The Translation of Cultural References and Proper-Name Allusions in the Finnish Subtitles of

*Gilmore Girls*

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Autumn 2017
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1 INTRODUCTION

The aim of this thesis is to discuss how the cultural references and proper-name allusions found in Gilmore-isms, often humorous, witty and sarcastic conversations, on the US television series Gilmore Girls, have been translated into Finnish. The aim is to find out whether the translations are more target culture or source culture oriented or, correspondingly, whether the translation techniques used are more foreignising or domesticating and why this could be. This study seeks to consider the impact that the translator and the culture of the source language, as well as the culture of the target language, have on the translation process. In addition to matters of cultural dominance and cultural exchange, it considers what effects the demands of the target audience and audiovisual translation as well as translating for the DVD-industry may have on the outcome. The main research question remains: how have the cultural references and proper-name allusions found in Gilmore-isms been translated into Finnish and why?

One of the key terms used in this study, allusion, has been defined by William Irwin as “an indirect reference” in the simplest form. He has elaborated on this by claiming that an allusion is a reference that is indirect in the sense that it calls for associations that go beyond the mere substitution of a referent. Allusions often draw on information not readily available to every member of a cultural and linguistic community, are typically but not necessarily brief, and may or may not be literary in nature.

This means that an allusion is a verbal or textual reference to something existing in a cultural context, a type of cultural reference. The fact that the reference causes associations in the mind of the reader or receiver, makes it an allusion. These references can be either overt or covert, according to Irwin. As an example, if a shy, introverted character in a text proclaims, “I am no Lancelot”, this should imply to the reader that the character lacks the qualities of Sir Lancelot, a

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1 Gilmore-ism is defined by the Urban Dictionary as a “phrase that one of the Gilmore Girls uses. Often a reference to pop-culture or politics” 2007.
2 Irwin 2001, 287.
3 Ibid. 2001, 289.
brave valiant knight. Even if the reference would read “I am no Sir Lancelot from the novel King Arthur and His Knights of the Round Table written by Roger Lancelyn Green, this would still be considered an allusion since the reader must recognise the name and the association that goes with it. Irwin has also explained that the author of a text must have had an intent to allude for a reference to become an allusion.\(^5\) Therefore, there must be a connection with the author and the receiver where both share common cultural knowledge. This is what makes allusions difficult to translate, as they assume a similarity in the ways of thinking from one cultural pool to the other. To sum up, for a cultural reference to become an allusion, the reference must be indirect, have authorial intent and the possibility for a receiver to recognise the reference.

*Gilmore Girls* is often referred to as a family-friendly drama comedy series that deals with living in small-town America. What makes it an interesting topic for linguistic and cultural research is the series’ emphasis on language. The carrying force and draw to its viewers is based on witty word play and cultural references instead of exciting storylines. There has been some previous research in Finland on *Gilmore Girls*, most of which in recent years, and the language used in the series. The findings of the theses that were deemed relevant and that focused on subtitling and translation, were used as comparative tools when writing this study. The main focus, though, has been placed on incorporating more universal views on translation from the field of translation studies to the study material.

Therefore, the theoretical framework of this study consists of previous studies and theories in the field of translation studies. When creating a translation, the translator must keep in mind their target audience and be aware of the nature of both the source and target language. This study may be of interest and use to future translators in addition to researchers and linguists in the field of translation since it seeks to explain what happens to *culture-bound items*, particularly cultural references and allusions, in the translation process. The importance of translation has been best defined by R. J. Jumpelt:

\(^5\) Ibid. 2001, 291.
Solid and permanent bridges between ways of thinking in different languages are built by means of translation. No other cultural achievement, no other mode of activity... can be considered so lasting and effective a contribution to intellectual transmission between nations as translation.6

The quote demonstrates that the study of translation is valuable research about the similarities and differences between cultures. It mirrors the development of languages and how ethnocentricity may affect translation. Finnish culture seems to become more and more Anglocentric as time passes due to the supremacy of English-speaking countries, especially the position of the United States in the social, political and cultural sphere. This “world leadership” is naturally reflected in the development of marginal languages, and the adoption of foreign loans into Finnish from English is more common than ever. Therefore, whether the culture-bound items have been foreignised or domesticated can reveal something about the relationship between the Anglocentric world and Finland.

Based on the theoretical background material and previous viewings of the corpus, some hypotheses have been formed. Due to the restricting nature of DVD-translation, some cultural references are likely to have been already omitted from the original subtitles and even more material from the Finnish translations. Most references have probably been left in the form they appear in the source language, such as allusions to famous people and politicians, due to the supposed high level of education of the assumed target audience. The other reason for this assumption is the political, financial and, therefore, cultural supremacy of the English language over Finnish. In other words, the overall style of the translations is more likely to be more foreignising than domesticating.

The second section gives an overview of what the series Gilmore Girls, is roughly about: it introduces the characters and the story, the creator behind the series and attempts to form a definition of the genre and target audience. In section three, the methodology of the thesis is explained. Section four introduces the theoretical background used and related previous studies. Attention is particularly

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6 Jumpelt 1989, 34.
given to the division between source language and target language oriented approaches, leading up to foreignisation and domestication. The section also includes a brief explanation of the restrictions that the audiovisual format can have on the translation process. The translations are analysed with the needs of the target audience in mind, rather than focusing solely on a rather traditional source-oriented approach in the analysis. The actual analysis on the findings of the study can be found in section five. Section six contains the conclusion, including suggestions for future research.
2 THE GILMOREVERSE

The purpose of this section is to explain what type of corpus has been studied. It takes a closer look at the television series. In subsection 2.1 the show and its style, as well as genre are introduced. Section 2.2 follows with focusing on the creator of the series and the supposed target audience.

2.1 On the *Gilmore Girls* and genre

*Gilmore Girls* is set in a completely fictional, idyllic small town called Stars Hollow situated near Hartford in the state of Connecticut. Stars Hollow can be described as the epitome of the American Dream with its non-existent crime rate, picturesque shops, own town troubadour, town meetings and litter-free streets. However, the settings of the series give no indication of the complex nature in which the relationships between characters, their emotions and lives are portrayed. Amanda Keeler has praised the show for its originality. According to her, the series boasts:

>a mixture of strong female characters, with an emphasis on teenage and middle- and senior-aged adults’ lives, and the show is quirky, populated by odd characters, all dealing with everyday problems, as well as some most people will never face.\(^7\)

These odd characters add additional flavour to the uniqueness of the main protagonists, two of the strong females Keeler refers to: Lorelai (Lauren Graham) and Rory (Alexis Bledel) Gilmore. They are mother and daughter, but their relationship is closer to that of best friends. The series offers the viewer a glimpse to the growth of Rory from a teenage girl to a young woman as she enters Chilton, moves on to university life at Yale and finally graduates, landing a job as a journalist. Rory experiences her first loves and cherishes friendships between her best friend in Stars Hollow, Lane Kim (Keiko Agena) and friend/foe Paris Geller (Liza Weil). She finds a father figure in the town diner owner Luke Danes (Scott Patterson) while her biological father, Christopher Hayden (David Sutcliffe) moves in and out of the Gilmore girls’ lives. Lorelai’s biggest challenge during the series is to mend

\(^7\) Keeler 2010, 20.
the relationship between her mother Emily (Kelly Bishop) and father Richard (Edward Herrmann) with whom she has not been in contact for years. After having Rory at the age of 16, Lorelai builds up a life separate from her parents, graduates from a business class at the community college, opens an inn with her dearest friend Sookie St. James (Melissa McCarthy) and lives among a loving community in Stars Hollow, eventually finding romantic love as well. Even if the series revolves around the two main protagonists, *Gilmore Girls* is a story about the meaning of community and would not be the same without the inn’s grumpy French fitness-enthusiast Michel Gerard (Yanic Truesdale), the neurotic and socially awkward Kirk Gleason (Sean Gunn) or the town’s raunchy dance teacher Miss Patty (Liz Torres) to name a few.

The creator, writer and producer of the show, Amy Sherman-Palladino, has written all of the 9 episodes studied here. Two of them together with her husband, Daniel Palladino. George Fergus gives an account of all the episodes and air dates: *Gilmore Girls* was released on WB in the United States in October 2000 and the final seventh season aired in May 2007. During its run *Gilmore Girls* did not receive the highest of viewer ratings but the critical response has not been far from praise. David Scott Diffrient has claimed that the series received an intense cult following among its most devoted fans and during the seven years of broadcasting it “managed to pique the interest of media scholars and cultural critics who appreciate its sophisticated word play, in-jokes” and the tendency to incorporate serious philosophy and high literature while remaining “light” and entertaining. He describes the series as a family-friendly dramedy, a genre that blends elements of drama and comedy. Even if *Gilmore Girls* is rightfully characterised as family-friendly one should not draw the conclusion that it does not offer food for thought for the adult viewer. As an example, it tackles issues relating to sexuality and family relations without preaching, while cultivating black humour and sarcasm at the same time. Keeler has characterised the series as an interesting blend that “falls between comedy and drama, teen and adult demographics, and family-oriented programming and left-leaning characters and situations”.

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8 Fergus 2009.
9 Diffrient 2010, xviii-xix.
It is this hybridity that makes the show interesting for the viewer. As in real life, the characters move from situation to situation that can be humorous, tragic, or both. Giada Da Ros has written about the *Gilmore Girls* and genre. She has claimed that the hybridity is clear in that in addition to episode length, the show deals with serious themes including family and relationships, as well as career goals and personal struggles. On the other hand, the show boasts a variety of quirkiness in characters and language as well as comedic situations.\(^{11}\) One of the more sombre themes throughout the series is the gap between generations and social class as well as the gap between the values of the two Gilmore households which creates one of the show’s central elements.

### 2.2 On Amy Sherman-Palladino and the target audience

Justin Owen Rawlins has noted that before the invention of *Gilmore Girls*, Amy Sherman-Palladino worked as a producer on *Roseanne*, a show known for its unapologetic feminism and strong female characters.\(^{12}\) Sherman-Palladino can be characterised as one of the spokespeople for females in television. In many ways, *Gilmore Girls* is a story written by women for women. According to David Lavery, “women writers ruled on the series and were responsible for 92 out of 172 writing credits.” He compared the number to the writing credits on *Buffy the Vampire Slayer* (62 out of 203), a show that is universally awarded the feminist-badge.\(^{13}\) However, it is hard to determine the amount of people from each age, gender or ethnicity who watch the show.

One can still argue that the series is mostly intended for females who can identify with the central mother-daughter relationship in the series. Rawlins stated that according to the CW, the targeted demographic of the series are female viewers ages fifteen to twenty-five.\(^{14}\) However, Keeler has noted that Amy Sherman-Palladino herself has said that since the series is less dependent on plots and storylines and more on the characters, the audience of the show is wider. Keeler has written the following about the characters and the target audience:

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\(^{11}\) Da Ros 2010, 57

\(^{12}\) Rawlins 2010, 47

\(^{13}\) Lavery 2010, 10

\(^{14}\) Rawlins 2010, 36
...individuals who appeal to actual families viewing the program, a series whose attraction can be partly attributed to its multigenerational cast. This widens the appeal for several divergent family members rather than solely teenagers.\textsuperscript{15}

The characters make it a television series that can be watched with the entire family. \textit{Gilmore Girls} is a non-typical all-American show in the sense that it brings the single-parent households into its core, thus attracting a wider audience.

The series offers a broad field of study for any researcher of language: the writers seem to make it their task to incorporate as many cultural references, word plays and puns in the continuing rapid-fire dialogue as possible. Lavery has compared the show to \textit{Buffy the Vampire Slayer} yet again when he claimed that \textit{Gilmore Girls} might outdo the show in the abundance of cultural references it plates up.\textsuperscript{16} The viewer is indeed constantly bombarded with popular culture ranging from the works of Shakespeare to punk music and is almost expected to create a sport out of spotting every reference. Therefore, it can be argued that it offers something special for the culturally educated demography.

Rawlins claimed that the Gilmore-isms in particular challenge the viewer:

\textit{Gilmore Girls}, on the other hand, openly discusses and questions the nature of cultural capital by repeatedly examining its relation to education and socioeconomic status.\textsuperscript{17}

By bringing cultural references to the forefront of the conversation, the viewer can gain cultural capital by finding out what phenomena, people or things are referred to in the show. The audience that “gets” the references is also an empowered one and the series arguably makes knowledge accessible to a wider audience. This distribution of knowledge adds to the discussion of genre that was addressed in the previous chapter. Rawlins argued that the witty discussions in the show are a sign of “quality television” and that the quality of a show should be considered when labelling a

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{15}Keeler 2010, 23  \\
\textsuperscript{16}Lavery 2010, 13  \\
\textsuperscript{17}Rawlins 2010, 37
\end{flushright}
series. Labelling is an arduous task since one has to take into account the dimensions of production, exhibition and reception. Rawlins continued to state that “the Gilmore-isms prominently featured within the text itself become the principal markers of the show’s identity.” ¹⁸ The language of the show is arguably one of the major draws for the fans and shapes the style of the show. This is why the language and expressions used in *Gilmore Girls* are at the core of this study. The next section discusses the ways in which the data was handled, or what sort of methods were used to draw conclusions from the study material.

3 CULTURE BUMPS AND GILMORE-ISMS

This section focuses on the methodology of the study. First, the main terms of the study are defined and categorised in section 3.1. Secondly, section 3.2 will further discuss choosing the data and collecting references from the corpus as well as introduces the key theories that were applied throughout the analysis before moving on to section 4, where the translation theories are discussed in more detail.

3.1 Defining and categorising cultural references

Culture-bound items, or culture-specific items, can be found virtually in every culture. Determining what items in language are culture-bound is not simple since there may be personal differences in defining whether a word or a phrase seems culture-specific or not due to different social and cultural backgrounds. Especially a person’s education and age have a major effect on the matter, as does language change. Fortunately, there has been some previous research by linguists and researchers to assist with the task.

Javier Franco Aixelá has attempted to give a definition of culture-bound items as follows:

Those textually actualized items whose function and connotations in a source text involve a translation problem in transference to a target text, whenever this problem is a product of the nonexistence of the referred item or of its different intertextual status in the cultural system of the readers of the target text.19

This means that whenever there is an item in the source text that is difficult to transfer into the target text because it does not exist in the target culture or it has a different meaning or status, that item may be referred to as a culture-bound item.

