Translation of Queer Terminology in Croatian Subtitles

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TRANSLATION OF QUEER TERMINOLOGY
IN CROATIAN SUBTITLES

Master's Thesis

Supervisor: Kristijan Nikolić, PhD

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SVEUČILIŠTE U ZAGREBU

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Tihana Ćuk

PRIJEVOD *QUEER* TERMINOLOGIJE U HRVATSKIM PODSLOVIMA

Diplomski rad

Mentor: dr. sc. Kristijan Nikolić, v. lektor

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Abstract

This dissertation inquires into how queer terminology and language are conveyed in the Croatian subtitles for *Netflix*'s programmes. There is a general consensus that identity is expressed through language and, indeed, a queer community can be said to use a distinct language that projects the queer identity. It is the translator's task, however, to express this same identity in another language. This dissertation, therefore, aims to gauge the degree to which two cultural systems differ or coincide in their transfer of queer terminology and language, that is, to establish whether the items of the queer lexicon in the English and the Croatian languages cover similar semantic fields. Furthermore, the dissertation seeks to verify the translation strategies, and their motivation, used to transfer queer terminology from English to Croatian. Finally, the dissertation aims to assess the extent to which produced translation solutions equate to the features of gayspeak from the pragmatic perspective. To resolve these inquiries, the dissertation analyzes a corpus of corresponding ST-TT pairs, comprised of queer terminology and other properties of gayspeak, extracted from three of *Netflix*'s queer programmes and their respective Croatian subtitles. The theoretical framework underpinning this dissertation is the Descriptive Translation Studies paradigm adapted to the area of audiovisual translation and assisted by the classification of translation strategies for the rendering of cultural references. The discussion in this dissertation aims to reconstruct the process of translation of coupled pairs and to situate particular translation solutions within the TC system. As a result, this allows for a better understanding of the experience that the viewers using the Croatian subtitles might have, as well as how this experience might be different from that of viewers watching the programmes in their original language.

Keywords: audiovisual translation, queer terminology, subtitling, translation strategies

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Abbreviations

AVT	Audiovisual translation
DTS	Descriptive Translation Studies
CRs	Cultural references
SC	Source culture
TC	Target culture
SL	Source language
TL	Target language
ST	Source text
TT	Target text

1. Introduction

"There always has to be a gay or a trans character" and similar remarks have been uttered during recent years as a critique of many streaming platforms' proclivity to launch programmes that promote diversity and inclusion. Indeed, the rise of *Netflix,* nowadays the world's leading subscription-based streaming service, has marked a new era of content creation. *Netflix's* anti-censorship, diversity, and inclusion policies have enhanced the visibility of queer identities. There is a general consensus that identity is expressed through language and, indeed, as this dissertation will portray, a queer community can be said to use a distinct language that projects the queer identity. To express the same identity in another language, however, is a task of a translator. The research question propelling this dissertation is – how are the queer terminology and language conveyed in the Croatian subtitles for *Netflix's* programmes? To resolve this inquiry, this dissertation will observe and contrast three cases of *Netlix's* queer-related programmes and their respective subtitles.

This research therefore aims to: (1) gauge the degree to which two cultural systems differ or coincide in their transfer of the queer terminology and language, i.e., to establish whether the items of the queer lexicon in the English and the Croatian languages cover similar semantic fields; (2) verify the strategies, and their motivation, used to transfer queer terminology from English to Croatian; (3) assess the extent to which produced translation solutions equate to the features of gayspeak from the pragmatic perspective.

The dissertation is organized into seven chapters that are further subdivided into thematic sections. The introductory chapter has so far presented the research aims of this dissertation. Chapter 2 provides the clarification of certain key concepts that are central to the understanding of further analysis and discussion. Chapter 3 presents the theoretical framework for the analysis of the translation of queer terminology and language in the subtitles, whereby the Descriptive Translations Studies paradigm is adapted for the subject of audiovisual translation and assisted by the classification of translation strategies for the transfer of cultural references. Chapter 4 delineates the criteria pertaining to the selection of audiovisual materials, explains the substance of the corpus, and presents the methods used in the corpus analysis. Chapter 5 presents the findings of three analyses conducted on the sample of three selected programmes and their

respective subtitles. The findings are observed collectively and discussed further in Chapter 6. Finally, Chapter 7 provides concluding remarks. The concluding chapter is followed by the list of sources used in the construal of the dissertation and three appendices. The appendices provide insight into the author's analyses of three subtitled queer programmes, seeing that the findings and conclusions of this dissertation are based on these analyses. The appendices, i.e. the analyses, are presented in three tables, with Appendix 1 presenting the analysis of the Croatian subtitles for *The Boys in the Band,* Appendix 2 the analysis of the Croatian subtitles for *Growing Up Gay,* and, finally, Appendix 3 the analysis of the Croatian subtitles for *Coming Out Colton.*

2. Key Concepts

As the title suggests, this dissertation has to do with the translation of *queer terminology*. Before diving into the analysis, a few key concepts will be clarified, as the dissertation contains multiple references to these concepts.

2.1 Queer

Queer is an umbrella term denoting non-heteronormative sexualities and gender non-conforming identities, i.e., "[sexualities] that [reject] normative definitions of appropriate feminine and masculine sexual behavior" and "people who fall outside society's prescribed male/female and masculine/feminine dichotomies" (Barber and Hidalgo 2023). The scope of the term *queer* thus includes people who identify as lesbian, gay, bisexual, asexual, pansexual, intersex, transgender, gender non-binary, gender fluid, questioning, etc. The term has a long history of pejorative use – when it was first applied to *queer* people at the end of the 19th century, it carried negative connotations that echoed its traditional, primary sense – someone or something that is odd, weird, strange, unwell, bizarre, peculiar. Even nowadays, when used with disparaging intent by homophobic and transphobic people, the term is deemed highly offensive and insulting, i.e., as a homophobic/ transphobic slur. However, in the years following the 1969 Stonewall Riots, an event that many hold as the birthplace of the modern LGBTQ+ rights movement, the term *queer* has been reclaimed by the communities denoted by the term as a term of unification, empowerment, self-identification, and self-representation (Cheves 2023). Henceforth, the term has also been appropriated in academic contexts that explore gender and sexuality (Merriam-Webster, n.d.).

In this dissertation, *queer terminology* thus implies words and expressions that are used in relation to *queer* subject matter. The terminology includes standard language terms, as well as a plethora of slang terms. The connotations of analyzed terms vary from positive or neutral to negative.

However, if the terms and their translations were to be investigated in isolation, the analysis would do no justice to the subject matter. After all, in reality, as well as in audiovisual media, i.e., overall language use, these terms are never isolated and their full potential can only be

observed from a broader context. In the case of *queer terminology*, this context often takes forms of *gayspeak* and/ or *camp talk*. In this dissertation, we will thus occasionally go beyond what is traditionally regarded as *terminology,* and observe *queer* (-related) language from the pragmatic viewpoint.

