, you freshman fucks, listen up!	Oké, groene eikels, luister!	Oké, eerstejaars sukkels, luisteren.	TT1: generalisation TT2: generalisation	N/A
14	1:32:44	Usually you'd be spending your freshman summer getting your asses busted and running for your worthless little lives.	Normaal staat jullie zomer op z'n kop.	Gewoonlijk spenderen jullie je eerstejaars zomer met klappen incasseren en rennen voor je waardeloze levens.	TT1: omission TT2: generalisation	TT2
15	1:31:10	Any of you girls gonna be ready to play some football this fall, huh?	Zijn jullie klaar voor 't najaar?	Zijn jullie meisjes klaar om football te spelen deze herfst?	TT1: omission TT2: retention	TT2
16	1:30:46	Break down!	-	Stoppen nu.	TT1: omission TT2: substitution	TT2
17	1:30:40	'Course she's 6'3" and 250 . And runs a 4.5 40 .	Maar zij is dan ook 1,82 m . Hij is maar 1,50 m .	Natuurlijk is ze 1.80 en 114 kilo . En ze haalt 40 meter in 4.5 seconden .		
17a		'Course she's 6'3"	Maar zij is dan ook 1,82 m .	Natuurlijk is ze 1.80	TT1: substitution TT2: substitution	N/A
17b		and 250 .	-	en 114 kilo .	TT1: omission TT2: substitution	TT2

17c		And runs a 4.5 40 .	Hij is maar 1,50 m .	En ze haalt 40 meter in 4.5 seconden .	TT1: substitution TT2: specification + substitution	TT2
18	1:30:33	Like quarterbacks don't have to do what their coaches say, is that it?	Luister je niet?	Hoeven quarterbacks niet te doen wat hun coach zegt?	TT1: deixis TT2: retention	TT2
19	1:28:51	Don, have you ever thought about why we play football ?	Don, waarom spelen we voetbal ?	Don, heb je er ooit over nagedacht waarom we football spelen?	TT1: direct translation TT2: retention	TT2
20	1:28:48	I mean, how many times have you gotten laid strictly because you're a football player, huh?	Dat is toch alleen voor de meiden?	Hoe vaak heb je seks gehad omdat je een football speler bent?	TT1: deixis TT2: retention	TT2
21	1:27:23	It's like our sergeant told us before one trip into the jungle.	Ik weet nog wat m'n sergeant zei in Vietnam:	Net zoals onze sergeant ons vertelde voor onze tocht door de jungle:	TT1: substitution TT2: substitution	N/A
22	1:27:07	You know, the '68 Democratic convention was probably the most bitchin' time I ever had in my life.	Weet je, 't partijcongres in 1968 was de slechtste tijd van m'n leven.	De Democratische Conventie uit '68 was waarschijnlijk de rotste tijd uit mijn hele leven.	TT1: generalisation TT2: direct translation	TT2
23	1:27:01	This summer when you're being inundated with all this American bicentennial Fourth of July brouhaha, don't forget what you're	Vergeet niet wat jullie vieren op Onafhankelijkheidsdag, de 4^e juli : Dat 'n bende witte slaveneigenaren hun	Deze zomer, waarin jullie overspoeld worden met al deze Amerikaanse ' de vierde juli ' heisa, vergeet dan niet dat	TT1: specification + direct translation TT2: direct translation	TT1