19 Aixelá 1996, 58.
These items are also referred to as culture bumps in translation research.\textsuperscript{20} This suggest them being a problem for translators as they usually appear in the final translation as something that prevents the translation from being entirely smooth, similarly to a bump in the road, giving away the fact that the text is in fact a translation. The theories on translation written by Ritva Leppihalme are vital to understanding the nature of the cultural references that are studied here. Her work, \textit{Culture Bumps: An Empirical Approach to the Translation of Allusions}, written in 1997 distinguishes allusions as forms of culture-bound items that add a text within a text, a type of intertextual interaction. In other words, they are indirect references to other sources within a text. She separates allusions into two groups: 1) key-phrase allusions and b) proper name allusions.\textsuperscript{21} All of the items in this study include a cultural reference or a proper-name allusion, such as a name of a celebrity or a politician or a reference to a film or a television series. Leppihalme noted that the term allusion itself is often loosely defined and related to terms such as reference or borrowing. She also stated that conveying humour is one of the main functions of allusions in a text.\textsuperscript{22} In this study, the term allusion is used together with cultural reference to refer to the items found in the Gilmore-isms. Commonly, the Gilmore-isms contain a sarcastic or humorous aspect and the allusions act as a key factor in creating the humorous effect.

The idea of the author and receiver playing a game of hide and seek was touched upon by Leppihalme. Readers are rewarded by taking note of skilfully hidden or obscure allusions. By recognising an allusion as such, the reader gains a sense of superiority by being part of the reader élite per se and can feel a sense of mutual understanding with the author.\textsuperscript{23} This is something already touched upon in section 2.2 when explaining the function of Gilmore-isms and the role of the target audience. It is important to note, however, that Leppihalme has recognised this aspect of allusions as well.

It is common for translation theorists to abbreviate target language as TL and source language as SL, as in the following categorisation by Leppihalme. In this categorisation, she has offered a model

\textsuperscript{20} See e.g. Leppihalme, 1997.
\textsuperscript{21} Leppihalme 1997, 3.
\textsuperscript{22} Ibid. 1997, 6.
\textsuperscript{23} Ibid. 1997, 32-33.
for translation strategies regarding allusions. The basic rules for translating proper-names and allusions according to Leppihalme are either 1) to keep the name unaltered 2) to change it or 3) to omit it. These remain the basics of translation solutions, but these rules can also be elaborated on:

(1) Retention of name (either unchanged or in its conventional TL form, see later); with three subcategories:
   (1a) use the name as such;
   (1b) use the name, adding some guidance (see later);
   (1c) use the name, adding a detailed explanation, for example a footnote.
(2) Replacement of name by another (beyond the changes required by convention); with two subcategories:
   (2a) replace the name by another SL name;
   (2b) replace the name by a TL name.
(3) Omission of name; with two subcategories:
   (3a) omit the name but transfer the sense by other means, for example by a common noun;
   (3b) omit the name and the allusion altogether.24

Leppihalme has later on developed a comprehensible classification for the translation of all realia, or lexical elements that can also be called culture-bound translation problems, with descriptive examples originally for the use of teaching and translation students. It is, however, used for all realia and contains unnecessary categories for the purposes of this study. What it does contribute is the division of each translation strategy into either a foreignising or a domesticating translation method.25 Therefore, in this thesis the focus is on the three main ways, and their subcategories, in which allusions can be translated. This categorisation of translation methods is applied to all of the cultural references found in the material. Below, the same list with examples of Leppihalme’s three main translation methods for allusions can be examined.

1. **Retention – foreignising or domesticating method**

1a, Usually the names of people are translated as they appear in the source text. As an example, 
Madonna > Madonna. There are some exceptions in this category, such as conventions in translating the names of biblical persons, rulers, fictional characters and so on. As an example, Cinderella > Tuhkimo.

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24 Leppihalme 1997, 78-79.
1b, Occasionally allusions require a small addition or explanation added to them in order to fully understand the reference. As an example, *Lancelot > Sir Lancelot*.

1c), As mentioned, a more extensive addition, i.e. a footnote.

2. **Replacement – foreignising or domesticating method**

2a) The replacement of a name with another source language name. As an example, *President Bush > President Trump*. In this example it is pretended that President Bush would be less well-known for the target audience than President Trump.

2b) In this strategy a foreign source language name is replaced with a target language name. For example, *Sesame Street > Pikku Kakkonen*. The name of a famous U.S. American children’s show is replaced with a Finnish equivalent.

3. **Omission – domesticating method**

3a) Allusions can also be omitted. The first option is to omit the actual name but keep the tone of the text by transferring the item e.g. as a common noun. For example, *Jack the Ripper > veitsisurmaaja*.

3b) This is an extreme case when no alternative solution to the translation can be found but to cut out the reference entirely.

As can be seen from the list, Leppihalme later on divided the translation methods to either foreignising or domesticating ways of translation, which helps to determine which of the cultural references and proper-name allusions have been foreignised and which have been domesticated by the translator(s). Usually, retention, or the direct transfer of cultural references, is seen as a foreignising strategy by Leppihalme but she does separate references that are translated using cultural adaptation, or convention, inside the category as belonging to the domesticating strategy. In other words, items that have been translated using retention can be of either foreign or domestic variety. Replacement is a similar method in the sense that references that have been translated using it are either TL or SL oriented as can be seen from the example above. Omission, however, is always a domesticating method of translating since it seeks to omit the foreign element from the text altogether or, at least, minimise the foreign influence by turning the reference into a superordinate term as in example 3b, a proper noun into a common noun.
Leppihalme has also noted that the familiarity of the receiver with the source culture item is one of the main criterion used for the chosen translation method.\textsuperscript{26} The less radical the change to the original, the better. According to her minimax-scale, based on Levy’s (1967) minimax method of minimum effort and maximum effect, the translator should begin their process by considering retention. When retention is not possible, replacement and when replacement fails, omission as the very last resort.\textsuperscript{27} This way the target text receiver gains as much of the same information as the source text receiver. However, if the source text is filled with references that are foreign to the target text receiver, the use of other strategies than retention should be considered in order to achieve as similar experience as possible for the foreign receiver.

3.2 Collecting and analysing the Gilmore-isms

Rawlins has written about the nature of Gilmore-isms and their contribution to the show’s unique flow. The term was used by both creators and fans to describe the rapid-fire dialogue, usually between the main characters often relating to “dense references to popular culture.”\textsuperscript{28} The definition is quite broad and open to interpretation and it should be noted that some Gilmore-isms have been omitted from this study based on the criteria explained later on in this section. The cultural references that are studied in this thesis have also been restricted to the ones found in the so-called Gilmore-isms, leaving a vast number of types of references outside of its scope. The way in which the Gilmore-isms were collected and analysed is explained next.

Due to the scope of this thesis, all the material available could not be studied. The original series has seven seasons and 53 episodes, all approximately 40 minutes in length. In 2016 Netflix published additional 4 episodes, all approximately 90 minutes in length. In a previous study, Kataja chose to analyse all of the cultural references found in the first 10 episodes of the first season, analysing a massive corpus of 750 references and as a result focused mainly on a quantitative analysis of the

\begin{itemize}
  \item 26 Leppihalme 1997, 83.
  \item 27 Ibid. 1997, 105-106.
  \item 28 Rawlins 2010, 37.
\end{itemize}
material\textsuperscript{29}, whereas this thesis with its 60 references is more qualitative in nature, with some quantitative elements. Mäyränpää and Koskipää did their research on the first season as well\textsuperscript{30}, leaving several seasons to study.

In order to avoid simply analysing the same material with a slightly different methodology, the choice was made to concentrate on 9 episodes from the fourth season, the episodes which Amy-Sherman Palladino had written herself:

1. S04E01 “Ballrooms and Biscotti”
   written and directed by Amy-Sherman Palladino
2. S04E04 “The Hobbit, the Sofa, and Digger Stiles”
   written by Amy-Sherman Palladino and directed by Matthew Diamond
3. S04E06 “An Affair to Remember”
   written by Amy-Sherman Palladino and directed by Matthew Diamond
4. S04E09 “Ted Koppel’s Big Night Out”
   written by Amy-Sherman Palladino and directed by Jamie Babbit
5. S04E13, “Nag Hammadi Is Where They Found the Gnostic Gospels”
   written by Amy Sherman-Palladino and directed by Chris Long
6. S04E14, “The Incredible Sinking Lorelais”
   written by Amy Sherman-Palladino and Daniel Palladino and directed by Stephen Clancy
7. S04E17, “Girls in Bikinis, Boys Doin’ the Twist”
   written by Amy Sherman-Palladino and directed by Jamie Babbit
   written by Amy Sherman-Palladino and Daniel Palladino and directed by Matthew Diamond
9. S04E22, “Raincoats and Recipes”
   written and directed by Amy Sherman-Palladino

The storyline of the fourth season represents a change in the Gilmore Girls’ lives with a new business venture for Lorelai and Rory starting her studies at university. The dialogue kept its original flow and the series arguably reached its creative peak at this point. There are two Finnish translations for the series: the translations that were used for the television audience and the DVD-translations. The DVD-translations seemed to fit the purposes of this study better since both subtitles were easily accessible and simpler to handle while collecting the data. The episodes were watched twice: first

\textsuperscript{29} Kataja, 2016.
\textsuperscript{30} Koskipää 2008; Mäyränpää 2010.
with English subtitles and afterwards with Finnish subtitles, marking down the similarities and differences between the two.

Due the broad definition of Gilmore-isms, relating to any type of fast-paced interaction from cultural references to word-play, inside jokes or other types of inventive use of language between the characters of the show, many Gilmore-isms have indeed been omitted from this study. The focus has been placed solely on Gilmore-isms that include a cultural reference or proper-name allusion, relating to the following categories:

a) music  
b) films  
c) television-series or shows  
d) fictional characters  
e) politicians  
f) famous people

The theoretical framework in section 4 derives from the field of translation studies and the way in which translation is related to the surrounding human world, namely culture. Translation theory was applied to the data, the Gilmore-isms, and an interpretation was formed based on the findings. As has been explained before, this thesis has benefitted from previous studies done on the *Gilmore Girls* and translation in Finland. The theories on translation by Leppihalme and her culture bumps was used as the basis of defining the nature of the cultural references that were found and the type of translation methods that were used in translating them. In order to achieve a general understanding about the different translation theories and their different approaches to translation, *Aluassa oli Käännös* and the articles written by researchers, especially Sirkku Aaltonen, on translation helped to shape and give information on the field of translation and the way in which translation trends have changed over time. The theoretical background dips into the past by discussing the work of Peter Newmark and his approach to source and target text oriented approaches, or, semantic and communicative methods of translation to use his definition. Sari Kokkola and Lawrence Venuti are used as the main theorists to shed light on the theory of foreignisation and domestication and how these approaches can be used to change the power relation between
languages and cultures. Theory on reception and the role of audiovisual translation add the final dimension to the discussion.
4 PREVIOUS RESEARCH AND TRANSLATION STUDIES

It is not the purpose of this thesis to go through the multitude of existing translation theories and studies. It does not even attempt to give an extensive overview of the field. Only a few theories of major translation researchers have been chosen, keeping in mind the type of work and genre in question, in this case the translation of the subtitles of an audio-visual television series. It has been noted that most translation theory is quite dated; therefore, an attempt has been made to find newer research material to support the thesis and offer something new to the field.

In this section, the main theories and studies used in this thesis are introduced. First, some of the previous studies on Gilmore Girls and Finnish translations are presented and the importance of translation studies in the study of language and cultural exchange is explained. Early translation theories juxtaposed target language-oriented theories with source language-oriented theories and this dimension is presented in order to understand the way in which the focus of translation studies has shifted over time and how this thesis approaches the translations of Gilmore Girls. The more contemporary theory of translation studies used focuses on the ideas of domestication and foreignisation in translation strategies. Since the demands of the audience are central to the theory of foreignisation and domestication, a section has been dedicated to reception theory. A section for audiovisual translation and the demands of subtitling for the DVD-industry was added to better understand some of the challenges limited space and time can have on a translation.

4.1 Previous studies on the Gilmore Girls’ Finnish translations

There have been significant strides made in Finland in the study of Gilmore Girls and the language used in the series. These studies have proved valuable in assessing the findings of this study and placing them in a wider context. This section focuses on highlighting the most important aspects of those studies and what was found out about the cultural exchange between Finnish and English.
The earliest available work relating to this thesis and the language in the *Gilmore Girls* was written by Niina Koskipää in 2008. She dealt with the subtitling of realia and allusions. In her thesis, two different translation versions, television and DVD publications of the first season’s episodes were studied by using Leppihalme’s translation categorisation on realia with the experience of the viewer and the audiovisual medium at the core of the study. She discovered that foreignising translation strategies were used far more commonly than domesticating strategies, even in situations where the likelihood of the target audience recognising the foreign references was not very high. Furthermore, Koskipää found that the translation was not necessarily constructed to function on its own but make it more comfortable for the Finnish viewer to follow the original English content. What was also found was that the anonymous DVD-translator(s) did not use omission often as a translation strategy, while Teija Rinne for the television translations did. This suggests that the limited time and space of subtitle translation did not necessarily affect the translations as much as had been hypothesised. Koskipää suggested that the heavily foreignised translation strategy was partly due to the audiovisual translation environment where the viewer is able to follow the source and the target text simultaneously as well as the assumption that the English language as well as Anglophone culture is fairly well-known among Finnish viewers.

The reception of *Gilmore Girls*’ translated subtitles was addressed by Sari Mäyränpää in 2010. She had two test audiences view one episode from the first season, “Kiss and Tell” and based her analysis on group interviews with the participants. The first test group consisted of audiovisual translators and the second of “regular viewers”. She wanted to study the perceived quality of the translation and found that there were significant differences in the two groups. It was found that the regular viewers were more satisfied with the flow of the translation and its quality, while the professionals were more critical, hoping for more coherence and distinctive reading. Surprisingly, the professionals had more difficulty following the subtitles and this was explained by the group’s profession since they were also examining the material with their own profession in mind while following the subtitles. All in all, the thesis aimed to raise awareness of problems that receivers have with translated subtitles and to find out whether or not anything could be done to enhance the viewer’s experience.
Finally, Reshmi Kataja published her thesis in 2016, focusing on the translation of all the cultural references in the first 10 episodes of the show. Kataja examined the references by utilising domestication and foreignisation and by considering the effect that pictorial links, the relationship between text and image had on the translations. Kataja assumed that domestication would have been used more to translate most of the references since foreignisation and explaining the foreign references sufficiently to the viewer may have taken more space, what the format does not allow easily without it affecting the rest of the content. This assumption was, however, proven incorrect since Kataja found that 71% of the 750 references found were translated using the foreignising method. It was also suggested that the expansion of audiovisual mediums and their increased use in people’s lives affects the knowledge people have of foreign languages and cultures. This is arguably truer with cultures that are more dominant on multiple socio-economic areas, such as Anglophone cultures. This notion is further discussed in the next section.