2.2 Gayspeak

Gayspeak is a term coined by Hayes and the title of his 1976 paper. In his essay, Hayes argues that homosexual men are the largest subculture in America and that, as such, they have developed their own language that he calls gayspeak. What distinguishes gayspeak as a particular, distinct language is its unique usage, lexicon, imagery and rhetoric (Hayes 1976, 256). According to Hayes, gay men use gayspeak in three settings – "the secret setting, in which it is necessary to express one's own sexuality with circumspection; the social setting, in which gays speak to other people they know to be gay; and the radical-activist setting, in which gays control and filter their language in what we today call politically correct ways" (Ranzato 2012, 371). Hayes recognizes a number of linguistic features that emerge in these settings, such as "euphemism and innuendo in the secret setting, in-group slang in the social setting, and conscious avoidance or resignification of particular terms in the radical-activist setting" (Hayes 1976/2006, 68-77, cited in Ranzato 2012, 371). The most productive segment of gayspeak, according to Hayes, is its lexicon, which abounds with compound constructions, and particularly those that employ *queen* as their stem. Ranzato stresses that "one of the most interesting themes related to lexicon is […] the way gay activists have managed to create new, more positive references for some of the most common, derogatory homosexual terms" (*ibid.,* 372) and further cites (Stanley 1974/2006, 54) "words that had formerly referred only to one's sexual identification, like gay and straight, or that had been pejoratives, like dyke, faggot, and cocksucker, had become instead politically charged terms that affirmed the new identity of gays" (*ibid.*). In her paper, *Gayspeak and Gay Subjects in Audiovisual Translation: Strategies in Italian Dubbing* (2012), Ranzato analyses "the fictional language of homosexuals as portrayed on the screen" (*ibid.,* 369) and notices that "even in the most naturalistic and politically correct examples, homosexuals on screen are often recognisable by a marked way of speaking often bordering on what is popularly known as *camp*" (*ibid.,* 371).

2.3 Camp talk

Susan Sontag is one of the first authors who attempted to describe the concept of *camp.* In her *Notes on "Camp"*, she argues that camp is, foremost, a sensibility (Sontag 1964, 1). This sensibility is "unmistakably modern, a variant of sophistication but hardly identical with it" (*ibid.*). Sontag holds that, in general, a sensibility is "one of the hardest things to talk about," and further argues that "there are special reasons why Camp, in particular, has never been discussed" (*ibid.*). This is because camp is "not a natural mode of sensibility," what is more, camp's very essence is "its love of the unnatural: of artifice and exaggeration" (*ibid.*). Traditionally, camp has been observed in relation to homosexuality. Sontag claims that "while it's not true that Camp taste *is* homosexual taste, there is no doubt a peculiar affinity and overlap" (*ibid.,* 12). She further declares that "homosexuals, by and large, constitute the vanguard – and the most articulate audience – of Camp" (*ibid.*). In years to come, other authors have observed the relationship between homosexuality and camp. Keith Harvey has found that camp, which he labels as a *specific verbal style,* is commonly associated with homosexual characters in post-war fiction (Harvey 1998). It is worth noting that verbal camp is not purely fictional, but more often than not, especially during the second half of the 20th century, it has been employed as a verbal style of homosexual characters in literature, theatre, on the silver screen, and television. Some of the common themes of camp talk are: "the homosexual's desire to remain youthful" (Sontag 1964, 12), "the preoccupation with sexual activity," and "references to extinct passion and a tragi-comic awareness of the ephemeral nature of sexual desire" (Harvey 1998, 299). On the formal level, some of the prominent devices of verbal camp are: "the inversion of gender-specific terms, the *girl-talk*"; "theatricalized type of femininity"; "strategy of renaming that includes the adoption of male names marked as *queer*"; "intertextual reference[s] to [the] major example [s] of popular culture"; the use of French that "accomplishes a humorous nod to sophistication and cosmopolitanism" (*ibid.*, 299-300). In his paper, Harvey also makes references to other authors' descriptions of camp talk, for example, Babuscio (1977), who suggests that there are four linked strategies of camp talk: "irony; aestheticism; theatricality; humor" (Harvey 1998, 304).

All things considered, there are some clear differences between the two verbal styles. Gayspeak, as the term suggests, is inevitably linked with homosexuality, and is employed in three settings (secret, social, and radical-activist). On the other hand, homosexuality is not a prerequisite for

camp, and vice versa. At best, camp talk can be observed as a variant of gayspeak. Finally, although it has been established that camp is not purely fictional, its properties are far more likely to be detected in literature, theatre, and fiction programmes.

2.4. Drag language

Dictionary (n.d.) defines a drag queen as "a performer, typically one who was assigned male at birth, whose act involves a stylized and exaggerated interpretation of femininity that plays with stereotypical gender themes." Respectively, a drag king is "a performer, typically one who was assigned female at birth, whose act involves a stylized and exaggerated interpretation of masculinity that plays with stereotypical gender themes" (*Dictionary,* n.d.). Drag culture is a distinct community within the broader queer community. The two are inevitably linked as the drag performances usually take place in gay bars, and the majority of drag performers would indeed label themselves as queer. Traditionally, most definitions of the term *drag queen* included the aspect of homosexuality as an essential component of drag (see Crutzen 2021, 12). However, "being homosexual is […] not a prerequisite for drag" (*ibid.*) but, for the reasons listed earlier, and considering that many elements of drag shows hint at matters of sexuality, and especially homosexuality, it is virtually impossible to discuss the drag culture without referring to the queer culture. One of the key elements that recognize drag as a particular culture is the element of language. The language, slang, or sociolect of this community can be described as theatrical, humorous, ironic, exaggerated, and overall *camp-like* (*ibid.,* 14).

3. Theoretical Framework

3.1 Subtitling and Audiovisual Translation

Given that this dissertation is concerned with the translation of subtitles, the very concept of subtitling requires some more attention.

Subtitling, i.e., interlingual subtitling, that serves as the basis of our analysis,

> may be defined as a translation practice that consists in presenting a written text, generally on the lower part of the screen, that aims to recount the original dialogue exchanged among the various speakers, as well as all the other verbal information that is transmitted visually (letters, inserts, graffiti, text messages, inscriptions, placards, and the like) and aurally (songs, voices of, voiceover narration).
>
> <div align="right">(Díaz Cintas and Remael 2021, 9)</div>

Subtitling is one of the translation practices subsumed under the umbrella term of audiovisual translation (AVT) (*ibid.,* 7). The linguistic transfer in AVT generally takes shape of one of the two fundamental approaches - "either the original dialogue soundtrack is substituted with a newly recorded or live soundtrack in the TL (i.e. revoicing) or it is converted into written text that appears on screen (timed text)" (*ibid.*). Each of the two approaches can be further subcategorized - the practice of reivoicing thus encompasses "interpreting, voiceover, narration, dubbing, fandubbing and audio description" (*ibid.*), while the category of timed texts includes "subtitling, surtitling, subtitling for people who are D/deaf or hard-of-hearing, live subtitling and cybersubtitling" (*ibid.*). Each of the respective practices can either take interlingual or intralingual form.