		celebrating and that's the fact that a bunch of slave-owning aristocratic, white males didn't want to pay their taxes.	belasting niet wilden betalen.	jullie het feit vieren dat een paar slaven bezittende, aristocratische blanke mannen hun belastingen niet wilden betalen.		
24	1:25:19	Get back, you little freshman dicks!	-	-	TT1: omission TT2: omission	N/A
25	1:24:12	Are you a freshman ?	Ben je 'n groentje ?	Ben je een eerstejaars ?	TT1: generalisation TT2: generalisation	N/A
26	1:23:10	Fucking freshmen !	-	-	TT1: omission TT2: omission	N/A
27	1:22:57	Nice try, freshmen .	Leuk geprobeerd, groentjes .	Leuk geprobeerd, eerstejaars .	TT1: generalisation TT2: generalisation	N/A
28	1:22:02	All right, you little freshman bitches!	Goed, groene krengetjes!	Oké, eerstejaar strutjes.	TT1: generalisation TT2: generalisation	N/A
29	1:21:40	You little freshman sluts!	-	Kleine eerstejaars sletjes.	TT1: omission TT2: generalisation	TT2
30	1:21:19	Well, seniors , we tried.	Zo is 't genoeg.	We hebben het geprobeerd.	TT1: omission TT2: omission	N/A
31	1:21:07	Seniors ?	-	Laatstejaars ?	TT1: omission TT2: generalisation	TT2
32	1:20:23	Welcome to high school , honey.	Welkom op de HAVO , schat.	Welkom op high school , schat.	TT1: substitution TT2: retention	TT2
33	1:19:31	I did it when I was a freshman , and you'll do it when you're a senior .	Ik heb 't zelf ook moeten ondergaan. Op 'n goeie dag mogen jullie 't doen.	Ik deed het toen ik eerstejaars was en je doet het als je laatstejaars bent.		
33a		I did it when I was a freshman ,	Ik heb 't zelf ook moeten ondergaan.	Ik deed het toen ik eerstejaars was	TT1: deixis TT2: generalisation	TT2

33b		and you'll do it when you're a senior .	Op 'n goeie dag mogen jullie 't doen.	en je doet het als je laatstejaars bent.	TT1: omission TT2: generalisation	TT2
34	1:19:27	Now fry like bacon, you little freshman piggies!	Goed, bak als spek, varkentjes!	Bakken als spek, kleine eerstejaars biggetjes.	TT1: omission TT2: generalisation	TT2
35	1:17:53	Who knows, you might experience something a little more tangible than an Abraham Lincoln dream.	Jij zou vanavond iets concreters kunnen beleven dan een droom.	Misschien ervaar je dan iets tastbaarders dan een droom over Abraham Lincoln .	TT1: omission TT2: retention	TT2
36	1:16:25	Straight A's tien en.	Alleen tien en.	TT1: substitution + omission TT2: substitution	TT2
37	1:15:19	Fifteen bucks .	15 dollar .	Vijftien dollar .	TT1: generalisation TT2: generalisation	N/A
38	1:15:14	Could you spot me 10 ?	Kan je me 10 dollar lenen?	Kun je me tien lenen?	TT1: specification TT2: direct translation	TT1
39	1:08:45	This arm ready to throw about 2,000 yards next fall?	Is je arm klaar om er in 't najaar verre ballen mee te gooien?	Kan deze arm volgende herfst 1.8 km ver gooien?	TT1: generalisation TT2: substitution	TT1
40	1:08:32	Thirteen starters coming back, 22 lettermen .	Jullie hebben 'n goed team .	Dertien starters komen terug, 22 lettermannen .	TT1: generalisation TT2: direct translation	TT2
41	1:05:29	Yeah, there's always one senior who has to be the badass.	Er is altijd één die 't hard moet spelen.	Ja, er is altijd een laatstejaars die de slechterik moet zijn.	TT1: omission TT2: generalisation	TT2
42	1:05:24	I think O'Bannion's gonna be the first senior in history to take that honor two years in a row.	O'Bannion doet 't voor de 2 ^e keer.	O'Bannion wordt de eerste in de geschiedenis die de eer twee opvolgende jaren op zich neemt.	TT1: omission TT2: omission	N/A