4.2 The importance of translation: language, culture and the link between

There have been numerous attempts to define what translation is and what its impact is in cross-cultural communication. Marja Jänis has defined translating as a human action, a form of communication, where a message is delivered from one language to another.\(^{31}\) This is a rather simplistic explanation of what happens in a translation process but an adequate one nonetheless. Leppihalme’s version is arguably more ambitious as she has stated that to translate is to cross borders between languages and cultures. She defined culture as a web of ideas that connects a group of people in their ways of thinking, acting and sharing values and knowledge. A text is usually born in its own culture and acts as a reflection of that culture.\(^{32}\) At the core of culture lies language.

Language is an essential part of culture. In some situations, one can define their national identity or cultural identity based solely on what language they speak as their first language. The role of translated texts is enormous in the development and birth of cultures, which is why Aaltonen has

\(^{32}\) Leppihalme 2000, 89.
wondered why translation studies are not a more prominent topic of research in the field of cultural studies.\(^3^3\) A translated text can tell us a great deal about the social and political relationship between nations as well as stereotypes. According to Aaltonen, translation literature has had a crucial effect on the birth of Finnish national culture. By translating foreign texts into Finnish, translators created new vocabulary and ways of expression, thus enriching the Finnish language. By translating texts written by more developed and valued European nations, it was possible to prove that the Finnish language was capable of expressing all the things that the languages used in other, “civilised” nations were.\(^3^4\) In other words, the statuses of other cultures were used to define Finnish culture as a culture capable of sophisticated expression.

Leppihalme reminded that there is no such thing as a translator who is immune to influence from the outside world. She stated that the way in which texts are translated and how is directly affected by international relations. In a situation where another culture is seen as more admirable or worth emulating, the translation usually imitates the linguistic structures of that culture. When the situation is reversed, the texts of a less prominent culture are seldom translated or full of foreign influence and manipulation when they are.\(^3^5\) This can be noted from the findings of Kokkola in her article about film and translating foreign elements from Finnish to English. She discovered that most allusions referring to place names and people were left out from the English version of the Finnish film Häjyt. For example, Kauhava was translated as the town and Antti’s brother Roope was referred to as brother in the English subtitles. Due to the format of the text, audiovisual translation, these choices can be justified by trying to alleviate the viewer from having to decipher too many foreign elements quickly. The opposite was found of the Kaurismäki film, Mies vailla menneisyyttä.\(^3^6\) Perhaps because the sparse dialogue or monologue is considered one of the director’s trademarks and a key element in his films. Nevertheless, since Finnish culture bumps are more commonly heavily domesticated, the viewer is missing out on the very elements that would bring Finnish culture closer to Anglophone ones.

\(^{3^3}\) Aaltonen 2004, 389.  
\(^{3^4}\) Ibid 2004, 390.  
\(^{3^5}\) Leppihalme 2000, 92.  
Jānis has noted that the superior status of the English language has led to it being used as a type of *lingua franca* when dealing internationally. Furthermore, as much as 28% of all the books in the world have been written in English and over 90% of all Natural Science literature is published in English.\(^{37}\) This demonstrates that English is the preferred language of science since it is commonly used in education, regardless of the native language of that country. Lawrence Venuti has further argued that fluent translations, translations that cannot be recognised as translations, rule the overwhelming majority of Anglophone translation tradition. He has also noted that whereas the production of British and U.S. American book industry has increased exponentially, the number of translations into these languages has not increased. When this development is compared to the trends in non-English speaking countries in Europe, it is discovered that the opposite is true. These countries are also publishing more but unlike in the US and the UK the number of, particularly English, translations have increased.\(^{38}\) There is a certain ethnocentric trait visible in that texts that include foreign elements are deemed as distracting and not enriching or educational in terms of learning about foreign cultures. The ideas of Venuti are further discussed in section 4.4 which deals with domestication and foreignisation but first, the source and target text oriented approaches are presented.

### 4.3 The basics: source versus target

Usually the translator’s emphasis is either on the source language or target language and the degree of faithfulness is challenging to agree on. Jānis has stated that what qualifies as a good translation has varied over time. Nevertheless, it has been agreed that a good translation retells the message of the source language, uses correct grammatical forms and mediates the exact meaning of the original text.\(^{39}\) Tiina Puurtinen has written about the *acceptability* and *adequacy* of a translation, terms which were brought to the mainstream of translation theory by Gideon Toury in 1980. Puurtinen noted that the acceptability of a translation depends on its faithfulness to the target

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\(^{37}\) Jānis 2004, 70  
\(^{38}\) Venuti 1995, 1-2, 12-14.  
language in form and meaning while an adequate translation aims to be as faithful to the source text and language as possible.\textsuperscript{40} Toury explained:

\begin{quote}
Since no translation is either entirely "acceptable" (because it owes at least something to the alien adequacy pole) or entirely "adequate" (owing to the obligatory pole of acceptability), one of the main objects of translation analysis is to determine its actual position between these poles, or its "combination of (or compromise between) these two extremes."\textsuperscript{41}
\end{quote}

The translation method used depends highly on the material translated, as well as the translator’s preferences. Toury claimed that no translation is ever only acceptable (to the target language) nor adequate (to the source language) but a mixture of the two.

Writing about audiovisual translation, Esko Vertanen agreed that in all translation work the translator should remain as faithful to the original version as possible, while aspiring to capture and transfer its style and mood.\textsuperscript{42} Again, this is a type of compromise between the source and the target text. When a translation is faithful to the original, exact and restricts the translator’s stylistical choices, the translation is source text oriented and when the translation features certain liberties in order to convey the original’s message and aims to fade the fact that it is a translation, it is considered target text oriented.

This division was skilfully demonstrated by Peter Newmark already in 1977, when he wrote about the division between semantic and communicative translation methods. The division is described at its simplest form below:

\textbf{Semantic translation}

\begin{tabular}{l}
Source language bias \\
Literal \\
Faithful \\
\end{tabular}

VS.

\textsuperscript{40} Puurtinen 2004, 82
\textsuperscript{41} Toury 1980, 49
\textsuperscript{42} Vertanen 2004, 132.
Communicative translation
Target language bias
Free
Idiomatic

Newmark has described a communicative translation as a text that aims to produce a similar effect on the receivers as the original version. To a translator, who follows a semantic translation strategy, preserving the semantic and syntactic structures of the source language is important as well as holding on to the exact contextual meaning of the original text. To sum up, Newmark describes the differences between communicative and semantic translations:

Generally, a communicative translation is likely to be smoother, simpler, clearer, more direct and more conventional, conforming to a particular register of language, tending to under-translate, i.e. to use more generic, hold-all terms in difficult passages. A semantic translation tends to be more complex, more awkward, more detailed, more concentrated, and pursues the thought-process rather than the intention of the transmitter. It tends to over-translate, to be more specific than the original, to include more meanings in its search for one nuance of meaning. A semantic translation is likely to be shorter than a communicative translation – it is devoid of redundancy, phatic language, stylistic aids and joins.43

Newmark argues that because a semantic translation must involve a degree of loss of meaning, a communicative translation may be better since it tends to be clearer and more effective. However, he claims that the same restrictions and rules apply to a communicative translation in the pretranslation stage as to a semantic one, until necessary modifications, and possible improvements, are made to fit the receiver’s point of view.44 A communicative translation is receiver-oriented in the sense that it tries to make the text more accessible to the target audience. One of Newmark’s key points seems to be the loss of meaning in translating. Newmark explains this efficiently by stating that any message has most meaning when it is processed in the brain as a thought. When the message is spoken or written, it begins to lose meaning since it has to be communicated. The “third-level” of communication, translation, simplifies the message even more, creating more loss of meaning.45 Because of this, translation requires a great deal of skill and

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43 Newmark 1989, 118.
44 Ibid. 1989, 122.
knowledge about the source and target cultures. This knowledge has to be regularly updated when translating for the receiver who is rooted in this time and environment.

In source language-oriented approaches the *equivalence*, or the similarity of the two texts, rises as the key factor in determining whether the translation is good or not, Aaltonen noted. Behind this faithfulness to the source text may lie a notion of value judgement, an idea that the translation is only a copy and always worse than the original. Ideally, however, a translation should work without the presence of the source text, according to receiver oriented approaches which will be discussed in section 4.5. It is not always the translator’s choice which translation method or strategy will be used when constructing a translation. Aaltonen reminded translation critics that the safest route for a translator, and sometimes the necessary route based on who the translation is constructed for, is to use widely accepted solutions for translation problems. A professional translator will take into account the wishes of the employer, while remaining true to the translation process.

Puurtinen noted that the expectation of what a good quality translation is has varied in different times and different cultures. She also wrote that when reviewing a translation, one must take into consideration the genre and the target group the translation is aimed at. It is very likely that different strategies are used for translating a children’s book than when one is translating a classic play. Puurtinen also pointed out that the status and age of the source text has an impact on the translation methods and how much the text can be manipulated to suit the needs of the target group. Translators of so-called light reading material are far more likely to toy with different ideas and executions than the translators of classics. One can conclude that translators may be more apprehensive to radically change the style of something prestigious since the language is considered sacred in some way and protected in a manner appropriate to its status. As an example, one may consider the language in Baz Luhrman’s *Romeo + Juliet*, a film which retells William Shakespeare’s classic love story. The poetical style and text of the Bard have remained untouched in the original

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47 Ibid. 2004, 395
48 Puurtinen 2004, 82, 89.
49 Ibid. 2004, 89.
script and its translation, even if the mise-en-scène has been radically modernised. One may draw the conclusion that sometimes a text may be more sacred than visual matter.

4.4 Translation method: domestication or foreignisation

The socio-political position of a nation affects the spreading and treatment of the products of that culture. In terms of language and translation this means that the manner in which a text is translated depends on the relationship between the source and target culture. Usually the cultural items of the more dominant language are promoted on the expense of the less dominant language. The theory of domestication and foreignisation is closely related to the notion of source and target oriented approaches as it focuses on the power relation between the source and the target language.

Kokkola has written about domestication and foreignisation and offers a definition. Domestication brings the translated text closer to the receiver by replacing elements that are foreign in a text, such as culture-bound items, with a domestic equivalent in the translation of that text. The aim is to add a new level of meaning and create an experience for the foreign receiver that is as close to the experience of the source culture receiver as possible. In other words, the aim of domestication is to create a similar association in the mind of a target culture receiver when they are consuming the text. Foreignisation is the opposite translation method to domestication, according to Kokkola. Instead of trying to ease the mind of the receiver, it is put to work since foreignisation introduces the foreign elements of a text, for example culture-bound items, to the target text as they appear in the source, with little or no modification at all. The presence of foreign elements is even highlighted in some cases. It can be argued that foreignisation is less reader-friendly than its counterpart. However, recognising and understanding foreign elements in a text can also be a rewarding experience for the receiver.

50 Kokkola 2007, 206
51 Ibid. 2007, 206.
According to Puurtinen, the status of the source language and its culture compared to the target language and its culture affects the translation method, whether a more foreignising technique is used instead of a domesticating one. It is usual that in dominant cultures, such as Anglo-American cultures, a more domesticating technique is used, whereas in a politically less influential culture and language as Finnish, the style of a translation tends to be more foreignising. Because of this, foreign ideas, concepts and phrases are adopted to less dominant languages. This explains the vast adoption of Anglicisms into the Finnish language\textsuperscript{52} and is also one of the reasons for one of the hypotheses of this thesis, the notion that most of the cultural references and allusions would be foreignised instead of domesticated.

The notion of domestication and foreignisation is usually associated with the work of Lawrence Venuti and *The Translator’s Invisibility*, written in 1995. In his work Venuti has criticised the ideal of “an invisible translation and an invisible translator” or fading the elements of foreign influence from the translation, especially in the context of translating foreign languages into English.\textsuperscript{53} Venuti claimed that since the aim of translation is often deemed as a task of bringing the text as close to the target culture as possible, there is a risk that the whole text is domesticated completely, without a trace of its foreign origin. From Venuti’s perspective, current domesticating translation ideal in the English-speaking world is seen as a violent act: “Translation is the forcible replacement of the linguistic and cultural difference of the foreign text with a text that will be intelligible to the target language reader.” Since the text is reconfigured, it echoes the values, beliefs and representations that are dominant in the target culture.\textsuperscript{54} This becomes an endless cycle in the sense that new texts are translated using the same methods as other translations before it while these new translations fortify the way in which the next translation problems and texts are handled. However, Venuti has written with the assumption that the source text would be completely domesticated and that the text would contain hardly any foreign elements, or at little as possible, to the target culture and claimed that even the use of foreign linguistic structures, in addition to lexical elements, should be

\textsuperscript{52} Puurtinen 2004, 90  
\textsuperscript{53} Venuti 1995, 1-2.  
\textsuperscript{54} Ibid. 1995, 18-19.
adopted to the finished translation. This mindset assumes that the translated text is from a marginal language and translated into English.

Venuti has seen that foreignisation is one of the most effective mediums against the cultural and political hegemony of the English language. He sees it as a tool against ethnocentrism and racism that could be used to benefit the overall equality of nation-states. By placing foreign elements such as slang, dialect, foreign lexical items or even linguistic structures in an English translation, the receiver is forced to ponder upon the relationship between the source and the target text and culture. What we need to do in addition to considering the translation process from a marginal language to a world-language such as English, is to examine the process reversed in order to see how the ideas of Venuti apply when translating from English into a marginal language, in our case Finnish.

Kokkola has associated domestication and foreignisation with Venuti’s work as well. She, however, pointed out that while Venuti demands a revolution of sorts in the translation conventions of Anglophone countries on the basis that domesticating practices in translation reinforce the ethnocentric features in a culture, marginal language groups and associated cultures may benefit from a domesticating translation (when translating from English into that language). Kokkola claimed that in a marginal culture, the complete foreignisation of a text may even reinforce ethnocentrism and the power of the source culture over the marginal one even if it raises awareness of the power relations between languages and cultures. She further explained that Venuti does not take into account the knowledge the receiver has of the source culture or the needs of the reader when he suggests that texts should be extensively foreignised. The translation method that is most suitable is, therefore, dependent on the situation: which languages are involved in the process and which language is being translated into which, who is the intended audience, what is the style of the original text and how that style is best transferred and, also, which medium or mediums are in question. To summarise, when translating from a major world-language, such as English, into a marginal language, such as Finnish, domestication can be suggested as a translation method in order

56 Kokkola 2007, 207.
to avoid ethnocentric mindsets. On the other hand, when translating from Finnish into English, foreignisation can be used to strengthen the status of Finnish culture and the Finnish language in cultural interaction.