In modern, digital society, subtitles "[fulfill] countless roles and [take] different shapes" (*ibid.,* 11). These *roles* and *shapes* can be grouped according to the certain criteria - "(1) linguistic, (2) time available for preparation, (3) display mode, (4) technical parameters, (5) methods of projection, and (6) medium of distribution" (*ibid.*). The linguistic dimension of subtitles has traditionally been the pivot of their classification. From the linguistic viewpoint, it is possible to identify two basic types of subtitling practice – intralingual subtitling, also known as same-

language subtitling (SLS), and interlingual subtitling. The latter further encompasses three subcategories – monolingual, bilingual, and multilingual subtitling. Among the interlingual subtitles, the most common type are the monolingual subtitles, to which Gottlieb (1994) refers to as *diagonal* because they involve "a shift from one language to another along with a change of mode, from oral to written" (Díaz Cintas and Remael 2021, 19). Subsequently, this dissertation is concerned with monolingual subtitling.

Most AVT practices, including subtitling, are constrained by various limitations, namely spatial and temporal limitations that are imposed by the audiovisual medium itself. In the context of subtitling, these constraints are the result of "the need to reach synchrony between the linguistic target text (TT) and these additional translational parameters of images and sound as well as time" (*ibid.,* 4). Subtitled programmes include three integral components - "the spoken word, the image and the subtitles" (*ibid.,* 9). The three are inextricably linked, as the "subtitles must appear in synchrony with the images and dialogue, provide a semantically adequate account of the SL dialogues, and remain displayed on screen long enough for the viewers to be able to read them" (*ibid.*). For this reason, the AVT has long been considered the *Cinderella of academia* (Díaz Cintas 2004, 24), regarded by many scholars "as falling short of translation proper because of all the spatial and temporal limitations […] which in turn constrain the end result" (Díaz Cintas and Remael 2021, 3). However, over a period of time, and owing to the effort of a number of scholars, the field of Translation Studies has, slowly but surely, opened up to include audiovisual texts as one of the objects of its study (*ibid.,* 4). What allowed for this shift is the expansion of the concept of translation. To quote Díaz Cintas and Remael:

> Translation must be understood from a flexible, heterogeneous and non-static perspective, one that encompasses a broad set of empirical realities and acknowledges the ever-changing nature of this professional practice. AVT is a prime example of such practices and the continuous process of change to which they are subjected. Furthermore, AVT has contributed greatly to the questioning and reframing of long-established tenets such as text, authorship, original work, translation unit or fidelity to the original that are now well established in TS.
>
> *(Díaz Cintas and Remael, 2021, 5)*

One of the key factors that prompted this new understanding of the concept and practice of translation is embedded in the postulates of a theoretical framework named Descriptive Translation Studies (DTS). In his paper titled *In search of a theoretical framework for the study of audiovisual translation* (2004)*,* Díaz Cintas suggests that DTS paradigm may provide an ideal platform. In his words:

> To approach dubbing and subtitling from a mere linguistic perspective is clearly insufficient. By transcending the purely linguistic dimension, the postulates put forward by DTS have the advantage of placing translation researchers on a starting grid that allows them to channel their efforts into the object of study from a plural and interdisciplinary perspective. Translation is viewed as an act of intercultural communication, rather than simply interlinguistic (...)
>
> (Díaz Cintas 2004, 31)

Díaz Cintas observes DTS as a platform in which the linguistic and cultural approaches can be viewed as complementary. Considering that it aims to gauge the degree to which two cultural systems differ or coincide in their transfer of the queer language, this dissertation follows in the footsteps of theoretical premises postulated by DTS.

3.2 Descriptive Translation Studies (DTS)

This section serves as a brief overview of some of the key premises underpinning the theoretical framework of Descriptive Translation Studies. Considering that the very term (DTS) relates to a whole and extensive approach to translation (practices), and seeing that it emerged during the 1970s and has remained highly relevant to this day, it should be clarified that this section offers a simplified review of the key notions that are relevant and applicable in the scope of this dissertation.

Although the concepts pertaining to DTS "were conceived with literature and literary translation at their core", Díaz Cintas argues that "these concepts are in essence operative and functional as heuristic tools in researching AVT" (2004, 21-22). This serves to illustrate that the concepts that

are to be discussed in this section are applicable to the field of AVT, despite the fact that the majority of passages that are to be cited are, indeed, concerned with literary translation.

The history of DTS begins with James S. Holmes and his seminal paper *The name and nature of translation studies* (1988), the expanded version of the paper he originally presented in the translation section of The Third International Congress in Linguistics in 1972. Essentially, Holmes put together a map that describes the scope of overall framework of Translation Studies. The map delineates two basic subcategories of Translation studies – *Pure* and *Applied. Pure* areas, on one hand, include the description of the phenomena of translation (DTS), and the establishment of general principles to explain and predict such phenomena, on the other (Munday 2008, 9-10). In Holmes's map, DTS has three viable focal points - "examination of (1) the product, (2) the function and (3) the process" (*ibid.*, 10), i.e., it is possible to differentiate between product-oriented DTS, function-oriented DTS, and process-oriented DTS (*ibid.,* 10-11). This dissertation may be observed as a case of product-oriented DTS, which is concerned with existing translations (as all of product-oriented DTS) and it involves an analysis of a single ST-TT pair (note, however, that other, more complex combinations are also possible), i.e., an analysis of their correlation in a particular type of discourse, and at a particular point in time (although the diachronic perspective is also possible in larger-scale studies).

Gideon Toury adopts Holmes's map and advances the idea pertaining the development "of a properly systematic descriptive branch" (*ibid.,* 110). In his *Descriptive Translation Studies – And Beyond* (1995) that can be deemed as the *manifesto* of DTS, Toury proposes the extensive methodology for the development of a descriptive paradigm. However, what also anticipated the development of DTS, was the Polysystem Theory, propounded by Even-Zohar (1978), but also studied and elaborated by Toury himself. The term *polysystem* was coined by Even Zohar and it is used to "refer to a group of semiotic systems that co-exist dynamically within a particular sphere" (Díaz Cintas 2004, 22). The concept of a polysystem erases the gap between the *high* and *low* culture, i.e., between the canonical works of literature and the genres that are traditionally deemed inferior, such as children's literature, thrilllers, romantic and popular fiction, to name a few, as well as the translated products (*ibid.,* 23). The concept's flexibility provides a new dimension for TS – "this new approach to translation allows for the translated work to be studied as a product in itself that is integrated in the target polysystem" (*ibid.*). The essential idea

underpinning this theory is that a (literary) work should not be observed in isolation, but rather as a part of a (literary) system which is, in itself, built in correlation to other systems, i.e., dynamically interacts with other systems.