43	1:05:11	He's not a bad guy to have on your side though blocking for you.	Maar hij is heel goed om in je team te hebben.	Geen slechte jongen om aan je kant te hebben staan.	TT1: omission TT2: omission	N/A
44	1:05:05	Did you get it bad when you were a freshman ?	Werd jij geslagen, toen je aankwam ?	Had jij het zwaar toen je een eerstejaars was?	TT1: generalisation TT2: generalisation	N/A
45	1:04:43	I mean, I had some pretty cool seniors though, you know.	Maar sommigen van ze waren oké.	Ik had best coole laatstejaars .	TT1: deixis TT2: generalisation	TT2
46	1:02:14	You know for like the last year or so, I've been talking about going to law school so I can be an A.C.L.U. lawyer and be in a position to help people getting fucked over and all that?	Jullie weten dat ik advocaat wil worden om de zwakken te helpen?	Je weet dat ik het had over rechten studeren zodat ik 'n ACLU advocaat kan worden en mensen kan helpen die genaaid worden?		
46a		You know for like the last year or so, I've been talking about going to law school	-	Je weet dat ik het had over rechten studeren	TT1: omission TT2: generalisation	TT2
46b		so I can be an A.C.L.U. lawyer and be in a position to help people getting fucked over and all that?	Jullie weten dat ik advocaat wil worden om de zwakken te helpen?	zodat ik 'n ACLU advocaat kan worden en mensen kan helpen die genaaid worden?	TT1: omission TT2: retention	TT2
47	1:01:39	So you're not gonna go to law school ?	-	Dus je gaat geen rechten studeren ?	TT1: omission TT2: generalisation	TT2
48	1:00:48	Hey man, you still driving into Houston in the morning and get	Haal jij kaartjes voor Aerosmith ?	Ga je nog steeds naar Houston voor die		

		those Aerosmith tickets?		kaartjes voor Aerosmith ?		
48a		Hey man, you still driving into Houston in the morning	-	Ga je nog steeds naar Houston	TT1: omission TT2: retention	TT2
48b		and get those Aerosmith tickets?	Haal jij kaartjes voor Aerosmith ?	voor die kaartjes voor Aerosmith ?	TT1: retention TT2: retention	N/A
49	0:59:10	Hey man, what grade is she in?	Hé, in welke klas zit zij?	Hé, man. In welke klas zit ze?	TT1: substitution TT2: substitution	N/A
50	0:59:06	Sophomore.	In de 2e.	Tweedejaars.	TT1: substitution TT2: generalisation	TT2
51	0:56:27	And wait till I get to college , man.	Wacht maar tot ik naar college ga.	Wacht maar tot ik naar de universiteit ga.	TT1: retention TT2: generalisation	TT1
52	0:56:25	I can't wait to get to college.	-	Ik kan niet wachten.	TT1: omission TT2: omission	N/A
53	0:56:23	Yeah, when I get to college , all I'm gonna do is bang, bang, bang, bang!	Ik ga me door 't college heen naaien.	Als ik naar de universiteit ga, ga ik alleen maar seks hebben.	TT1: retention TT2: generalisation	TT1
54	0:55:01	That was our last junior high party.	Het laatste lagere schoolfeest.	Ons laatste middelbare schoolfeestje.	TT1: substitution TT2: substitution	N/A
55	0:54:58	We're in the big time now. We're freshmen , where all the girls will be putting out.	Nu gaan we naar de HAVO . Daar kunnen we pas meiden regelen.	Nu begint het echte werk. We zijn eerstejaars , alle meisjes willen seks.	TT1: substitution TT2: generalisation	TT2
56	0:52:07	We've got 411 Positrac out back, 750 double pumper, Edelbrock intakes, bored over .30 , 11-to-1 pop-up pistons, Turbo-jet, 390 horsepower.	Achter zit er 'n 411-uitlaat op. 7,5 Dubbele pompen, injectie, de beste zuigers, turbomotor, 390 pk.	We hebben 411 Posi-Track, 750 dubbele pomp, Edelbrock -opname, Ford over- 30 , en 11 tegen één pop-up zuigers, turbojet 290 pk.		