### 4.5 Reception theory and the target audience

Reception theory has the nature of the target language and target culture at its core. It studies what happens in the translation process from the viewpoint of the target group and how they receive information, in this case the viewers of *Gilmore Girls*. As early as 1964, Eugene A. Nida came up with an explanation of the process how the original message from the source language can be transferred into the target language. Nida explained that the translator first analyses the message of the SOURCE language into its simplest and structurally clearest forms, transfers it at this level, and then restructures it to the level in the RECEPTOR language which is most appropriate for the audience he intends to reach.⁵⁷

He implied that there are several possible outcomes in a translation process and that the translator must consider the way in which the message will be received by the target group and choose the translation accordingly. Nida’s model of translating consists of these elements: 1. the source language 2. text 3. analysis 4. transfer 5. restructuring 6. translation and 7. the receptor language. To Nida, translating is reproducing the message of the source language, in terms of meaning and in terms of style into the target language in the closest natural way.⁵⁸ Even though Nida saw that faithfulness to the source text is important, his translation method has the audience at its core. Step 5., restructuring, enables the manipulation of the source text to suit the needs of the target audience. Nida continued to write that items of cultural specialisation are the most difficult to handle for the translator.⁵⁹ Texts that involve a great deal of culture-specific material are challenging.

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⁵⁷ Nida 1989, 82.
⁵⁸ Ibid. 1989, 95.
⁵⁹ Ibid. 1989, 90.
in the sense that the translator must create equivalents for the receiver or risk leaving them confused about what was actually written.

Kaisa Koskinen has written about the shift in translation studies and how research has transformed slowly from the ideal of normative similarity, fidelity and equivalence to the recognition and even preference of difference. The examination of actual translations, instead of idealised and hypothetical ones, at different times and situations alerted researchers to the need for diverse translation solutions based on context and culture. The examination of actual translations, instead of idealised and hypothetical ones, at different times and situations alerted researchers to the need for diverse translation solutions based on context and culture. The need to consider the cultural context becomes apparent in situations dealing with culture-bound items and transferring the message from one culture to another, especially when these cultures are far apart in shared experiences. In the US to Finland situation studied in this thesis, the cultural proximity of the two is perceived as relatively near, with U.S. American influences and entertainment seeping into the everyday life of Finnish audiences.

This shift brought about new translation facets in translation studies, including the *theory of manipulation (reception theory)*. Koskinen wrote that manipulation theory sparked the discourse of power and its use in translation. The *skopos theory*, postcolonialism as well as feminist translation studies all became central orientations of study in the 90’s and they all had the idea of preferring the manipulation of the source text in favour of the target text in common. Repeating the source text word for word was not considered the most relevant part in translation. Researchers moved on from studying and judging the similarity between the source text and the target text to focusing on the differences between the two and the reasons behind the differences. In other words, instead of equivalence, researchers wanted to ask the question why for the differences between the texts and choices made in the translation. This study seeks to consider the similarities and the differences in the subtitles and also search for an explanation for the choices the translators have made when translating the cultural references and allusions.

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60 Koskinen 2004, 376.
61 Ibid. 2004, 378.
Aaltonen has also written about manipulation theory and notes that it approaches translation from a perspective that emphasises the importance of the receiver’s experience. According to manipulation theory, a translation should be formed to suit the needs of the target culture and, as an extension, the target audience. It is not enough that the translator speaks and writes both languages fluently and knows how to use a dictionary. The translator must have in-depth knowledge about the culture behind both languages in order to form a smooth and comprehensible translation. Aaltonen continued to write that a text that has been translated must work as an individual text when separated from its original source. The demands of the target language system, society and culture must be met, and the source text should be translated according to the expectations and demands of the receiver. When this is achieved, the text can be considered successful according to reception theory.

4.6 Audiovisual translation: subtitling and the DVD-industry

The demand for quality audiovisual translation and translators varies from one culture to the other. In Finland the need is higher due to the massive amount of foreign imported programmes. Vertanen has stated that translation quality is important because Finnish people spend a substantial amount of their time watching television and reading translated subtitles. A total of 80 per cent of the foreign programmes on Yleisradio’s networks are translated on the screen. The amount of screen texts only on Yleisradio’s television channels’ broadcastings in the year 2000 was 1 700 0000. It is no wonder that Finnish children have traditionally ranked high in international tests that measure reading skills. Despite or perhaps due to the vast amount of translated material, audiovisual translation faces criticism regularly from the Finnish audience.

A translator of audiovisual material faces challenges that, for instance, a translator of literature does not face. Vertanen has pointed out that an audiovisual translator has to make, often radical,
decisions when trying to incorporate the meaning and style of the original text into a translation. Screen texts have to fit into a limited space (two lines and usually a maximum of 36 characters on the DVD-format\textsuperscript{65}) and can appear on screen only for a short amount of time. There has to be enough time for the viewer to read the text as well as understand the message since there is seldom the possibility to pause and go back to review the text as there is with other media.\textsuperscript{66} One can naturally argue that the receiver of a translated text on DVD has that choice. However, the audience has to be able to enjoy the flow of the material and focus on multiple things all at once, visual material, such as the actor’s performance as well as the subtitles and sound in addition to this.

Vertanen continued to explain that due to the fact that time and space are limited, the translator must be able to extract the elements from the message that are most relevant to the understanding of the plot for the receiver. It is not necessary to repeat content that is clear from the context: information that has been mentioned before or that can be seen on screen.\textsuperscript{67} It is clear that due to the hierarchy of audiovisual translation, primarily transferring the bare necessities of the original text, the stylistic aspects of translation may have to be neglected and can result in translations that appear clumsy or insufficient.

One of the reasons why audiovisual translations, or subtitle translations in general, are frequently criticised is that the viewer is able to compare the source text (speech or subtitles) with the target text (the subtitles) instantly.\textsuperscript{68} Due to the situation, the demand for quality translations in the field becomes an issue yet again. Panayota Georgakopoulou has written that template subtitle files, and translation notes provided in them, are used to help DVD translators excel in translating difficult aspects of source texts, such as culture-bound items, irony and word-play by explaining the items from the viewpoint of a native speaker. Usually this means that a native English speaker creates the template and the same template is used by every single translator who creates a subtitle track for that particular publication. In addition to translation notes, the templates provide the structure for

\textsuperscript{65} Kokkola 2007, 221.  
\textsuperscript{66} Vertanen 2004, 132-133.  
\textsuperscript{67} ibid. 2004, 134.  
\textsuperscript{68} Tuominen 2007, 294.
timing, meaning that all the in and out times are decided in advance. This saves time and money for the DVD distributors and can also help to eliminate mistakes in cueing and so forth. Therefore, it would be unfair to state that audiovisual translation does not concern itself with quality even if the practice described was created to gain profit in the first place. There is a threat, however, that translations will be commissioned from individuals who are not properly trained for their profession since they accept lower pay, a development that can be seen in other fields as well. The next sections of this thesis deal with analysing the findings made from the study material.

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5 ANALYSING THE GILMORE-ISMS

In this section, the data extracted from the corpus is studied. In other words, some of the cultural references and proper-name allusions found in the Gilmore-isms of the selected episodes are introduced and analysed with the help of translation theory and previous research. A full table of all the cultural references (table 7) can be found in section 5.7, the section entitled Final discussion. Please note that the slash (/) symbol is used to convey when there is a line break in the subtitles.

5.1 References to music

The first section of the analysis deals with all the cultural references and proper name allusions that were seen to relate to music and musicians. In each section, a table corresponding to the findings of the analysis can be found as can be seen below. The references are seen to have been translated, corresponding to Leppihalme’s categorisation, using retention, replacement or omission and either foreignisation or domestication.

Table 1. Translation methods used for music

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Method</th>
<th>Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Retention</td>
<td>7/8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Replacement</td>
<td>1/8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Omission</td>
<td>0/8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreignisation</td>
<td>8/8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domestication</td>
<td>0/8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The references presented in this section were almost all of the references to music that were interpreted to be a part of a Gilmore-ism in the episodes. It is worth noting from table 1 that most of the references have been translated using retention and all of them have been foreignised as well since there were no references in this section that would have been translated using a conventional Finnish equivalent. This implies that references to music in television-series may be most commonly
translated directly as they appear in the source text when it comes to English to Finnish translations.

The examples below illustrate the findings in this category. The first example deals with the translation of a song title.

**#1:** Lorelai: That van ride felt longer /than our train ride from Paris to Prague. /And we had that group /of French boys /singing *Skater Boy* /and smelling like a soccer field /sitting all around us.

Lorelai: Se tuntui pitemmältä /kuin junamatka Pariisista Prahaan. /Kun ne ranskalaispojat, /lauloivat *Skater Boyta* /ja haisivat jalkapallokentältä /siinä vieressämme.

In “Ballrooms and Biscotti” Lorelai and Rory are back from their trip to Europe. Upon arrival they begin complaining about the long van ride they had to take to make it home. The Avril Lavigne pop song “Sk8er Boi” is used as an instrument to convey the feeling that the van ride felt unpleasant and long. The song title has been transferred directly by using retention as the translation method, foreignising the reference in the process. The Finnish version adds the suffix ‘-ta’ in order to inflect the word ‘boy’, so that it blends into the translation more smoothly. Surprisingly the original song name has not been spelled correctly in either subtitle. The target audience is expected to know the song, or deduct that there is a song with that name that the Gilmore women do not enjoy listening to. The next example is from the same episode:

**#2:** Richard: Who did you look up /when you went to Europe?
Rory: *Jim Morrison* says hello.

Richard: Ketkä tapasitte Euroopassa?
Rory: *Jim Morrison* lähetti terveisää.

Rory’s grandfather Richard is asking Rory who of their family-friends Lorelai and Rory went to visit while they traveled in Europe. It seems that they did not visit any of them and Rory wishes to make the situation less awkward by jokingly telling him that they went to visit Jim Morrison, who is buried at Père-Lachaise cemetery in Paris and could not possibly send his regards in real life. Here the name of a famous person has been categorised as a reference to music since Jim Morrison was the singer of The Doors while still alive. Similarly, as in example #1, the reference has been transferred
directly into the translation, as is usual for the names of famous people. The third example is an example of retention as well.

**#3:** Emily: I have no idea what that means, /but the man who installed it /said to get Pink Floyd’s /Dark Side of the Moon. /It’s supposed to be amazing.

……………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………

Emily: Ei aavistustakaan mitä se tarkoittaa, /mutta asentaja /käski hankkia Pink Floydin levy Dark Side of the Moon. /Se on kuulemma uskomaton.

In “The Hobbit, the Sofa and Digger Stiles” Emily phones Rory to discuss the furniture she picked out and the soundsystem she had installed in Rory’s dorm room without telling her. Rory tries to explain to her grandmother that the gesture may prove unpopular among her roommates but to no avail. The fact that Emily does not know that she is recommending a classic rock album for her granddaughter to buy adds to the comedy of the situation. Since Pink Floyd is well-known for their progressive and psychedelic music and were most popular in the 70’s, the reader may also associate the installer Emily is referring to with the hippy and drug culture of the time, further adding to the humour of the situation. The reference has been translated into the Finnish subtitles by using retention with the added explanatory Finnish word ‘levy’ (album) to help the reader understand that Emily is referring to Pink Floyd’s album called Dark Side of the Moon. The next example illustrates the way in which Luke and Lorelai interact with each other.

**#4:** Luke: It’s a gig.

Lorelai: Yes, it is a gig. /It’s Prince opening for the Rolling Stones. /That’s the kind of gig it is.

……………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………


Lorelai: Kuin Prince/ Rolling Stonesin lämmittelybändinä. /Semmoinen keikka se on.

Lorelai comes to Luke’s diner and tells him that the catering company herself and Sookie have launched, the Independence Catering Company, has been selected to cater the launch party of Lorelai’s father’s new business with Jason Stiles in “An Affair to Remember”. Lorelai compares them getting the job and the money that goes with it as something as big as ‘Prince opening for the Rolling Stone’s,’ meaning that the event is big and important for them financially since an event that would have the artist formerly known as Prince opening for the rock band Rolling Stones, would be seen as
a huge event considering the acts in question. Both of the references have been transferred into the Finnish subtitles using retention, which is not surprising considering the world-wide fame both the artist and band enjoy. Lorelai enjoys ranting from time to time and this becomes apparent from the next example.

#5: Lorelai: He doesn’t write the orders down, /never brings you food that’s hot, or yours. /He can’t distinguish bagels / from doughnuts, hands out butt-napkins / and he’s worn that Foreigner T-shirt/ every day since he started working / and he doesn’t know who they are. /I asked him.
Luke: What are butt-napkins?
Lorelai: Kirk needed a napkin, /and he pulled one out of his back pocket.

Luke: What are butt-napkins?
Lorelai: Kirk needed a napkin, /and he pulled one out of his back pocket.

Lorelai: Living on a prayer, baby.

Lorelai: Bon Jovilta.

The last example in this category is from the episode “The Incredible Sinking Lorelais” and is an exception to the rule of transferring music references directly as they appear in the source text. The
reference has been replaced with another foreign name, being the only time replacement has been used as a translation method in the entire data. Granted, the original subtitle itself may have been difficult to understand for a Finnish viewer had it been placed in the subtitles directly. However, there is a pictorial link. Lorelai comes in to Luke’s diner and before leaving, Luke comments on Lorelai’s hat sarcastically that reads “Bon Jovi”. Lorelai references Bon Jovi’s song “Living on a Prayer”, alluding to the whirlwind life she is living at that moment. The Finnish translation lacks the connection to the song and reiterates the reference to Bon Jovi instead. If we consider Vertanen’s comment about not repeating content that is otherwise clear from the context, repeating the artist’s name seems a tad redundant. Then again, the translator has made a choice between retention and replacement and chosen replacement with the viewer in mind since the pictorial link is not particularly strong.

5.2 References to films

This section discusses the references found relating to films. Films are a common point of reference in the Gilmore household which affects the number of references found in the study material.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 2. Translation methods used for films</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Retention</td>
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<tr>
<td>Replacement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Omission</td>
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<tr>
<td>Foreignisation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domestication</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

As we can see from table 2, retention and foreignisation were by far the most popular translation methods in this category as well, with only three references domesticated. The two omissions found in this category can be explained with issues to do with space and convenience. Both omissions enabled the translator(s) to create a similar effect for the Finnish receiver as the original subtitle.

The examples chosen for analysis from this section offer a glimpse into the translation methods used
for film references. The first example is an example of omission.

#7: Rory: My dorm room has turned/into a Three Stooges movie. /Shove Pop-Tarts under the door in two hours, please.