While devising his methodology for DTS, Toury is building on his and Even-Zohar's work within the polysystem theory. One of the basic ideas that he adopts from the polysystem paradigm, and further adapts within DTS is that "translations first and foremost occupy a position in the social and literary systems of the target culture, and this position determines the translation strategies that are employed" (Munday 2008, 110). With that in mind, he presents the three-phase methodology for systematic DTS, as follows:

> (1) Situate the text within the target culture system, looking at its significance or acceptability.
>
> (2) Compare the ST and the TT for shifts, identifying relationships between 'coupled pairs' of ST and TT segments.
>
> (3) Attempt generalizations, reconstructing the process of translation for this ST–TT pair.
>
> (Munday 2008, 111)

This is relevant in the context of this dissertation, as the author's analysis is based on the proposed model, and certain generalizations are made in the discussion chapter. However, we are yet to determine the tool that will make the comparison of the ST and the TT possible, i.e., the tool that would be of use when identifying the relationship between the *coupled pairs.* As this dissertation strives to uncover how Croatian subtitlers deal with the *rich* Anglophone queer-related terminology, it is reasonable to employ the notion of translation strategies as the tool that will assist the analysis. In the spirit of DTS, this dissertation does not attempt to identify and label translation strategies solely to quantify and rank them by their frequency, but it rather attempts to uncover the motivation that prompts their activation in concrete contexts.

3.3 Translation Strategies in Subtitling

Taking into account that this dissertation is primarily operating within the field of AVT, it is justifiable that it prefers to consider the classification of translation strategies that is proposed by the scholars specializing in AVT. Indeed, similarly to what Díaz Cintas and Remael also note, a rather large portion of authors who have dealt with the process of translation have also attempted to (re)devise catalogues of strategies that would be of service when dealing with all sorts of translation challenges. Needless to say, each such classification is unique in its own terms, with some of them providing rather inexhaustible lists of translation strategies, however, "overall the solutions on offer range from very literal transfers to complete recreations, but no existing classification can cover all the translation strategies to which translators or subtitlers resort […] overlap is inevitable and strategies are often combined" (Díaz Cintas and Remael 2021, 207).

The classification of translation strategies that is considered in this dissertation is the one put forward by Díaz Cintas and Remael in *Subtitling: Concepts and Practices* (2021), a reorganized version of the classification they presented in their *Audiovisual translation: Subtitling* (2007). It is worth noting that this is a classification of strategies for the translation of cultural references (CRs). This type of classification will be of service in our context as, in this dissertation, *the queer* is, in fact, considered as a culture and, moreover, the queer terminology that is to be observed is the fact of each respective culture (SC and TC), i.e., the semantics of such terminology is inextricably linked to a more broad, cultural context. Díaz Cintas and Remael propose this classification of strategies for the translation of CRs:

(1) Loan; (2) Literal translation; (3) Calque; (4) Explicitation; (5) Substitution;
(6) Transposition; (7) Lexical recreation; (8) Compensation; (9) Omission.

(*Díaz Cintas and Remael,* 2021, 207)

The listed strategies will be briefly discussed in turn in the remaining part of this section.

Loan (or borrowing) is a strategy in the case of which "the ST word or phrase is directly incorporated into the TL and text because both languages happen to use the exact same word, be it because of historical tradition or because the term is being incipiently used in the TL" (*ibid.*).

Loans typically include toponyms (*Los Angeles)*, IT-related terms (*firewall*), culinary specialities (*goulash*), various drinks (*cognac*), certain political terms (*guerrilla*) and names of dances (*waltz*). When two languages share the same language writing system (alphabet or script, e.g., both English and Croatian use Latin script), the loans either share the spelling of the *original,* or they undergo minor adjustments to comply with the orthographic, morphologic, and phonetic norms of the hosting language.

Literal translation is a distinct type of loan, "whereby the subtitler borrows the form of expression in the SL and renders each of the elements literally into the TL structure […] this is done in such a way that it seems to have been coined in the TL and sounds *natural*" (*ibid.,* 208). For example, Mexican *Día de los Muertos* becomes *Day of the Dead* in English.

Quite on the contrary, a calque is "a literal translation that somehow sounds *odd* and thus competes with a more fluent expression in the TC, as is the case with *Secretario de Estado* in Spanish for *Secretary of State*, when *Ministro de Asuntos Exteriores* [Minister of Foreign Afairs] would be a more common and transparent title" (*ibid.*). Calques vary in their degree of transparency, i.e., they can either become well-established in the hosting language through their continuous use (e.g., Croatian *neboder* for *skyscraper*), or they can maintain the foreignizing, unnatural effect. In the words of Díaz Cintas, "some calques start their lives as proper, disruptive *calques* and, with time, move on to become *literal translations.*" They further elaborate that "when a foreignizing effect remains, the question is whether this impact is desirable in the given context" (*ibid.*).

In the case of explicitation, Díaz Cintas and Remael use the definition proposed by Vinay and Darbelnet (1958/1995, 8) – "[explicitation is] the process of introducing information into the TL which is present only implicitly in the source language, but which can be derived from the context or the situation" (Díaz Cintas and Remael 2021, 210). In other words, "the subtitler tries to make the ST more accessible by meeting the target audience halfway" (*ibid*., 210). For this, there are three possible strategies: "*specification* or use of a hyponym; (b) *generalization* or use of a hypernym or superordinate; or (c) *addition* of extra information" (*ibid*.). In the case of specification, *rose* or *violet* might serve as the replacement for *flower,* while in the case of generalization, *flower* might be used to replace *rose* or *violet.* Generalization, i.e., the use of hypernyms, is far more frequent than specification since it has an explanatory function, whereas

the use of hyponyms narrows down the meaning of the word that is originally used. Additions are not that common in subtitling, mostly due to the spatial and temporal limitations of the audiovisual medium. This strategy provides additional information "to passages containing cultural references that are expected to cause comprehension problems but are essential for a good understanding of the programme" (*ibid.*).

Substitution, as explained by Díaz Cintas and Remael, "is a variant on explicitation, which consists in replacing the cultural reference in the ST with a similar reference that already exists in the SC or in the TC (cultural substitution), or with an expression that fits the situation but shows no connection with the ST expression (situational substitution)" (*ibid.,* 212). This phenomenon is quite common in subtitling. Subtitlers resort to substitution when spatio-temporal constraints do not permit the insertion of a lengthy term of explanation. This strategy is also quite often used in cases when a CR originating in SC is also well-known and comprehensible in the TC, but its form is simply too lengthy and takes up too much space in the subtitles. As Díaz Cintas and Remael exemplify: "The French *sauce hollandaise* is literally known as *hollandaisesaus* in Dutch but it might be translated as *botersaus* [butter sauce] if the space and time limitations are very strict" (*ibid.*).