56a		We've got 411 Positrac out back, 750 double pumper, Edelbrock intakes,	Achter zit er 'n 411-uitlaat op. 7,5 Dubbele pompen, injectie,	We hebben 411 Posi-Track, 750 dubbele pomp, Edelbrock -opname,	TT1: omission TT2: retention	TT2
56b		bored over .30 , 11-to-1 pop-up pistons, Turbojet, 390 horsepower.	de beste zuigers, turbomotor, 390 pk.	Ford over- 30 , en 11 tegen één pop-up zuigers, turbojet 290 pk.	TT1: omission TT2: retention	TT2
57	0:51:51	I saw the ad, 2.95 .	-	Ik heb de advertentie gezien, \$2.95 .	TT1: omission TT2: specification	TT2
58	0:51:50	It was right next to the Sea-Monkeys .	-	Het stond naast de Aqua Dragons .	TT1: omission TT2: substitution	TT2
59	0:51:48	That's White Lightning .	De witte flits .	Dat is witte bliksem .	TT1: direct translation (shifted) TT2: direct translation (calque)	TT2
60	0:49:52	Oh man, I heard last year, they caught about 10 freshmen at once.	Vorig jaar namen ze tien groentjes te grazen.	Vorig jaar hebben ze tien eerstejaars tegelijkertijd gepakt.	TT1: generalisation TT2: generalisation	N/A
61	0:49:42	Idiot flunks his senior year so he can be a dick two years in a row.	Bedenk dat die idioot zakt om twee jaar op rij voor eikel te spelen.	Idioot zakt voor laatste jaar om twee jaar lang een eikel te zijn.	TT1: omission TT2: generalisation	TT2
62	0:48:58	Back in JC , something like that?	Om wat verder te studeren ?	Terug naar school ?	TT1: generalisation TT2: generalisation	N/A
63	0:48:38	So you're a freshman , right?	Je bent toch 'n groentje ?	Je bent een eerstejaars , toch?	TT1: generalisation TT2: generalisation	N/A
64	0:48:34	How's this year's crop of freshman chicks looking?	Hoe zien die nieuwe meiden eruit?	Hoe zien de eerstejaars chicks eruit?	TT1: generalisation TT2: generalisation	N/A
65	0:48:24	That's what I love about these high school girls, man.	Dat is nou wat ik zo graag mag van die HAVO meisjes.	Dat vind ik het leuke aan die school meiden, man.	TT1: substitution TT2: generalisation	TT2

66	0:46:01	Faggot-sissy-pussy freshman , throw it!	-	Homo-mietje- eerstejaars , gooien.	TT1: omission TT2: generalisation	TT2
67	0:45:41	You're nuts, junior !	Je bent niet goed wijs!	Je bent gek, Junior .	TT1: omission TT2: retention	TT2
68	0:45:19	I just need the freshman as a lookout.	Met 't groentje op de uitkijk.	Er moet alleen een eerstejaars op wacht staan.	TT1: generalisation TT2: generalisation	N/A
69	0:45:07	Better be careful, junior .	Pas maar op, groentje .	Doe maar voorzichtig... Junior .	TT1: generalisation TT2: retention	TT2
70	0:43:31	Which one of you had the theory about how President Ford 's old football head injuries is affecting the economy?	President Fords oude voetbal blessure beïnvloedt de economie, toch?	Wie van jullie had de theorie over hoe President Fords oude hoofdverwonding door football de economie beïnvloedt?		
70a		Which one of you had the theory about how President Ford 's	President Fords	Wie van jullie had de theorie over hoe President Fords	TT1: retention TT2: retention	N/A
70b		old football head injuries is affecting the economy?	oude voetbal blessure beïnvloedt de economie, toch?	oude hoofdverwonding door football de economie beïnvloedt?	TT1: direct translation TT2: retention	TT2
71	0:43:24	Did you know Ford was on the Warren Commission ?	Ford zat in de Warren-commissie .	Wist je dat Ford bij de Commissie-Warren zat?		
71a		Did you know Ford	Ford	Wist je dat Ford	TT1: retention TT2: retention	N/A
71b		was on the Warren Commission ?	zat in de Warren-commissie .	bij de Commissie-Warren zat?	TT1: retention + direct translation (calque) TT2: retention + direct translation (shifted)	TT1
72	0:41:15	So you're off to college in the fall?	Ga je verder studeren ?	Dus je gaat studeren in de herfst?	TT1: generalisation TT2: generalisation	N/A