Rory: Opiskelukämppäni on kuin sketsisarja. /Tuo leivoksia kahden tunnin päästä, kiitos.

Rory returns home from university to do some “serious bedroom studying”. Little does she know, her room has been reserved to store hundreds of broccoli tarts Sookie has been baking for the same company launch party discussed in example #4, in the episode “An Affair to Remember”. She complains about her living situation and equates it with being as ridiculous as a slapstick comedy scene from a Three Stooges film. At the time, Rory has three (as in Moe, Larry and Curly from the Three Stooges) noisy roommates who distract her from her studies with different causes for the noise. The translation uses omission as the translation method and the reference has been, therefore, domesticated with the reference turned into ‘sketsisarja’ (a comedy sketch show). This has the effect of making the reference more approachable to a foreign viewer and the translation run without an obvious culture bump. The downside of the translation is that it lacks the exact association to the three stooges’ comedy act, while still preserving the humour of the English subtitle. In the next example, Rory and Lorelai are discussing Luke’s new employee.

#8: Rory: He’s the boy who dissected a frog, /did not wash his hands /and then ate a sandwich.
Lorelai: Ew!
Rory: He’s like the lost Farrelly Brother. /He’s so stupid. /He watched The Breakfast Club /and decided to tape /his own butt cheeks together.
Lorelai: Okay. So, Mensa’s not sending him /a T-shirt yet /but Luke has hired him, /so we have to give him a chance.

Rory: Hän leikkeli sammakon /eikä pessyt käsiään /ja söi sitten voileivän.
Lorelai: Yö! 
Rory: Hän on kuin kadonnut Farrellyn veljes. /Niin tyhmä. /The Breakfast Clubin jälkeen /hän päätti teipata pakaransa yhteen.

Luke has hired a new employee at his diner, the same one Lorelai complains to Luke about in example
#5. This conversation takes place between Rory and Lorelai at Luke’s when Rory first realises she knows who the new employee is. In the film referred to in this example, a student is sent to detention for taping another student’s butt cheeks together, causing skin damage. Rory is explaining to her mother the lack of intellect the new employee, Brennon, possesses by listing events that prove his lack of intellect (taping his own butt cheeks together being one of them). The translation itself uses retention as the translation method. The viewer is assumed to have seen, or know, the film well enough to enjoy a direct reference. The film is shown regularly to this day on major television channels in Finland, where it has been occasionally translated as Brekkariklubi. This Finnish version, however, has not gained popularity. Example #9 demonstrates the use of a film title as a descriptive tool.

**#9:**

Emily: You can wear my jacket.
Lorelai: You have a samurai sword /under those pompoms? /’Cause you’ll have to Kill Bill me /to get me into that.
Emily: Arm.
Lorelai: Yes, ma’am.

Emily: Voit käyttää takkiani.
Lorelai: Onko huiskien alla samuraimiekka? /Käytän tuota vain kuolleena.
Emily: Käsi.
Lorelai: Kyllä, rouva.

This reference is an unusual example of using a film name as a verb in the original subtitle. Lorelai uses the film title Kill Bill as referring to a violent act which would need to be performed by Emily on her in order for her to wear Emily’s jacket willingly. In “Ted Koppel’s Big Night Out”, Lorelai and Rory are accompanying the grandparents to the Harvard-Yale football game and Lorelai is accidentally wearing the opposing Harvard team’s colours (red), being told to borrow Emily’s jacket. The Finnish translation is clever in domesticating the title and turning it into a descriptive clause, preserving the feel of the English reference. The Finnish translation, ‘Käytän tuota vain kuolleena’, (The only way I’ll use that if I’m dead), corresponds to the act of having been “Kill Billed”. A direct translation with the film title would have been extremely clumsy and distracting for the audience in this case or, alternatively, extremely long with paraphrasing the line by something along the lines of ‘Sinun täytyy esittää kohtaus Kill Bill-elokuvasta, jotta puen tuon päälleni’ (You will have to perform a scene from a Kill Bill-film to get me to wear that). In terms of space, this would be possible since the original
English subtitles are divided into 4 lines whereas the actual Finnish version has only two lines. However, by compressing instead of lengthening the original message, the Finnish viewer has more time to internalise the message and enjoy other aspects of the scene. In the next example, Rory uses a film title to refer to a feeling.

**#10:** Lorelai: I broke that stupid window /trying to lock it last night.
Rory: Get it fixed, woman.
Lorelai: I left Luke a message. He’ll do it.
Rory: Before or after a re-enactment of *Alive*?
Lorelai: Hopefully before.

Lorelai: Rikoin sen tyhmän ikkunan, /jota yritin lukita eilen.
Rory: Korjauta se, nainen.
Lorelai: Jätin Lukelle viestin. Hän korjaa sen.
Rory: Ennen vai jälkeen *Aliven* toistumista?
Lorelai: Toivottavasti ennen.

This example from “The Nag Hammadi Is Where They Found the Gnostic Gospels”, together with examples #8 and #11, represents the most common way in which film references have been translated in the corpus. They are translated using retention and foreignisation, direct translations consisting of the film title. Lorelai has broken a window in her house and is waiting for Luke to come and fix it and this is why it is extremely cold inside. The coldness prompts Rory to reference the 1993 film *Alive* and indirectly reminds her mother that in the film, the characters had to resort to cannibalism in order to survive their circumstances. This, of course is an exaggeration in order to achieve a comical effect. The translator had a choice, with both *The Breakfast Club* (*Brekkariklubi*) and *Alive* (*Elossa*) to translate the film titles using Finnish equivalents but has chosen to use the original film titles instead. Films can also be referred to in order to allude a quality of a person as in the next example.

**#11:** Glenn: Rory, if you’re gonna ignore me, /I might as well go hang out /with my ex-girlfriend. It’s the same thing.
Rory: Sorry, Glenn.
Glenn: Everyone is going to be sorry one day, /Everyone.
Rory: You really gotta stop watching /*Taxi Driver*, Glenn.

Glenn: Rory, jos kaipaan tyylää kohtelua, /voin yhtä hyvin mennä /ex-tyttöystäväni luo.
Ajaa saman asian.
Rory: Anteeksi, Glenn.
Glenn: Kaikki tulevat olemaan pahoillaan. /Kaikki.
Rory: Lopeta se *Taxi Driver-elokuvan* töllötys.

In “The Incredible Sinking Lorelais”, an episode title which on its own refers to a film, *The Incredible Shrinking Man* (1957), Rory has taken a job as a food hall card swiper at Yale and is mostly focused on reading her course material instead of swiping cards. Glenn, a fellow student who is usually presented as tad unstable or prone for angry outbursts takes personal offence for Rory not noticing him standing in front of her to get his card swiped. Rory has taken note of Glenn’s pent-up anger for a while and suggests, jokingly, that Glenn should stop watching *Taxi Driver*, a 1976 film about a former Vietnam veteran who works as a taxi driver in New York and clearly has some problems with his mental health while all the depravity around him feeds on his violent urges. The viewer must be aware of all the implications the film creates before they can enjoy the reference. The translator has chosen to use retention as a translation method and add the clarifying word, ‘elokuvan’ (film) to help the receiver realise that Rory is referring to a film called *Taxi Driver* (*Taksikuski*). In most cases the original film titles were preferred over the translations, not all though, as the next example illustrates.

#12: Emily: She wants to have lunch... /Sorry, a luncheon, the day after tomorrow. /You, me, your father, and apparently /she wants to meet Jason. /All we need is that filthy Eminem fellow /to make it a perfect afternoon for me.
Lorelai: I tried to track him down, Mom, /but he might be on tour.
Emily: Just be here on time, /and get your hair cut. /You looked like the bird lady from /Mary Poppins the last time I saw you.
……………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………
Lorelai: Yritin saada hänet kiinni, /mutta hän voi olla kiertueella.
Emily: Tule tänne ajoissa ja leikkauta hiukseesi. /Viimeksi näytit /siltä Maija Poppasen pulumummomalta.

Here the translator has chosen to prefer the conventional Finnish translation of the film, domesticating the reference and translating *Mary Poppins* into *Maija Poppanen*, using retention as the method in “The Incredible Sinking Lorelais”. Emily is distressed because her mother-in-law, who
is not fond of her, is coming to visit and she begs Lorelai to cut her hair before joining them for a luncheon. As a side note it is worth noting that this example also contains the last music reference found. The rapper name Eminem has been directly transferred as Eminem to the Finnish version. Emily is so used to Lorelai’s sarcastic jokes that she ignores what she says about Eminem and moves on to talking about Lorelai’s hair by alluding to the homely appearance of The Bird Lady from *Mary Poppins*. One possible reason for choosing the domesticated version of the film title is that *Mary Poppins* is most commonly perceived as a children’s film and conventionally *Mary Poppins* has been translated to *Maija Poppanen*. It has been traditional in children’s literature to translate the character names into Finnish equivalents that either sound similar or have similar qualities. The name *Mary Poppins* has a similar ring to *Maija Poppanen* and, as an example, *Little Red Riding Hood* has the same qualities as *Punahilkka*, both incorporating a red hood as in the original French piece, *Le Petit Chaperon Rouge*.

5.3 References to television series and shows

This section deals with the examples found for references to television series and shows in the study material.

*Table 3. Translation methods used for television series and shows*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Method</th>
<th>Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Replacement</td>
<td>0/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Omission</td>
<td>2/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreignisation</td>
<td>4/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domestication</td>
<td>2/6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3 presents the translation methods used in this category. Omission and domestication have been used twice out of 6 cases. Percentually this number is significant since they make up a third of cases altogether. However, it should be noted that in order to draw any clear conclusions, there should be a wider data.
Examples chosen for this section aim to show the variety in which references to television series and shows can be translated. The first example in this section is an example of omission for a popular catchphrase from a television series.

#13: Rory: No. I’ll just walk really fast. /Maybe Taylor won’t notice me.
Lorelai: You better walk really fast, /like “Warp speed, Mr. Sulu” kind of fast.

Rory: Ei. Kävelen nopeasti. /Ehkä Taylor ei huomaa minua.
Paras että kävelet valonnopeudella.

Television shows and series are a regular point of reference on the *Gilmore Girls*. In “Ballrooms and Biscotti” Rory and Lorelai are trying to get past Taylor Doose’s, who is the town selectman, grand opening of Taylor’s Olde Fashioned Soda Shoppe and candy store without being noticed. Rory has declined the honour of becoming the “Ice Cream Queen” for the opening due to being extremely busy with going off to university. Lorelai thinks there is no chance to achieve this and comments sarcastically on Rory’s chances of succeeding to casually walk past to the stationery store (and ends up being right) by alluding to the science fiction cult television-series, Star Trek. “Warp Speed, Mr. Sulu” is a popular catchphrase from the series used by Captain Kirk to usher Mr. Sulu to make their spacecraft travel faster than the speed of light. The Finnish translation ‘valonnopeudella’ entails the notion of traveling with, if not faster than, the speed of light. By domesticating the reference, the connection to Star Trek disappears but the general idea of extreme speed remains. Omission has allowed the translator to save space and simplify the reference for the Finnish viewer, even though some flair has been lost by doing so. The next example deals with the translation of a talk show.

#14: Paris: I saw you on *Charlie Rose*. You were good.
Asher: Thank you.
Paris: Not too self-important, /you made your point /and managed to look interested /
when Charlie babbled on about nothing.
Asher: Charlie Rose is a good friend of mine.
Paris: Whatever.

Paris: Olitte hyvä *Charlie Rosessa*.
Asher: Kiitos.
Paris: Ette tärkeilevää, olitte vakuuttava /ja näytitte kiinnostuneelta / Charlien jaaritellessa.
Asher: Charlie Rose on hyvä ystäväni.
Paris: Miten vain.
This example from “Ted Koppel’s Big Night Out” demonstrates how most television-show titles were translated: foreignised by using retention. *Charlie Rose* is a U.S. American talk show presented by, unsurprisingly, Charlie Rose. Both the name of the talk show host and the title of the show are present in this example. Therefore, the translator has not seen the need to emphasise *Charlie Rose* as being a talk show to the viewer even though the talk show in question has never aired in Finland and the Finnish viewer may not be familiar with it. In the episode, Rory’s friend Paris meets one of her professors, Asher Fleming for the first time and commends him on his interesting appearance on the talk show, inadvertently insulting the host of the show in the process to comedic effect. The next example is from the same episode.

**#15:** Richard: You won’t get bored?
Lorelai: Yes, I’ll get bored /but that’s when the *South Park* /impressions kick in.
Emily: We have invited friends. Important people.
Lorelai: I’m kidding, Mom. I can only do Cartman.

Richard: Etkö ikävysty?
Lorelai: Kyllä, ikävystyn /mutta silloin alkaa /South Parkin matkiminen.
Emily: Olemme kutsuneet ystäviä. /Tärkeitä ihmisä.
Lorelai: Se oli leikkiä. /Osaan matkia vain Cartmania.

In this example, Lorelai’s parents and Lorelai are discussing the Harvard-Yale game already mentioned in example #9. Richard and Emily are trying to subtly persuade Lorelai not to come to the game by trying to convince her it would be tiresome for her. Lorelai catches on to this and teases her parents by claiming that when she gets bored she will start mimicking characters from the animated television series, *South Park* known for its raunchy humour and politically incorrect situations. Emily panics slightly and reminds Lorelai that they have invited “important people” to the game and do not wish to be embarrassed in front of them, much to the amusement of Lorelai. The translator has chosen to foreignise the reference and translate it by using retention as in the previous example. *South Park* has reached widespread popularity comparable to the *Simpsons*, and it has been aired in Finland on MTV3, MTV Finland, Nelonen, Canal+ and JIM, gaining extensive popularity and recognition in Finland. In this light it is no wonder that the choice was made to transfer the show and one of its main character’s names directly into the Finnish subtitles. Example #16 is another example of Lorelai’s ability to rant.
Lorelai arrives to Sookie’s house incredibly stressed with shampoo still in her hair, ranting to Sookie about not having any time for herself or help from Sookie since they have begun renovating the Dragonfly Inn together in the episode “The Incredible Sinking Lorelais”. In this extract of that rant, Lorelai explains getting a phone call from the Canadian sink company to come sign for the sink that has arrived and has now had to be sent back to Canada. Lorelai alludes to the 80’s-90’s comedy sketch group and show Kids in the Hall to explain what the man on the phone sounded like. The line ‘I get a call from a guy who sounds like a Kids in the Hall character’ has been translated as ‘saan puhelun joltain kanukilta’ (I get a call from some Canuck), alluding to the caller’s Canadian descent. The word ‘Canuck’ can be deemed as a colloquial expression and sometimes slightly offensive as well. The translation remains humorous even if the direct reference to the show is removed. A native U.S. American viewer is expected to connect the show to Canada, but a Finnish viewer may be quite unaware of its Canadian origin and, thus, would presumably miss the joke if the reference had been foreignised. Also, by using omission, the translator has yet again saved space in the subtitles in a scene that is packed with speech delivered at an exceedingly high speed, making it demanding to follow for the viewer. In the next example, Paris and Rory are enjoying their time on Spring Break in an unusual way.