Transposition is a strategy that replaces a cultural concept of one community with a cultural concept from another. The strategy can thus be said to "[imply] some form of clarification," since it is commonly resorted to "when the target viewers would probably not understand the ST reference should a loan or literal translation be used, and there is no room for explicitation" (*ibid.,* 213). The downside of this strategy is that, in an audiovisual medium, the audience can hear the soundtrack and is thus likely to notice the discrepancy between the subtitle and soundtrack, which may result in the audience's questioning of the credibility and accuracy of the subtitles.

Lexical recreation, i.e., the invention of a neologism, is a strategy resorted to when the ST speaker creates new words and phrases. The neologisms are quite often placed between the quotation marks in the subtitles so as to inform the audience that it is not a typographical error (*ibid.,* 215).

Compensation is a strategy that "[makes up] for a translational loss in one exchange by being more creative or adding something extra in another, though it may not always be practicable in subtitling due to the oral-visual cohabitation of the source and TLs" (*ibid.*). Commonly, subtitlers resort to this strategy when translating humor.

The strategy of omission, also known as the deletion, is typically resorted to in two cases: "in the case of fast-paced speech, when the deletion of terms and expressions that appear in the original is unavoidable because of stringent space-time limitations" and "when the original reference is unknown to the target audience and the rest of the context is clear enough for the utterance to be understood, or when the TL simply does not have the corresponding term" (*ibid.*, 216). Díaz Cintas and Remael further note that "omissions may also be ideologically inspired, particularly in the case of the subtitling of taboo words and when dealing with sensitive topics like politics, *sexual behaviour* and religious rituals" (*ibid.*, 217, the author's italics).

Finally, Díaz Cintas and Remael briefly discuss the notion of *official equivalent,* which they do not consider a translation strategy, "but rather a result" (*ibid.*). An official equivalent is a "ready-made solution that is imposed by an authority such as a governmental agency or a broadcaster" (*ibid.*).

4. Methodology

4.1 Criteria for the Selection of Audiovisual Material

This dissertation concerns three cases of queer TV programmes, all available on *Netflix*, the world's leading subscription-based streaming service. The author opted for *Netflix* as the sole source of audiovisual content which will be discussed further throughout the dissertation, and this has been deliberately done for several reasons. Firstly, *Netflix* poses as one of the more convenient tools, i.e., platforms, for this type of analysis, considering that all of its contents are available on demand. Secondly, given that *Netflix* is widely used in Croatia, it is possible to assume that one would turn to this platform should they want to consume queer-related content, especially if we are to consider the absence of such programme on Croatian nationwide channels. Furthermore, the author wanted to assess the extent to which the translations of the same queer-related terms vary (or overlap) on a single streaming platform, as well as to establish the possible impacts that these varying translation solutions might have on the viewers. Lastly, *Netflix* takes great pride in its inclusivity and diversity policies that, paraphrasing its website, first have to operate in the office to then be portrayed on the screen (*Netflix,* n.d.). The platform boasts a plethora of queer-related content and this does not only encompass *regular* programmes in which 'that one friend turns out to be gay', but it also includes a vast variety of movies, series, documentaries, docuseries, reality shows, etc., that depict queer characters, queer lives and lifestyles, and various aspects of queer culture, which is, like any other (sub)culture or community, inextricably linked to the language. *Netflix*'s contents thus serve as abundant sources of queer slang/ sociolect/ language, used by both fictional and *real* queer protagonists.

The *Netflix* programmes that were to be selected for the subtitle analysis in this dissertation had to satisfy certain criteria. The following is the list of the author's criteria:

(1) The analysis has to include at least one fictional movie or series;

(2) The analysis has to include at least one non-fiction programme (e.g., a documentary, or a reality show);

(3) Each programme has to be abundant and versatile in the use of queer terminology;

(4) English has to be the source language of each programme;

(5) Each programme has to contain Croatian as one of the subtitle languages.

Perhaps no TV programme is as abundant and productive, and truly as creative in the use of queer language as a reality drag show. Having considered some of the traits of the drag culture and language (see Chapter 2, Section 4), it might seem that drag slang is indeed an ideal case for this type of analysis, especially considering that there is plenty of drag-related content available on *Netflix,* including *RuPaul's Drag Race,* which is, by far, the most popular and longest-running show of this kind. However, much to the author's surprise, none of *Netflix*'s reality drag queen shows have yet been translated into Croatian. A simple get-together with a search engine revealed something even more curious – not only have these shows not been translated on *Netflix* but they have never been translated to Croatian at all, not even by the means of fansubbing. As none of the drag-related programmes on *Netflix* have fulfilled one of the main criteria, i.e., they have not been translated into Croatian, such programmes are, unfortunately, excluded from the analysis.

Among the programmes that have accomplished to meet all of the listed criteria, the ones that have been selected for the analysis in this dissertation are the following: *The Boys in the Band* (2020), *Olly Alexander: Growing Up Gay* (2017) and *Coming Out Colton* (2021). The remaining part of this section serves as the clarification of this selection.

The Boys in the Band (2020), directed by Joe Mantello, is an American drama movie and the remake of William Friedkin's 1970 version of the movie. Both movies are adaptations of the 1968 play by Mart Crowley, also titled *The Boys in the Band.* What prompted the 1970 movie as one of the canon works of queer filmography is that it "was one of the first American movies to thrust gay characters into the limelight, giving visibility to their way of acting, dressing, and speaking" (Brezolin 2021: 23). The movie is set in New York City in 1968 and depicts a group of homosexual friends who gather for a birthday party that Michael organized for Harold, another gay fellow. The group – Michael, Harold, Donald, Larry, Hank, Emory, and Bernard – are also joined by Cowboy, a gay male sex worker whom Emory has *gifted* to Harold as his birthday present*,* and by Alan, Michael's former college roommate who happens to be the only straight character (although, as the story unfolds, it becomes clear that Alan himself has, in fact, had a *homosexual history* that he is in denial of). The story thus fully revolves around the gay characters, whose (sexual) identities are best exhibited through their use of language. Almost

every line and dialogue exchange in the movie can be construed as queer. The dominant role of gayspeak in *The Boys in the Band* has established this movie as a particularly challenging translation task worldwide (see Brezolin 2021). For this reason, it ought to be interesting to observe how Croatian translators approached this task.