73	0:37:50	You know son, you have to be the dumbest freshman skinny little cocksucker son of a bitch to be out here tonight, you know that?	Jij bent 's werelds domste groentje .	Jij moet wel de domste eerstejaars , klootzak, flikker zijn die er vanavond rondloopt. Weet je dat?	TT1: generalisation TT2: generalisation	N/A
74	0:37:07	Fucking freshman bastards!	-	-	TT1: omission TT2: omission	N/A
75	0:36:45	Freshmen shitheads!	Kuttige groentjes .	Klote eerstejaars .	TT1: generalisation TT2: generalisation	N/A
76	0:36:28	What are you smiling at, little freshman faggot, huh?	Wat staan jullie te lachen?	Waar lach je om, eerstejaars homo?	TT1: omission TT2: generalisation	TT2
77	0:35:50	I swore to God I'd never come to a Top Notch , and here I am sorting through jalapeño burgers and soggy fries.	Ik zou hier nooit meer komen.	Ik zou nooit naar Top Notch gaan en hier graaf ik me een weg door jalapeñoburgers en slappe friet.	TT1: deixis TT2: retention	TT2
78	0:31:08	So you better watch your step, junior .	Pas maar op, kleintje .	Dus pas op, Junior .	TT1: generalisation TT2: retention	TT2
79	0:31:04	This place used to be off-limits, man, cause some drunk freshman fell off.	Er is eens 'n dronken groentje naar beneden gevallen.	Dit was verboden terrein, man, omdat een dronken eerstejaars eraf viel.	TT1: generalisation TT2: generalisation	N/A
80	0:27:25	So, I just wanted to talk, you know, about you quitting football .	En, wil je ophouden met voetbal ?	Ik wilde alleen praten, snap je? Stop je met football ?	TT1: direct translation TT2: retention	TT2
81	0:26:59	No-one quits senior year, pal, especially if you're starting quarterback .	Niemand houdt in z'n laatste jaar op. Zeker niet als je quarterback bent.	Niemand stopt met het laatste jaar, helemaal niet als je quarterback bent.		

81a		No-one quits senior year, pal,	Niemand houdt in z'n laatste jaar op.	Niemand stopt met het laatste jaar,	TT1: generalisation TT2: generalisation	N/A
81b		especially if you're starting quarterback .	Zeker niet als je quarterback bent.	helemaal niet als je quarterback bent.	TT1: retention TT2: retention	N/A
82	0:26:54	I mean, we got a shot at state .	We kunnen kampioen worden.	We hebben kans op het kampioenschap .	TT1: generalisation TT2: generalisation	N/A
83	0:25:10	George Washington , man, he was in a cult, and the cult was into aliens, man.	Washington zat bij 'n ruimtesekte.	George Washington , hij zat in een sekte en die sekte hield zich bezig met aliens.	TT1: retention + omission TT2: retention	TT2
84	0:24:10	George toked weed, man.	Rookte George weed?	George rookte wiet, man.	TT1: retention TT2: retention	N/A
85	0:24:08	Absolutely George toked weed.	Ja, ...	Absoluut.	TT1: omission TT2: omission	N/A
86	0:24:03	He grew that shit up in Mount Vernon , man.	Hij verbouwde 't op Mount Vernon .	Hij verbouwde dat spul in Mount Vernon .	TT1: retention TT2: retention	N/A
87	0:24:01	Mount Vernon , man, he grew it all over the country, man.	Vernon ? In 't hele land, weet je.	Mount Vernon , man. In heel het land.	TT1: retention + omission TT2: retention	TT2
88	0:23:49	He knew that it would be a good cash crop for the southern states , man.	Hij wist dat er goed te verdienen was aan de zuidelijke staten .	Hij wist dat het financieel goed zou zijn voor de zuidelijke staten .	TT1: direct translation TT2: direct translation	N/A
89	0:23:42	Behind every good man, there's a woman, and that woman was Martha Washington , man.	Achter elke grote man staat 'n vrouw. En die vrouw was Martha Washington .	Achter elke goede man, staat een vrouw en die vrouw was Martha Washington , man.	TT1: retention TT2: retention	N/A
90	0:23:37	And every day, George would come home, she'd have a big, fat bowl waiting for him,	En elke dag als George thuiskwam, had ze 'n vette joint klaar voor 'm.	En elke dag kwam George thuis en dan had ze een dikke vette joint voor hem	TT1: retention TT2: retention	N/A