#17: Paris: I can’t believe /what a great video store that was.
Rory: A little research before a trip /always helps.
Rory: A perfect evening.

Paris: Olipa hyvä videovuokraamo.
Rory: Selvitystyö ennen reissua kannattaa aina.
Rory: Täydellinen iltा.
Rory and Paris have been persuaded to go on Spring Break in “Girls in Bikinis, Boys Doin’ the Twist” and have decided to spend some of it watching the PBS television miniseries, *Joseph Campbell and the Power of Myth* on VHS. They begin to question whether or not they should be joining all the other students in typical Spring Break activities but decide that joining in can wait and focus on watching the series instead. *The Power of Myth* is brought up again in the same episode when Rory tells her mother everything her and Paris did on Spring Break, including watching the series, with Lorelai exclaiming “I thought I hid that from you... You did not spend Spring Break with Bill Moyers!” (Bill Moyers being one of the interviewers). The reference has been translated using retention and been foreignised without any change to the original name of the series, even though the reference is arguably one of the more obscure references in this category. The final example in this category refers to another talk show.

**#18:** Rory: I can’t believe you didn’t wake me up.
Lorelai: Me and what army?
Rory: I only have so much time off. /I don’t want to waste it all/ sleeping till noon.
Lorelai: There was no waking you. /You were completely out. /We’re talking Farrah on *Letterman*.

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Rory: Olisit herättänyt minut.
Lorelai: Minkä armeijan kanssa?
Rory: Minulla on niin vähän vapaa-aikaa. /En halua haaskata sitä nukkumalla.
Lorelai: Et herännyt. /Olit kuin tajuton. /Kuin Farrah *Letterman*-showssa.

This Gilmore-ism is from the episode “Raincoats and Recipes”. Rory walks into Luke’s Diner after waking up at noon and finding a “lunch at Luke’s” post-it taped to her forehead and lectures Lorelai for not waking her up. Lorelai defends herself by saying that she had no means of waking her since she was ‘completely out. We’re talking Farrah on *Letterman*’ alluding to the infamous appearance of Farrah Fawcett on the *Letterman*-show clearly intoxicated or otherwise incoherent. The Finnish subtitle is foreignised and keeps both the first name of Farrah Fawcett and the show name, *Letterman*, adding the descriptice word ‘showssa’ (show) for the Finnish audience to better understand that *Letterman* is a name of a talk show. The same could have been done when translating *Charlie Rose* in example #14 since there was no issue with space here or there. *Letterman* is even more well-known in Finland since it has been aired since 2008 on MTV Max. It should be
noted, however, that the translation was written before that.

5.4 References to fictional characters

This section contains the analysis for the multitude of fictional characters referred to in the Gilmore-isms studied. This is the category most bound by convention as can be seen from the analysis.

Table 4. Translation methods used for fictional characters

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Method</th>
<th>Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>Replacement</td>
<td>0/17</td>
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<td>Omission</td>
<td>4/17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreignisation</td>
<td>9/17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domestication</td>
<td>8/17</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4 reveals that retention is, yet again the most popular translation method for all of the allusions in this category. Omission was used 4 times with one example not analysed here (Moondoggie, which was completely omitted from the translation). Domestication was used surprisingly many times, almost as often as foreignisation, pointing to fictional characters being more culture-bound than references to music, film or television series. Also, the convention that states that Finnish equivalents should be used for certain fictional characters has had its impact in this category.

The examples chosen for further analysis from this category are presented below. The first of them has to do with Luke’s childhood and his unpleasant memories.

#19: Luke: Look at this place! Look at you. /All you need is six dancing penguins /and Mary Poppins floating in the corner /to bring back /two of the worst hours of my childhood.

The first example of fictional character allusions comes from the episode “Ballrooms and Biscotti” where Luke has stepped inside Taylor’s aforementioned Soda Shoppe and is furious by the fact that while he went on holiday, Taylor decided to put up a giant window between their establishments, rendering it impossible for Luke not to see into Taylor’s “stupid store” at all times. Luke is seemingly repulsed by the way the shop has been decorated and by Taylor’s cheerful outfit reminiscent of Dick Van Dyke’s character’s outfit in Mary Poppins and his dance with the penguins. Similarly, as in example #11, the translator has relied on convention and translated the character name as ‘Maija Poppanen’, using retention and domesticating the reference. The next example contains references translated using partial as well as complete omission.

#20: Lorelai: My God. She’s balancing on his hand. /He is like Superman or Wonder Woman. /Either way he’s very strong.

In the same episode, Lorelai and Rory are eating biscotti and watching taped ballroom dancing competitions at the grandparents’ house while Emily sleeps on the couch after being mad at Lorelai for originally not attending their Friday night dinner, ending up holding Rory as “hostage” past their usual dinner time. This subtitle translation contains one of the two examples of complete omission of a cultural reference, even though there would have even been a conventional Finnish equivalent for the word, ‘Wonder Woman’ (Ihmenainen). When examining whether or not there is space for both ‘Superman’ and ‘Wonder Woman’ to fit to the Finnish subtitle, one finds that the reference did not necessarily need to be left out although space is significantly saved in this version. The style of the message suffers since in the original version strength is attributed to both male and female superheroes, despite the real-life referent being male. Unfortunately, in the Finnish translation the message also becomes a tad unclear since it could be deduced from the subtitle that when Lorelai says ‘Nainen tasapainottelee miehen kädellä. Kuin Teräsmies. /Mies on vahva’ (She is balancing on his hand. Like Superman. The man is strong), that the woman is strong like Superman when in actuality Lorelai is referring to the man being as strong as Superman or Wonder Woman. By writing ‘Mies on vahva kuin Teräsmies’ (The man is strong like Superman), this confusion could have been avoided even if some space would be lost. Example #21 was placed in this category even though the character in question is from a film.
In “The Hobbit, the Sofa and Digger Stiles”, Lorelai and Sookie organise a Lord of the Rings -themed birthday party as caterers. The evening begins well enough, until Lorelai and Sookie realise that Sookie has no idea what children eat and how they should be handled in general. Sookie panics because she is pregnant and starts ranting about how she is going to be a terrible mother. This example is an excerpt from that rant, containing Sookie comparing herself to the leading character from the 1981 cult melodramatic film Mommie Dearest based on accusations Christina Crawford made against her actress mother, Joan Crawford. Instead of leaving the character name as it appears, the choice has been made by the translator to translate the reference as ‘hirviöäiti’ (monster mother). By using omission and domestication, the Finnish translation successfully transfers the feel of the original subtitle, even if there is no direct reference to the film. Example #22 illustrates Lorelai’s fandom of the film The Wizard of Oz.

Luke is attempting to organise her sister’s wedding in “Luke Can See Her Face” and is calling around to see if he could find some stocks of wheat to buy from farmers since the wedding is going to be Renaissance -themed. Toto is the fictional dog from the film The Wizard of Oz, a classic children’s film often referred to in the series. Luke makes a comment about Kansas being full of wheat and Lorelai immediately connects Kansas with The Wizard of Oz since the film is set in Kansas and, naturally, in the Land of Oz. Toto has been transferred directly into the Finnish subtitle by using retention as Toto, foreignising the reference. This causes no obvious problem for the viewer since names of people and characters tend to run smoothly in a text, causing little or no culture bump.
Finnish viewers are used to English names, unlike Anglophone viewers to Finnish ones as has been demonstrated by referring to Kokkola’s study on the Finnish translation of the film Häjyt. The next example is yet another example of partial omission.

#23: Jess: Bathroom. It’s best to use it/ before the puking starts.
Luke: You left me hanging/ with the lords of Flatbush.
Jess: I’m sorry/ Aren’t you gonna sit?
T.J: He doesn’t want to make a lap.
T.J’s friend: A lap is an illusion.
Jess: What?
Luke: Don’t get him started.

Jess: Anteeksi. Etkö aio istua?
T.J.: Hän ei halua sylää.
T.J.n ystävä: Syli on vain illusio.
Jess: Mitä?

In the same episode, Luke is attending his sister’s fiancé’s (T.J.) bachelor party at a gentlemen’s club together with his nephew, Jess. Jess has disappeared into the bathroom, leaving Luke to make uncomfortable conversation with other members of the bachelor party. When Jess finally appears, Luke scolds him for leaving him alone with “the lords of Flatbush”. This is a reference to the characters in the film The Lords of Flatbush (Brooklynin kuninkaat), from 1974 about teenagers who form a group based on courting girls, stealing cars and loitering at local establishments. The Finnish translation conveys that Luke considers the rest of the entourage strange, ‘Jätit minut yksin noiden kummajaisten kanssa’ (You left me alone with those freaks/weirdoes) but does not make a direct reference to the film characters. Therefore, it should be noted that the reference has been translated using omission and domestication. The translator could have considered translating the reference as ‘Jätit minut yksin noiden Flatbushin kummajaisten kanssa’ (You left me alone with those weirdoes from Flatbush) which would have saved the connection to the film. The film did not gain huge popularity and the translator has chosen omission as the translation method to save Finnish viewers from an obscure reference and themselves from using too much space. The final example in this category is presented next.

#24: Rory: That sounds like dating to me.
Lorelai: Maybe he didn’t mean it as a date. /Maybe he needs to get out of the house /
and since I’m now one/ of the women sitting at home/ thinking “If I could only find a
man /like Aragorn,” he chose me.

Rory: Kuulostaa seurustelulta.
Lorelai: Ehkä hän ei tarkoittanut sitä niin. /Ehkä hän halusi tuulettumaan /ja koska minä
olen kotona miettimässä /“Löytäisinpä Aragornin/ kaltaisen miehen”, hän otti minut.

There is a multitude of Lord of the Rings references in the series. In this example from “Raincoats
and Recipes”, Lorelai has begun to realise that Luke is courting her and tries to ask her daughter
whether or not the activities she has been involved in with Luke lately could be constituted as dating.
Lorelai is still unsure and lightens the conversation by referring to herself as a woman who pines
over fictional characters, such as Aragorn from The Lord of the Rings. Aragorn’s name has been left
as it is and transferred directly into the Finnish subtitle. The Finnish audience is expected to know
the original novels by J.R.R. Tolkien as well as the films directed by Peter Jackson since The Lord of
the Rings is one of the most successful fantasy franchises in the Western world with the novels being
one of the best-selling novels that has been written with over 150 million copies sold world-wide.
The translator had no need to search for a Finnish or English replacement or omit the reference.

5.5 References to politicians

This section deals with references to real-life people who are politicians themselves or somehow linked to
politics. The fact that politics is commonly referred to in Gilmore Girls further reinforces the target group of
the show as consisting of highly educated people.

Table 5. Translation methods used for names of politicians

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Method</th>
<th>Count</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Retention</td>
<td>8/8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Replacement</td>
<td>0/8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Omission</td>
<td>0/8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreignisation</td>
<td>8/8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domestication</td>
<td>0/8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 5 specifies the translation methods used for the cultural references found in this category. As we can see, all of the references have been translated by using retention and foreignisation. This is not surprising because usually names of people are transferred into the target text directly, especially in a situation when it is translated from a majority language into a marginal one.

Some of the examples derived from the world of politics are discussed next. The first example has Taylor connecting Rory to some ivy league controversy.

#25: Taylor: It’s time to cut those small-town ties /and go off and do something important /like go to /drama school /or have one of /those high-class naked parties /with that Bush girl.
Rory: Taylor!

Taylor: On aika katkaista siteet pikkukaupunkiin /ja tehdä jotain tärkeämpää /kuten mennä teatterikouluun /tai pitää korkean tason nakubileet /Bushin tytön kanssa.
Rory: Taylor!

In “Ballrooms and Biscotti”, Taylor is trying to guilt Rory into being the “Ice Cream Queen” at the grand opening of his Olde Fashioned Soda Shoppe and candy store by claiming that due to being accepted to Yale, she has no time to devote to the town anymore. Technically, Barbara Bush is not a politician but is famous due to her father being the former President of the United States, thus she is classified as a political figure in this study. By referring to ‘those high-class naked parties with that Bush girl’, Taylor alludes to the rumour that Barbara Bush attended a naked party in 2002, which are regularly held by at least one of Yale’s sororities. ‘Bush girl’ is simply transferred as ‘Bushin tytön’, without any additions such as her first name to make the reference easier to work out by the viewer. Arguably it is her surname that sparks the connotation to President George W. Bush and, therefore, her first name would not necessarily add any valuable information for the viewer to understand the message. The reference has been translated by using retention and foreignisation as the translation methods, as have all of the other references in this category as well, including the next one.

#26: Lorelai: I shouldn’t have taken /that third Excedrin PM last night.
Rory: Third? why did you take three?
Lorelai: Originally I took two. /Then around 4:00 I the morning /I woke up /and had a major /Marilyn moment. /I forgot I’d taken some, /so I popped a third one. /Now I’m
about ready /to sleep with a Kennedy.
Rory: I hear Carrie's available.

Lorelai: Ei olisi pitänyt ottaa /kolmatta unipilleriä eilen.
Rory: Kolmatta? Miksi otit kolme?
Lorelai: Alun peri otin kaksi. /Sitten noin neljän aikaan aamulla /heräsin ja koin Marilyn- 
hetken. /Unohdin ottaneeni pari, joten otin kolmannen. /Nyt olen valmis sänkyyn 
Kennedyn kanssa.
Rory: Caroline Kennedy on kai vapaa.

This Gilmore-ism, as well as examples #27 and #28 are from the same episode, “Ballrooms and 
Biscotti”. The above conversation takes place as Rory and Lorelai are walking around Stars Hollow, 
trying to get Rory everything she needs from the shops before packing up and going off to university. 
After returning from Europe recently and in order to fight jetlag, Lorelai has resorted to taking 
sleeping pills. She jokes about Marilyn Monroe and her substance abuse and alludes to the alleged 
affair she had with the late President John F. Kennedy. The reference to Carrie Kennedy is far more 
complicated to decipher since the Finnish translation suggest that Rory refers to Caroline Kennedy, 
who is the only surviving child of John F. Kennedy and has been married since 1986. In some fan 
episode transcripts, it is suggested that Rory actually says, ‘I hear Kerry’s available’ which would be 
more fitting since Kerry Kennedy is a member of the presidential extended family and was going 
through a divorce at the time when the 4th season of the Gilmore Girls was being written and filmed. 
Nevertheless, despite the possible error in the original subtitle and consequently the Finnish 
translation, if we focus solely on what was written in the subtitles, the Finnish translation offers a 
much more specified reference, helping the Finnish viewer with adding the surname ‘Kennedy’, 
while still remaining foreignised. In the next example, Rory is calling her mother and references a 
well-known hostage crisis.