Growing Up Gay (2017) is a documentary directed by Vicki Cooper and hosted by Olly Alexander, the frontman of the British *Years & Years,* who "explores why members of the gay community are more likely to be affected by mental illness, as he opens up about his own battles with depression" (*IMDb*, n.d.). In the documentary, Olly Alexander, himself "an out gay man" (*Growing Up Gay* 2017), is joined by various LGBT interlocutors to discuss the topics of mental health issues, eating disorders, and drug addictions that plague the LGBT community. During the interviews, all interlocutors open up about their sexuality, describe their experience of coming out, and disclose the impacts that "growing up gay in a straight world" (*Growing Up Gay* 2017) has had on them. Although the speech of Alexander's interlocutors is *not as queer* as the gayspeak of *The Boys in the Band*'s characters, the documentary makes abundant use of queer terminology. Along with the well-established terminology that is known to be queer-specific, the speakers also use a variety of general language terms that have acquired new semantic senses within the community.

Coming Out Colton (2021) is a reality docuseries in which the "former NFL player and *Bachelor* star Colton Underwood embarks on a journey to embrace his life as an out member of the LGBTQ community" (*Netflix*, n.d.). The show follows Colton in a series of private conversations, i.e., a series of him coming out to the key figures in his life. These conversations serve to prepare him for the big event – coming out publicly on the television. With Colton only recently being out of the closet, he is yet to learn how to navigate the queer community. The analysis will consider the third episode of the show, titled *Friends*, as this is the episode in which he encounters other members of the community, and among them – a drag queen. This episode thus includes the elements of drag language, as well as the gayspeak that is employed by the more knowledgeable members of the community.

4.2 Corpus Analysis

So far, the topic and research questions of this dissertation have been introduced, as well as some of the key terms that are contained in the analysis. Furthermore, a theoretical framework that ought to guide the analysis has been established – the DTS paradigm is thereby adapted to the area of AVT, and assisted by the classification of translation strategies for the transfer of CRs propounded by AVT scholars, Díaz Cintas and Remael (2021). Finally, the criteria pertaining to the selection of programmes that are considered in the analysis have been presented and further illustrated through the introduction of concrete programmes that will be dealt with. The selected programmes include a movie *The Boys in the Band* (2020), a documentary *Olly Alexander: Growing Up Gay* (2017), and a reality docuseries *Coming Out Colton* (2021). As all these programmes have been produced, as well as translated, during a relatively short time span, the analysis conducted in this dissertation can be observed as a case of a synchronic approach to the subject matter. Considering that this dissertation does not aim to quantify translation strategies, but rather attempts to uncover the motivation that prompts their activation in concrete contexts, i.e., the dissertation is focused on the description of a collection of selected language, it should be noted that the analysis in this dissertation pertains to qualitative research.

The analysis is conducted on a corpus comprised of terms that are extracted from the three programmes listed earlier. Indeed, as Díaz Cintas (2004, 27) stresses, the application of DTS to AVT is more productive when the researcher carries out a contrastive analysis of several programmes and not just one. However, as he notes, "some of the works carried out in this perspective tend to suffer from being over-ambitious," and one can, therefore, overcome this obstacle by analyzing "the bodies of data that are less expansive and more homogeneous and manageable" (*ibid.*).

The corpus observed in this dissertation is a case of parallel corpus "of ST–TT pairs, which, when aligned (sentence by sentence or paragraph by paragraph), can allow the strategies employed by the translator(s) to be investigated" (Munday 2008, 181). Each aspect of the corpora, i.e., each programme, is analyzed individually. Chapter 5 presents the findings derived from these separate analyses. The implications of the analyses, i.e. the findings pertaining to the respective programmes, are then observed collectively and discussed in Chapter 6.

The corpus used in the analysis was extracted manually and composed of queer-related terms and other features of the gayspeak, such as elements of verbal camp. It is worth noting that the corpus does not contain every single instance of queer terminology uttered in the programmes. For example, if a certain term reoccurs frequently and the subtitler is consistent in their translation, i.e., if they keep resorting to the same translation strategy and solution for that term, then such terms will not be repeatedly listed unless they are somehow used in a different manner, or with a different intent, or if their translations seem particularly (in)appropriate in certain contexts.

The analysis is presented in three tables (see Appendices), with each table being assigned to a respective programme. Each table is divided into four columns. The left-hand column is designated for the timecode. Considering that *Netflix'*s timecode displays the amount of time a viewer has left on each programme, as opposed to the amount of time that the viewer has watched, the timecodes will be presented in the same manner in this analysis. The second column is designated for the original soundtrack, i.e., speech. The translations of selected lines, i.e., the subtitles, are presented in the third column. In these two columns, queer-related terms, as well as other prominent features of the gayspeak and camp talk are marked in bold. The right-hand column compares the *coupled pairs.* This column notes which translation strategy was used and, when necessary, it provides back translations that are enclosed in square brackets. Certain cases of the back translation will also include gender marks, whereby feminine gender is marked by *f.,* and masculine by *m.* As it was presented earlier in the text, one of the prominent features of both gayspeak and camp talk is the practice of gender inversion that is conducted through the inversion of pronouns and other gender-specific terms, as well as through the act of renaming, whereby men adopt typically female names. This is where one of the crucial differences between the SL and TL comes into play. Croatian is a highly gendered language, meaning that the majority of grammatical forms in Croatian have a grammatical gender. For example, "perfekt" (past tense of TL) is a gendered tense, i.e., a tense that always reveals the gender of the speakers, as well as of those being addressed, and those being referred to. This indicates that, when the practice of gender inversion is employed in Croatian, or when it is being translated to Croatian, it affects more than merely the pronouns, personal names, and gender-specific terms. In a gendered language, such as Croatian, this practice will also affect adjectives and various verbal forms. In

this analysis, gender marks *f.* and *m.* are utilized in back translations to signify whether the practice of gender inversion has been faithfully transferred to TL.

Finally, the right-hand column also provides the author's comments. These comments fulfill multiple purposes: (1) when needed, they provide definitions of SL's and TL's queer-related terms; (2) they try to uncover the motivation that prompted the activation of certain translation strategies; (3) they elaborate on the possible impacts of certain translation solutions in TC; (4) they attempt to gauge the degree to which the terms of two languages semantically overlap or diverge.

5. Findings

In this chapter, the implications of the analyses (see *Appendices*) conducted for the research purposes of this dissertation will be discussed. This means that certain findings will be derived from the analysis of each respective programme. Translation strategies that have been employed in the creation of subtitles, as well as the implications of their solutions, that have occurred in respective programmes are then to be contrasted and observed collectively. This will then grant access to some grander-scale generalizations that should, subsequently, allow us to answer research questions propounded in the introduction of this dissertation. Here, it is once again important to note that this is a small-scale study of limited scope. Findings derived from this analysis and discussion should not be taken for granted and observed as universals, as the investigated corpus is comprised of only three programmes, i.e., only three samples of subtitled content, and extracted from a single source of audiovisual content.