		man, when he'd come in the door, man.		klaarligger zodra hij binnenkwam.		
91	0:22:42	I mean, did you ever look at a dollar bill, man?	Zag je ooit wel 'ns 'n dollarbiljet ?	Heb je ooit naar een dollarbiljet gekeken?	TT1: official equivalent TT2: official equivalent	N/A
92	0:22:40	There's some spooky stuff going on on a dollar bill, man.	Rare dingen , man...	Er zijn daar vreemde dingen mee aan de hand.	TT1: generalisation TT2: deixis	TT1
93	0:22:21	Freshman , right here!	Hé groentje , kom 'ns hier.	Eerstejaars , hier.	TT1: generalisation TT2: generalisation	N/A
94	0:22:14	Freshman , over here.	Hier komen, nu.	Eerstejaars , hier.	TT1: omission TT2: generalisation	TT2
95	0:21:56	It's not bad for a little freshman , but you'd better watch out for them older girls.	Niet slecht voor zo'n groentje . Maar pas op voor de oudere meiden.	Niet slecht voor een eerstejaars , maar pas maar op voor de oudere meiden.	TT1: generalisation TT2: generalisation	N/A
96	0:21:14	Air raid, freshman .	Luchtaanval, groentje .	Luchtaanval, eerstejaars .	TT1: generalisation TT2: generalisation	N/A
97	0:21:08	Air raid, freshman .	Luchtaanval.	Luchtaanval, eerstejaars .	TT1: omission TT2: generalisation	TT2
98	0:17:12	Aerosmith . Three weeks. (Front row seats, babe.)	En Aerosmith , 1e rij, drie weken.	Aerosmith . Drie weken.	TT1: retention TT2: retention	N/A
99	0:16:57	Night, John-Boy. Ali .	Goeienacht.	Slaap lekker, John Boy. Ali .		
99a		Night, John-Boy .	Goeienacht.	Slaap lekker, John Boy .	TT1: omission TT2: retention	TT2
99b		Ali .	-	Ali .	TT1: omission TT2: retention	TT2
100	0:16:22	Let's go smoke a joint, man, on the 50 fucking yard line , in honor of	Laten we 'n joint gaan roken in dat	Laten we een joint roken, man, op de 45	TT1: generalisation TT2: substitution	TT1

		your daddy, Coach Conrad.	klotestadion , ter ere van je coach.	meter-lijn ter ere van pappie coach Conrad.		
101	0:16:06	Joint subcommittee meeting on the 50-yard line in 15.	Vergadering van 't joint subcomité op de 50 yards lijn , ja?	Bijeenkomst van het subcomité op de 45 meter-lijn over 15.	TT1: direct translation TT2: substitution	TT1
102	0:15:34	Jesus, son, you're wearing Rebel gray!	Kom op, jongen, je bent 'n Rebel!	Jezus, jongen, je draagt Rebels grijs.	TT1: generalisation TT2: direct translation	TT2
103	0:15:33	Now break down! Break down!	Haal 'm neer, haal 'm neer.	Nu doorbreken.	TT1: substitution TT2: substitution	N/A
104	0:15:28	Break down, boy! Break down!	-	Doorbreken.	TT1: omission TT2: substitution	TT2
105	0:15:26	You don't deserve to wear that Rebel gray , boy!	-	Die Rebel grijs verdient je niet te dragen.	TT1: omission TT2: retention + direct translation	TT2
106	0:14:55	'Course she's 8-foot-4 and a 652-pound hairy-ass gorilla, drives a Mack truck and runs a 40 in 2.2.	Ze is 2,50 m , weegt 295 kg en zit op 'n vrachtwagen.	Natuurlijk is ze drie meter, 296 kg en een harige gorilla, ze rijdt in een Mack truck en rent 35 meter in 7.2.		
106a		'Course she's 8-foot-4	Ze is 2,50 m ,	Natuurlijk is ze drie meter,	TT1: substitution TT2: substitution	N/A
106b		and a 652-pound hairy-ass gorilla,	weegt 295 kg	296 kg en een harige gorilla,	TT1: substitution TT2: substitution	N/A
106c		drives a Mack truck	en zit op 'n vrachtwagen.	ze rijdt in een Mack truck	TT1: omission TT2: retention	TT2
106d		and runs a 40 in 2.2.	-	en rent 35 meter in 7.2.	TT1: omission TT2: substitution	TT2
107	0:14:49	She was only 6'2" , 195 in my day.	-	In mijn tijd was ze 1.85 cm en 88 kilo.		
107a		She was only 6'2" ,	-	In mijn tijd was ze 1.85 cm	TT1: omission TT2: substitution	TT2
107b		195 in my day.	-	en 88 kilo.	TT1: omission	TT2