#27: Rory: She’s not letting me leave. /Dinner lasted an hour. /She didn’t put the soufflé 
in the oven /until we’d finished... and now we’re watching taped /ballroom-dancing 
competitions... /that date back to the 1800’s.
Lorelai: You haven’t left yet?
Rory: Are you listening to me? I can’t leave. /She won’t let me leave ever. /This is Iran 
in ’79, and you /are Jimmy Carter. What do we do?

Rory: Mummi ei päästä lähtemään. /Illallinen kesti tunnin. /Hän laittoi kohokkaan 
uumiin vasta, /kun olimme lopettaneet - /ja nyt katsomme /vakiotanssikiipailuja 
videoilta -/1800-luvulta lähtien.
As explained in example #20, Rory and Lorelai were invited to Friday night dinner and only Rory was able to attend on the account of Lorelai running errands for Rory, so that Rory would be ready to leave for university the next day. Rory calls her mother, with a hint of panic in her voice, explaining that the dinner has lasted for hours and she is being forced to watch taped ballroom-dancing competitions with her grandmother. Rory compares the situation to the 1979 hostage crisis in Iran, the longest hostage crisis in history, when a group of Islamist students held U.S. embassy employees and citizens hostage for 444 days. The reference is humorous since it exaggerates the situation that Rory is in. The actual reference, ‘Jimmy Carter’ has been transferred into the Finnish subtitle unchanged, leaving it in as a foreign reference. The presidents of the United States are well-known in Finland through the news, and the political situation that Rory refers to would have been hard to get across in a translation without keeping the original reference. The next example is the last example derived from the episode “Ballrooms and Biscotti” in this category.

#28: Lorelai: Mom, she’s been here for hours. /Patty Hearst had a shorter incarceration.
Emily: She’s not being held hostage. /I resent that.

Lorelai: Äiti, hän on ollut täällä tuntikausia. /Patty Hearstin vankeus kesti vähemmän aikaa.
Emily: Ei hän ole panttivankina.

This example is a direct continuation to the aforementioned situation. Lorelai has arrived at the Gilmore residence and is trying to reason with her mother to let Rory leave with her. Emily is stubborn and obviously hurt by Lorelai not showing up for dinner and refuses to believe that Lorelai actually had to run errands that evening. Lorelai alludes to the kidnapping of Patty Hearst, who became sympathetic to the cause of her kidnappers and their left-wing agenda after being held captive for 19 months and taking part in the group’s illegal activities. Hearst was convicted of bank robbery but was released after approximately three years and pardoned by president Bill Clinton later on. Due to the political agenda of the kidnapping and Hearst’s background in a politically influential family, this reference was labeled as belonging to the category of politics instead of
famous people. The reference itself has been transferred into the Finnish subtitle directly, even though the case is not particularly well-known in Finland. The receiver must have a firm knowledge of foreign politics in order to understand the reference fully, even though the aspect of being incarcerated and Lorelai’s exaggeration becomes clear in both subtitles without knowing the details of the Patty Hearst case. Example #29 illustrates how addition can help the target text viewer recognize the reference.

#29: Lorelai: I gotta spend my evening making elf ears for Aaron’s Lord of the Rings party.
Rory: Grandma broke in to my dorm and redid the entire common room in $25,000 worth of furniture and stereo equipment.
Lorelai: You win.
Rory: It’s unbelievable. You should see this place. I feel like I’m in Uday’s house.

This example is from the episode “The Hobbit, the Sofa and Digger Stiles” and features Rory calling her mother to tell the story of Emily breaking into and furnishing her dorm room without her knowledge. Lorelai begins to vent her problems, but Rory has the upper hand. To account for her astonishment, she compares her dorm room looking like the house of Uday Hussein, Saddam Hussein’s eldest son, who was living a life of excessive luxury before being killed in the United-States led invasion of Iraq in 2003. The original subtitle simply reads ‘You should see this place. I feel like I’m in Uday’s house’ while the Finnish translation is more specific ‘Näkisitpä tämän paikan. Olen kuin Uday Hussein’ (You should see this place. I am like Uday Hussein), making it easier for the Finnish viewer to connect Uday’s name to Saddam Hussein. Here we can compare the difference between this example and example #25. In this case the choice was made to extend the reference by adding valuable information to the viewer (the surname Hussein) since it adds to the intelligibility of the reference whereas in the case of ‘Barbara Bush’, adding the first name would not have increased the comprehensibility of the reference and was, therefore left out of the translation. The last example in this category is presented next.
#30: Jason: I’ll pick you up at 8:00.
Lorelai: Okay.
Jason: And wear something completely evil?
Lorelai: Horns, tail, and my Wolfowitz T-shirt?
Jason: Perfect.

Jason: Haen sinut klo 20.00.
Lorelai: Okei.
Jason: Pue yllesi jotain paheellista.
Lorelai: Sarvet, hântä ja Wolfowitz-paitako?
Jason: Täydellistä.

The final example in this category is from the episode “Ted Koppel’s Big Night Out” and a telephone conversation between Jason Stiles, who Lorelai ends up dating for a while, and Lorelai making plans to go out for dinner. Paul Wolfowitz is a Republican politician who served as the deputy secretary of defense under the administration of President George W. Bush between the years of 2001 and 2005, being one of the primary engineers behind the Iraq War. He was later appointed as the president of the World Bank in 2005 before being forced to resign in 2007 due to a perceived conflict of interest. Lorelai is outspoken on the series about her dislike of the Republican party. In this example, she alludes to Wolfowitz being the equivalent of the devil for comedic effect. This translation has been, as it has been pointed out, also foreignised by using retention without any helpful hints for the viewer of who Wolfowitz might be. Due to the assumed high level of education of the target audience, a source text oriented approach is not a surprising choice from the translator.

5.6 References to famous people

In this section, the references to famous people who do not belong to any of the aforementioned categories are analysed. This is the largest group of references with people ranging from serial killers to all around entertainers.

Table 6. Translation methods used for famous people

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>22/25</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Retention</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Replacement</td>
<td>0/25</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The overwhelming majority of the names in this category were translated by using retention and foreignisation as can be seen from table 6. In three cases, all discussed further below, the translator(s) chose to use omission and domesticate the reference, more or less successfully, with the intention of increasing understandability. Space cannot be claimed to have been an issue in any of the cases. Therefore, the translator(s) must have considered the references too obscure for the Finnish viewer to understand without partial omission.

Some examples from this category are presented below. The first of them is an example of partial omission.

**#31:** Rory: But this one fits my back perfectly /so I don’t get tired /and the light is right /and it’s just far enough /from anything busy /so that the noise level is perfect /and it’s quiet but not Unabomber, and... /And anyhow, I was just hoping /that maybe you would consider /giving me back my tree.
Student at campus: No.

Rory: Mutta tämä sopii selälleni enkä väsy /ja valo on hyvä/ ja tämä on kaukana touhusta /niin, ettei melu haittaa /muttei kuitenkaan liian yksinäinen /ja ajattelin, että olisit /antanut puuni takaisin.
Opiskelija kampuksella: Ei.

In the episode “An Affair to Remember”, Rory is forced to accept the fact that eloquent speeches do not necessarily get you the results you want in life. It is the same episode in which Rory has to deal with “the three stooges” living in her dorm. Rory is trying to convince a student that has taken over “her” study tree on campus to give the space back to her. At the end of the episode she succeeds by paying him $20. Ted Kaczynski, or the Unabomber, is a U.S. American mathematician, anarchist and a domestic terrorist who injured and killed people who were involved in the advancement of modern technology. 23 people were injured and three killed between the years 1978 and 1995 by bombs that were sent to them by Kaczynski. Kaczynski began his bombing campaign living as a recluse in a
cabin, out of reach from the amenities of modern civilization, such as running water or electricity. Rory uses ‘Unabomber’ as an adjective and an example of extreme quiet and loneliness which is demonstrated in the Finnish translation where ‘Unabomber’ is turned into an adjective as well ‘muttei kuitenkaan liian yksinäinen’ (but not too lonely). Perhaps the target audience is not expected to remember the case of the Unabomber and the choice was made to domesticate the reference and smooth out the culture bump, making the reference more audience-friendly. In the next example two references to the entertainment world are made.

#32: Lorelai: Twenty-three is old. It’s almost 25, /which is, like, almost mid-20s. Rory: She did not say that. Lorelai: She did say that. Rory: It seems wrong that Jessica Simpson /is alive and well /and Roy got eaten by his tiger. Lorelai: Survival of the fittest, baby.

Rory and Lorelai have this conversation while walking into Luke’s Diner in “Ted Koppel’s Big Night Out”. Jessica Simpson is a U.S. American singer and actress who is best remembered from a reality television-show starring herself and her husband Nick Lachey, where she came across as quite ditzy. Lorelai makes fun of the way Simpson talks and Rory is shocked by the statement Simpson made. Rory then refers to the incident which happened during a performance in Las Vegas where a tiger attacked Roy Horn, who is part of the entertainment duo Siegfried and Roy. Roy was not “eaten” by the tiger but seriously injured nonetheless. Both the names of Jessica Simpson and Roy Horn are foreignised by using retention and been transferred into the translation directly. An overwhelming majority of the references in this category are translated using this method. What could have been done to help the Finnish viewer in this case is either add Roy’s surname to the translation or the name of the duo, for example “ja Siegfriedin ja Royn tiikeri söi Royn” (and Siegfried and Roy’s tiger ate Roy) but this has not been deemed necessary by the translator. The next example includes a reference to the name of an actress.
#33: Lorelai: So, on a wigged-out level from 1 to 10, /Mom’s at
Rory: Frances Farmer.

Lorelai: Paniikkiasteikolla 1-10 äiti on...
Rory: Frances Farmer.

In “Nag Hammadi Is Where They Found the Gnostic Gospels”, Rory and Lorelai are late to a rare manuscript benefit dinner Emily has invited Lorelai to. Emily is visibly upset and scolds Lorelai for bringing Rory instead of a male companion since they are “short of men”. Frances Farmer was a U.S. American actress and television host, who was mostly famous for her erratic behavior and being committed to a psychiatric facility without her consent. She was diagnosed with paranoid schizophrenia and spent nearly a decade institutionalised. Rory compares the nervous behavior of her grandmother to that of Farmer. Instead of domesticating the reference and choosing a Finnish equivalent, the translator has chosen to leave the reference in the Finnish translation as it appears in the English subtitle, risking leaving the Finnish audience members puzzled with little time to connect the name to the background story of the actress. The more curious Gilmore Girls fan who does not know Farmer can surely look her up later. Example #39 contains a reference to a serial killer as well as the second example of a complete omission of a reference.

#34: Janet: There’s room in the van /if you guys need a ride.
Rory: No, thank you. /I don’t think we’re gonna do /the whole spring-break thing.
Paris: Ever since I broke up with Moondoggie, /soaking up the rays isn’t the same.
Janet: It’ll be really fun. You’re missing out.
Rory: I’m not really a spring break kind of gal, /but thank you for the offer.
Janet: Okay but if you change your mind...

Janet: Autossa olisi tilaa teillekin.
Rory: Ei kiitos. Emme taida osallistua /kevätlomatouhiin.
Paris: Minulla on traumoja auringonpalvonnasta.
Janet: Siellä on hauskaa. Menetätte paljon.
Rory: Kevätloma ei ole minun juttuni, /mutta kiitos tarjouksesta.
Janet: No, jos muutatte mielenne...

This example contains two references that belong to two different categories. Rory and Paris are discussing the possibility of going on Spring Break with their roommate, Janet in “Girls in Bikinis,
Boys Doin’ the Twist”. Janet is getting a ride to Florida from a mutual acquaintance who has been mentioned before in example #11, Glenn, who is deemed as a bit of a loner who appears slightly unstable at times. Paris jokes about Glenn being Gary Gilmore, who was convicted for robbing and shooting two men in the US and later demanded the implementation his own death penalty, successfully. The translator has chosen to omit and domesticate the somewhat morbid reference and generalise Gary Gilmore as ‘Naapurin raiskaaja’ (the rapist neighbour). The Finnish translation is less obscure than the original but still conveys the criminal nature of the person alluded to. The Finnish viewer does not need to know the case of Gary Gilmore and due to omission there is no bump left in the translation. ‘Moondoggie’ belongs to the fictional character category but shall be shortly discussed in this section. The character can be found in the 1959 film Gidget, based on a novel by Frederick Kohner where a young girl falls in love with a surfer named Moondoggie. The translation is domesticated and the reference to the character is completely omitted. ‘Minulla on traumoja auringonpalvonnasta’ (I have traumas about sunbathing) conveys Paris’ dislike for the beach, nonetheless and is in keeping with the style of the original subtitle. Two famous people are referred to in the next example.

#35: Rory: Which one are we gonna watch?
Lorelai: The absolute funniest/ movie known to man: Fatso.
Rory: I’m loving the title.
Lorelai: Anne Bancroft wrote and directed it.
Rory: Annie Sullivan, look at you go.

This example is from the episode “Luke Can See Her Face”. Lorelai and Rory are about to enjoy watching a film together, one of their favourite pastimes. The two references to famous people are layered since they are connected with each other. Anne Sullivan (not Annie as in both subtitles) was a U.S. American teacher, who is remembered as “the miracle worker”. She taught the blind and deaf Helen Keller by writing on the palm of her hand and Keller became the first deaf-blind person to earn a bachelor’s of arts degree and later became a lecturer and author herself. Consequently, Anne Bancroft was a U.S. American actress, singer, director and screenwriter who gave an Oscar-worthy
performance as Anne Sullivan in the film, *The Miracle Worker* in 1962. Rory jokingly equates Anne Bancroft as being Anne Sullivan, thanks to Bancroft’s famous portrayal of Sullivan. Both of the references are foreignised and transferred into the Finnish subtitle directly by using retention, with the translator trusting the cultural knowledge of the viewer. The last reference in the analysis has been translated using omission.

#36: Emily: Do you have a room?  
Lorelai: No, Mom, he doesn’t. /He just showed up, because, apparently /it’s Blake Edwards night at the Dragonfly.