5.1 *The Boys in the Band*[1]

The Boys in the Band is the only programme considered in this dissertation that revolves around fictional characters and, accordingly, fictional gayspeak (see Chapter 4 for the details of the plot). As the movie's plot is fully centered on gay characters, it is no wonder that gayspeak poses as the dominant verbal style of the movie. According to the classification of settings in which gay men use gayspeak, as put forward by Hayes (1976), the dialogue in this movie dominantly concerns *the social setting*, in which gay men engage in conversations with other people they know to be gay. Social setting provides the ground for in-group slang and for the free use of a variety of queer-related terms, as well as for the irony, innuendos, and inside jokes.

The corpus of queer terminology and gayspeak derived from this movie mainly consists of the lines uttered by Michael and Emory. In his lines, Michael often indulges in ruptures of self-loathing and self-pity, and shows preoccupation with matters such as physical appearance and ageing, which have been observed as some of the common themes of camp talk. He is, furthermore, quite theatrical in his speech, oftentimes employing the strategy of *acting within acting,* and he, overall, uses an abundance of *camp emphatics.* Emory, on the other hand, is the

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[1] For a detailed analysis of the Croatian subtitles for *The Boys in the Band,* see *Appendix 1.*

most flamboyant character in the movie and, accordingly, the *campiest* speaker. Much of his *campiness* has to do with the practice of gender inversion that he is quite prone to. Emory conducts this practice through the inversion of pronouns and other gender-specific terms, as well as through the act of renaming, whereby male characters, including Emory himself, adopt names typically assigned to women.

We shall now turn our attention to the discussion of findings based on the analysis of Croatian subtitles for *The Boys in the Band* by Oleg Berić. First, it can be noted that a positive/ neutral term of queer (self-) reference has been transferred in the TL as a loan word from the SL – "gej" [gay]. On the other hand, all pejorative terms have been substituted with the pejoratives common for TL and TC, e.g., "peškić" for *queen,* "tetkica" for fairy, "peder" for *queer,* "homić" for *fag,* etc. These four TL pejorative terms are, in fact, the only pejoratives that have appeared in the subtitles, apart from the variations (e.g., augmentatives and diminutives) of these same terms, while the script boasts a plethora of SC pejoratives – *queen, queer, fag, faggot, fairy, pansy, nellie,* and *sissy.* The four listed TL pejorative terms, and their variations, have been used interchangeably and somewhat arbitrarily in the subtitles. For example, "peder," and its variations "pederko," and "pederčina" have been used to substitute *queen, faggot, queer, pansy,* and *fairy*; "homić" for *fairy, fag,* and *faggot*; "peškić"(diminutive of "peško") for *queen.* It should also be noted that, in the subtitles, there is one instance of substitution whereby a SL pejorative term has been replaced by a positive/ neutral term in TL:

> Original line: You know, faggot**s** are worse than women about their age.

> Back translation of the subtitle: [Gays are more sensitive about their age than women.]

As for the position of listed derogatory terms in TC, they are all well-known to speakers of TL and their use can, unfortunately, be attested in everyday language.

Other queer-related terms and phrases have been approached through various strategies in subtitling. SL's slang term *straight* has no equivalent in TL, thus it has been approached through explicitation, i.e., paraphrased to read as *not gay.* In the movie, there are several references to the act of *coming out.* In SC, this is a well-recognized, set phrase, whereas TL and TC do not have such an established and standardized form to denote the same action. In this case, Berić has resorted to explicitation of the phrase in the subtitles that, in back translation, reads as *admitting*

that one is gay. The subtitler has provided additional information, by explicitly including the *gay* element in translation. All references to *camp,* i.e., *being a camp* and *camping,* have been neutralized and generalized to read as *exaggeration*, as the camp culture has not exactly taken roots in TC, and actual references to camp would have perhaps provoked comprehension problems among the viewers of TC. Finally, *swinging both ways* is another well-recognized, set phrase in SC that does not have such a well-established and uniform equivalent in TC. Berić has therefore approached the phrase's translation by means of a considerably literal translation – "naginjati u oba smjera" [lean in both directions]. Generally speaking, all translations of queer-related terms and phrases in Croatian subtitles for *The Boys in the Band* read naturally in TL and do not seem to leave any ground for comprehension problems for the viewers of TC. At the same time, when observed through back translations, the translations of queer-related terms and phrases can be said to convey the implications of the original speech faithfully.

Some issues can, however, be observed from the pragmatic viewpoint. Although the subtitler has never failed to convey the intended message of the dialogues, many elements of gayspeak and verbal camp have been lost in translation. For example, in the movie, Michael makes great use of one of the most prominent devices of verbal camp, and that is the use of French. The elements of French are almost completely omitted in Croatian subtitles. *Vin ordinaire* is substituted by a cultural equivalent "stolno vino" [table wine], and *a bottle of Pouilly-Fuisse* is neutralized by the hypernym *white wine.* These solutions are not incorrect, *per se,* but they do not do justice to the colorfulness of original speech. As for another prominent device of gayspeak and camp talk – gender inversion – this strategy is considerably faithfully conducted in the translation. Whenever there is a case of pronoun inversion in the original speech, the pronouns are accordingly inverted in the subtitles, as well. Similarly, whenever a male character is assigned a woman's name, the practice of renaming is also conducted in the subtitles. There are a few cases whereby the reassigned name is omitted in the subtitles, but this is probably done due to the spatial and temporal limitations of the medium. However, in the subtitles, gender inversion is only employed when it is entirely explicit in the original speech – for example when Emory is referring to someone as *she/ her.* On the other hand, when Emory is referring to himself, i.e., speaking in the first person, and thus not using a gendered pronoun, Berić assumes the cisnormative stance and treats him with masculine gender pronouns, adjectives, and verbal forms. It has already been noted that one of crucial differences between the SL and the TL is that English is not a gendered

language, whereas Croatian is. First-person point of view can be observed as gender neutral in English, while in Croatian, a simple use of adjective or past tense discloses the gender of a speaker. Considering that Emory is quite prone to gender inversion in his speech and has a tendency of referring to himself from a feminine perspective, e.g., when he introduces himself as *Connie Casserole,* it seems quite probable that, if he were to speak a gendered language, he would, on occasion, use feminine adjectives and feminine verbal forms when speaking in first person. For example, when he utters "I'd make somebody a good wife," it is probable that, if he were to utter the same line in Croatian, he would say "Nekome bih **bila** dobra žena" [I'd make *f.* somebody a good *f.* wife *f.*], as opposed to "Nekome bih **bio** dobra žena" [I'd make *m.* somebody a good *f.* wife *f.*]. As presented in the analysis, Berić has opted for the latter solution (see *Appendix 1*). Here, it is also worth noting that, after all, the alternations of grammatical gender are quite common in Croatian gayspeak. In Croatian, this concept is also known as "lalakanje" (Samardžić, 2018). Considering the profile of the target audience for this movie in the TC, the practice of gender inversion through the alternation of grammatical gender would neither be observed as something uncommon, nor as an error, nor would it cause comprehension problems.