					TT2: substitution	
108	0:14:46	Still driving that Mack truck though.	Maar ze zit nog wel op die vrachtwagen.	Ze rijdt nog wel in die Mack -truck.	TT1: omission TT2: retention	TT2
109	0:14:36	Hut!	-	Hut.	TT1: omission TT2: retention	TT2
110	0:14:28	Hut! Hut!	-	Hut. Hut.	TT1: omission TT2: retention	TT2
111	0:13:50	No, you're right cause like I read about, like Jackson Pollock or Ernest Hemingway .	Precies. Bij Hemingway en zo...	Nee, je hebt gelijk, want ik lees over Jackson Pollock of Ernest Hemingway .		
111a		No, you're right cause like I read about, like Jackson Pollock	Precies. Bij Hemingway en zo...	Nee, je hebt gelijk, want ik lees over Jackson Pollock	TT1: omission TT2: retention	TT2
111b		or Ernest Hemingway .	Precies. Bij Hemingway en zo...	of Ernest Hemingway .	TT1: retention + omission TT2: retention	TT2
112	0:13:36	Sure is nice to pile on some old pancakes and syrup after a night of beer drinking, isn't it?	't Voelt goed met wat pannekoeken na een nacht drinken, toch?	Oude pannenkoeken en siroop gaan er wel in na een nacht bier drinken, hè?	TT1: substitution TT2: substitution	N/A
113	0:10:51	Is it illegal to be on the football field?	Je mag hier toch wel zijn?	Is op het football veld zijn, illegaal?	TT1: deixis TT2: retention	TT2
114	0:10:41	You got any Visine ?	-	Heb je Visine ?	TT1: omission TT2: retention	TT2
115	0:10:31	Well, well, well, a couple of football players.	Kijk, kijk, een paar voetballers .	Nou, nou. Een paar footballers .	TT1: direct translation TT2: retention	TT2
116	0:10:15	Reliving old glories on the football field?	Ouwe glorie-dagen aan 't herbeleven?	Herinneringen ophalen op het football veld?	TT1: omission TT2: retention	TT2

117	0:10:10	You shouldn't still be mad cause I got all-district and you didn't.	Ben je nog steeds boos dat ik werd geselecteerd voor 't 1 ^e ?	Je moet niet boos zijn omdat ik district-kampioen was en jij niet.	TT1: generalisation TT2: substitution	TT1
118	0:08:26	Me and my loser friends, you know, we gotta go get Aerosmith tickets.	Wij verliezers moeten nog kaartjes voor Aerosmith kopen.	Ik en mijn loservrienden gaan kaartjes voor Aerosmith halen.	TT1: retention TT2: retention	N/A
119	0:07:01	This is your one "Get out of jail free" card.	Dit was de laatste keer .	Dit is je enige 'gratis uit de gevangenis'-kaart.	TT1: generalisation TT2: direct translation	TT2