Emily: Onko sinulla huone?  
Lorelai: Ei hänellä ole. /Hän vain ilmestyi jostain /tänne vanhojen partojen iltaamme.

The last example in this category, and the analysis, demonstrates the difficulty of translating cultural references. In “Raincoats and Recipes” Lorelai is trying to deduce whether there is something romantic between her and Luke, while attempting to get rid of her former suitor and mend her parent’s broken relationship, all at the same time. Blake Edwards was a U.S. American film director and producer who was most well-known for his *Pink Panther* films, films which can be classified as comedic detective films with contrasting stylistical features. By referring to the events of the night as a Blake Edward’s night, Lorelai means that that all the surprising and farcical aspects of the evening make it seem like a scene from a *Pink Panther* slapstick comedy film. The domesticating translation ‘vanhojen partojen iltaamme’ (old fogies night), does not convey the same meaning at all. In this case it may have been better to keep the original subtitle or refer to the *Pink Panther* films directly in the Finnish subtitle to keep a balance between the source and target text. It may be possible that the translator is referring to some other Blake Edward’s film specifically or to the director’s old age at the time but in that case that intention was lost on at least this receiver.

5.7 Final discussion

The final discussion before the actual conclusion is meant to bring all of the categories of cultural references and proper-name allusion together in order to draw more comprehensive conclusions of
the study material. It cannot be claimed, however, that one can draw extensive conclusions from the data studied since the corpus is quite limited when we consider the multitude of existing audiovisual translations from English to Finnish. It can, however, give us an idea of how translation problems of this kind are usually handled. There were 80 cultural references extracted from the 62 Gilmore-isms studied, some of which were analysed in the previous sections. In the following table (table 7), all of the cultural references, their translations and translation methods are presented. The foreign/domestic column refers to whether foreignisation or domestication has been applied to the references.

**Table 7**

<table>
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<tr>
<th>English subtitle</th>
<th>Finnish Subtitle</th>
<th>Translation Method</th>
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<th>Category</th>
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<td>Skater Boyta</td>
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<td>Foreign</td>
<td>Music</td>
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<tr>
<td>2 Godfather I, II, III</td>
<td>Godfather I, II, III</td>
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<td>Foreign</td>
<td>Film</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Mary Poppins</td>
<td>Majja Poppanen</td>
<td>Retention</td>
<td>Domestic</td>
<td>Fictional character</td>
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<tr>
<td>4 Bush girl</td>
<td>Bushin tytön</td>
<td>Retention</td>
<td>Foreign</td>
<td>Politician</td>
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<tr>
<td>5 Daria</td>
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<td>6 Marilyn</td>
<td>Marilyn</td>
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<td>Foreign</td>
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<td>7 Kennedy</td>
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<td>Retention</td>
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<td>8 Carrie</td>
<td>Caroline Kennedy</td>
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<tr>
<td>9 “Warp Speed, Mr. Sulu”</td>
<td>valonnopeudella</td>
<td>Omission</td>
<td>Domestic</td>
<td>Television series</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 Jim Morrison</td>
<td>Jim Morrison</td>
<td>Retention</td>
<td>Foreign</td>
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<td>12 Patty Hearst</td>
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<td>Domestic</td>
<td>Fictional character</td>
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<td>15 Wonderwoman</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Omission</td>
<td>Domestic</td>
<td>Fictional Character</td>
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<tr>
<td>16 Pink Floyd’s Dark Side of the Moon</td>
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<td>Uday Hussein</td>
<td>Retention</td>
<td>Foreign</td>
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<td>Gondorin torvi</td>
<td>Retention</td>
<td>Foreign</td>
<td>Film</td>
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<td>Legolasin</td>
<td>Retention</td>
<td>Foreign</td>
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<td>hirviöäiti</td>
<td>Omission</td>
<td>Domestic</td>
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<td>22 Hillary</td>
<td>Hillary, Hillaryksi, Hillarykaan, Hillarya</td>
<td>Retention</td>
<td>Foreign</td>
<td>Politician</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23 Liv Tyler</td>
<td>Liv Tyler</td>
<td>Retention</td>
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</tr>
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<td>24 Todd Rundgren</td>
<td>Todd Rundgren</td>
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<td>sketis sarja</td>
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<td>26 Tom Cruise</td>
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<td>31 Unabomber</td>
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<td>Type</td>
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<td>Fredo, Fredo’s</td>
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<td>Fictional character</td>
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<td>36</td>
<td>Jessica Simpson</td>
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<td>Roy</td>
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<td>Farrelly brother</td>
<td>Retention</td>
<td>Foreign</td>
<td>Famous person</td>
</tr>
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<td>39</td>
<td>The Breakfast Club</td>
<td>Retention</td>
<td>Foreign</td>
<td>Film</td>
</tr>
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<td>40</td>
<td>Charlie Rose</td>
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<td>Television show</td>
</tr>
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<td>41</td>
<td>Charlie Rose</td>
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<td>Foreigner</td>
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<td>Kill Bill</td>
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<td>Alive</td>
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<td>50</td>
<td>“Adrian”</td>
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<td>Ann Jillian</td>
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<td>Frances Farmer</td>
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<td>53</td>
<td>Taxi Driver</td>
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<td>54</td>
<td>Eminem</td>
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<td>56</td>
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<td>57</td>
<td>Kids in the Hall</td>
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<td>58</td>
<td>Charize Theron</td>
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<td>59</td>
<td>Nick Nolte’s</td>
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<td>60</td>
<td>Living on a prayer</td>
<td>Bon Jovila</td>
<td>Replacement</td>
<td>Foreign</td>
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<td>61</td>
<td>Moondoggie</td>
<td>-</td>
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<td>Domestic</td>
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<tr>
<td>62</td>
<td>Gary Gilmore’s</td>
<td>Naapurin raiskaajan</td>
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<td>63</td>
<td>Joanie Loves Chachi</td>
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<td>Foreign</td>
<td>Film</td>
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<td>64</td>
<td>Top Gun</td>
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<td>Casper</td>
<td>Retention</td>
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<tr>
<td>66</td>
<td>The Power of Myth</td>
<td>Retention</td>
<td>Foreign</td>
<td>Television series</td>
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<td>67</td>
<td>Anna Nicole</td>
<td>Retention</td>
<td>Foreign</td>
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<td>68</td>
<td>Fatso</td>
<td>Fatson</td>
<td>Retention</td>
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<td>69</td>
<td>Anne Bancroft</td>
<td>Retention</td>
<td>Foreign</td>
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<td>70</td>
<td>Annie Sullivan</td>
<td>Retention</td>
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<td>Famous person</td>
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<td>71</td>
<td>Toto</td>
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<td>72</td>
<td>Martha</td>
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<td>lords of Flatbush</td>
<td>kummajaisten</td>
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<td>74</td>
<td>Bette Midler</td>
<td>Retention</td>
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<td>75</td>
<td>James Spader</td>
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<td>76</td>
<td>Farrah</td>
<td>Retention</td>
<td>Foreign</td>
<td>Famous person</td>
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<td>77</td>
<td>Letterman</td>
<td>Retention</td>
<td>Foreign</td>
<td>Television show</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>78</td>
<td>“What’s your damage, Heather?”</td>
<td>Retention</td>
<td>Foreign</td>
<td>Film</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>79</td>
<td>Aragorn</td>
<td>Aragornin</td>
<td>Retention</td>
<td>Foreign</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80</td>
<td>Blake Edwards</td>
<td>vanhojen partojen</td>
<td>Omission</td>
<td>Domestic</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The least amount of references (6) were found to television shows or series, 8 references to both music and politicians, or people entangled in politics, 17 references to fictional characters and 16 to film and 25 references to famous people. The function of most of the references was to act as a humorous and/or sarcastic device in the series. It is arguable whether or not dialogues or rants in the *Gilmore Girls* that do not offer a humorous, witty or sarcastic aspect can even be called Gilmore-isms but the main factor for defining an interaction between the characters as a Gilmore-ism remained to be a memorable moment in the show that is usually fast-paced, containing a cultural reference from the defined categories.

A closer examination of table 7 reveals that most of the references have been translated by using retention, as direct transfers, with little or no addition, as one would suspect based on Leppihalme’s suggestions regarding the minimax translation strategy. Replacement was hardly used, only one example (61) was found in the episodes studied, the Bon Jovi song, “Living on a prayer” (Bon Jovilta), which was analysed in detail in section 5.1. Omission was a fairly common strategy and was not tied to a certain category of references. It should be noted, however, that the complete omission of a reference occurred only on two occasions (16 and 62) out of 11 omissions. All the other references kept the feel of the original subtitle by omitting the actual name but turning the reference to a common noun or adjective that passed on the meaning.

Foreignisation was a far more common translation method than domestication. 64 references out of a total 80 references were foreignised, 80 per cent, leaving no room for doubt whether or not the translator(s) have been certain that most cultural references would be easy for the target audience to understand. Unlike with the Finnish translations of *Häjyt*, discussed in section 4.2 and again in 5.4, most proper-names were translated foreignisingly. Below in table 8, all of the domesticated references can be found.

**Table 8**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Mary Poppins</th>
<th>Maija Poppanen</th>
<th>Retention</th>
<th>Domestic</th>
<th>Fictional character</th>
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<tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>“Warp Speed, Mr. Sulu”</td>
<td>valonnopeudella</td>
<td>Omission</td>
<td>Domestic</td>
<td>Television series</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Superman</td>
<td>Teräsmies</td>
<td>Retention</td>
<td>Domestic</td>
<td>Fictional Character</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The domesticated references translated with the retention method have a distinctive “Finnish flair”,
even when the main part of the name had been kept the same as the original as in ‘Gandalf’ (Gandalf Harmaa). Here we can see that there are only three domesticated names in the famous people category, two criminals and a film director, arguably some of the most obscure names of people that were placed in the category. Domestication was quite common when referring to fictional characters, as it was used 8 times. This is almost 50 per cent out of all the references to fictional characters (17) found in the episodes. The only categories that have no examples of domestication are references to politicians and music.

When compared to previous results obtained from the studies on Gilmore Girls, one can note obvious similarities. When referring to place names, celebrities and proper names, Kataja found that foreignisation was used varying between 11 and 18 per cent for the references, while educational references and references to material culture were domesticated the most, 50 per cent of the time. Domestication was used slightly more on references found in this study, 20 per cent of the time, suggesting that translation conventions have not differed greatly between seasons. Koskipää had come to similar conclusions in her study, finding that the majority of proper-name allusions and realia found in her study material were indeed foreignised. In addition, she did not find significant differences between different types of realia and their translation strategies. Finally, the thesis by Mäyränpää adds a dimension of quality to the discussion, finding the quality of at least the television translation to be quite high since the viewers did not take notice of any obvious culture bumps in the text and that the viewing experience of the receivers was pleasant overall. This suggests that
the translation strategies, mostly foreignising ones, were found appropriate when watching a television series containing a high amount of foreign cultural elements deriving from the US and that the cultural references were relatively easy to understand without hardly any domestication. The Finnish viewer has gained and keeps gaining cultural knowledge from Anglophone cultures through exposure to foreign media, film and other types of entertainment.
6 CONCLUSION

The interpretation of an original text and its translation is always just that, an interpretation among several other possible interpretations. Researchers are influenced by their own background and the cultural environment they are exposed to. It is impossible to be entirely objective when a study relies on a combination of interpretations and selected theoretical background. Nevertheless, an attempt has been made to present as objective arguments as possible based on the study material. The findings of this study constitute a drop in the ocean when the scope of the study is considered. Nevertheless, the theoretical background and previous studies on the *Gilmore Girls* have helped to strengthen the arguments made.

The aim of this thesis was to discuss how proper-name allusions and cultural references, in the subtitles of *Gilmore Girls* were translated into Finnish. It was found that the translations were more target source culture oriented and, therefore, the analysed references were mostly foreignised in the target text. The most important discoveries that arose from the data supported the hypotheses presented in the introduction and there were no major surprises in the translations. The overpowering influence of the English language as well as Anglophone cultures over marginal ones is clear when examining the translation methods used in this study as well as other translation studies. In this study, there have been references for example to the works of Venuti, Leppihalme and Kokkola, who all recognise the power relation between English and marginal languages, reaffirming this outcome of the thesis. The translator is faced with a dilemma: should foreign elements be domesticated more when translating from a majority culture to a marginal one? Translators have to deal with issues to do with convention and demands of the target audience, rendering making drastic changes to usual translation strategies (foreignising methods) unlikely.

It was found that retention (direct translation) was the most common method used in translating proper-name allusions and cultural references in the subtitles. It was, however, hypothesised that omission would have been used already in the English subtitles and even more in the Finnish subtitles as a common translation method. Even though omission was the second most common
method used, partial omission was quite rare and complete omission extremely rare, with the format of the text (audiovisual translation) causing much less problems with space and multimodality as was originally anticipated. This part of the hypothesis was most altered by the results even though there were a few examples in the analysis where it was suggested that the lack of space was the cause for a domesticated method e.g. in the case of omitting ‘Wonder Woman’ from the Finnish subtitles entirely or when “Warp Speed, Mr. Sulu” became simply ‘valonnopeudella’ (with the speed of light). In the rare occasion of omission, the translator was seen to have three reasons for it: convention, increasing comprehension and readability and the lack of space.

While writing this thesis, several other venues presented themselves as possibilities for future research. First, the idea of studying humour and translation appeared intriguing. However, it turns out that Ainomaija Paakkinen has written about verbally expressed humour and translation in the Gilmore Girls in 2010. Since there has been a recent release of new episodes of Gilmore Girls on Netflix, this new material opens up the possibility to compare the translation methods used in the old episodes with the new ones. Due to the new episodes being released on Netflix, the subtitle format and convention also, presumably, differs from the DVD format. A more experimental and arduous research idea has to do with the field of reception. It has been shown that researchers such as Tuominen and Leppihalme have suggested that there is not enough reception research and that generalising results from such research is difficult. However, in order for the translators to better understand what type of things in translated material cause culture bumps, empirical research is important. Manipulating an already translated text with placing references that could be considered distracting in it could reveal which types of foreign elements cause problems for the viewer.

The findings of this thesis could have been different if all realia had been included in its scope since Leppihalme suggests that proper-names are usually translated by using retention and foreignisation. However, there already exists previous research material on the translation of all realia in Gilmore Girls e.g. the thesis by Koskipää. It must be remembered that a translation is always a depiction of its time, involving interaction between the source culture, language, source text and the writer as well as the target culture, language, target text, the translator and the receiver. It is
moulded to its final form by all of these elements, with the constraints of time and place considered in the process. This is why the study of language and translation is always current and can tell us a great deal about the cultural environment that we live in.
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