To round off the discussion on the subtitles for *The Boys in the Band,* we will summarize the findings derived from the analysis and discussion: (1) Positive/ neutral term of queer (self-) reference is translated via a loan word; (2) SL's queer-related pejoratives are substituted with TL's *own* pejoratives; (3) There is no one-to-one correspondence pertaining to the senses of SL's and TL's pejoratives, meaning that, in the subtitles, one TL's pejorative term is used to cover the senses of several of the SL's pejoratives, and this is done somewhat arbitrarily; (4) TL and TC do not have set phrases that denote certain queer-related concepts and actions, as opposed to the SL and SC, thus the subtitler resorts to the strategies of explicitation through addition or generalization, literal translation, and omission; (5) The subtitles are faithful in their rendering of queer terminology and of implications of the original speech, and they read naturally in TL, however, for the most part, they are not aligned with the features of gayspeak and camp talk from the pragmatic viewpoint. Consequently, the subtitles seem somewhat *straightened*; (6) When the practice of in-speech gender inversion is only implied, as opposed to when it is explicit, the subtitler has proved to be more likely to assume a hetero-/cisnormative stance.

5.2 *Growing Up Gay*[2]

  Growing Up Gay is a documentary hosted by Olly Alexander, the frontman of *Years &* *Years*, in which he explores a variety of negative impacts that growing up queer in a straight world has had on the members of LGBT community. In the documentary, Alexander is joined by various interlocutors, all of whom identify as LGBT, to discuss issues plaguing the community, such as mental health issues, drug addictions, and eating disorders. As presented in the analysis, and also considering the nature of this programme, it is clear that the queer terminology plays a pertinent role in the documentary. However, seeing that this programme is not fictional and that it is set in the present day, and also considering its serious tone, it is also clear that its dialogues are significantly different to those in *The Boys in the Band*. The serious subject matter of this programme leaves no space for some of the typical features of gayspeak, such as irony and innuendos, in-group slang and humor, the practice of gender inversion and renaming, etc. However, the programme's dialogue somewhat resembles what Hayes (1976) calls *the radical-activist setting* of gayspeak, to the extent that speakers in the documentary control and filter their language in what they consider to be politically correct manner. One of the aspects of radical-activist setting is the resignification of particular terms that can also be observed in this documentary. For example, in *The Boys in the Band,* the term *queer* is used as a pejorative, whilst in *Growing Up Gay,* the same term is resignified and thus used as a positive/ neutral term of (self-) reference. Furthermore, along with the well-established and typically *queer* terminology, the speakers in this documentary also use a variety of general language terms that have acquired new semantic senses within the community. Having observed the substance of queer terminology and gayspeak in this particular programme, we can now turn our attention to the discussion of findings based on the analysis of Croatian subtitles for *Growing Up Gay* by Veronika Gjalski.

Firstly, it can be noted that the positive/ neutral terms of queer (self-) reference, i.e., *gay* and *queer,* have both been transferred in the TL via a loan "gej." However, at several instances, *queer* has also been transferred as "homoseksualac." This solution, however, might be deemed as inappropriate. The word "homoseksualac" is significantly lengthier than the word *queer* and takes up too much space within the subtitle. Still, Gjalski seems reluctant to use *queer* as a loan*,*

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[2] For a detailed analysis of the Croatian subtitles for *Growing Up Gay,* see *Appendix 2.*

probably due to its foreign form and ring, although the use of *queer* has also been attested among the speakers of TL. Many of the TC's queer organizations and collectives label themselves through the use of this specific loan (*queer*). The term *queer* has also been appropriated in the TC's academic circles. Furthermore, as it was observed in Chapter 2, the term *queer* has many layered senses. *Homosexual,* on the other hand, is nowadays perceived as overly clinical and dated, as it seems to propound sexual orientation as the central identity marker and also contains *homo,* a dated derogatory (Peters 2014).

Furthermore, Gjalski's avoidance of the term, i.e., her substitution of the term with other loans, has occasionally resulted in subtitles that appear as somewhat unnatural from the pragmatic viewpoint. For example, in a scene where Olly is reading aloud the contents of the cards that were submitted as confessions of queer people that pertain to their experience of being queer, one of the cards said: "I'm supposed to stay clear of queer company." The back translation of the Croatian subtitles reads: "I'm supposed to stay clear of homosexual company." Neither "homoseksualno društvo," nor *homosexual company* can be observed as common collocations in their respective languages. It is, therefore, quite improbable that a member of queer community, who is likely to be proficient in their use of queer language, would actually utter such a collocation, or such a dated term.

Apart from *homosexual,* there is once more instance whereby Gjalski has used a dated term to convey a positive/ neutral term of queer (self-) reference. The term *transgender* has been replaced by "transseksualci" [transsexual *pl.*] in the subtitles. *Merriam-Webster* (n.d.)*,* for instance, warns that *transsexual* is a dated and potentially quite offensive term, seeing that it neglects the difference between the categories of gender and sex.

As for the translation of pejorative terms, all SL terms have been substituted with the common pejoratives of TL and TC as follows: "peder" for *faggot*, "peško" for *poof*, and "homić" for *fag.* Again, similarly to what has been observed in the case of *The Boys in the Band,* there is no one-to-one correspondence between the pejoratives of SL and TL, thus they are arbitrarily applied in translation. However, the three listed terms are the only instances of queer-related pejoratives being used in the documentary, hence it is possible to convey their senses through the use of three different pejoratives in TL without them overlapping as in the case of subtitles for *The Boys in the Band.*

Other queer-related terms and phrases have been approached through various strategies in subtitling. Phrases such as *growing up gay* and *growing up LGBT* are rendered considerably literally in the subtitles, as "odrastati kao gej," "odrastati kao LGBT." *Being out (gay man)* is substituted with the TL's term that conveys the same sense and, in back translation, reads as *being openly gay.* The slang term *straight,* as noted in the discussion of the subtitles for *The Boys in the Band,* does not have a direct equivalent in TL and TC. It is worth noting that, generally speaking, "strejt" (orthographically assimilated loan word [straight]) is commonly used in the TL slang. However, "strejt" is not commonly used as a translation solution, given that it is an unstandardized form that bears the foreign ring. In this case, Gjalski has resorted to substitution via a standard language form – *straight* to "heteroseksualno" [heterosexual]. Although these two terms convey the same semantic sense, they do not equate from the pragmatic viewpoint. Slang word is hereby replaced with a formal, standardized term, thus resulting in very a formal-sounding translation and departing from the casual atmosphere of the original speech. The phrase *to come out* has been dealt with in a rather curious manner. In the documentary, there are multiple references to the action of *coming out* and, in the subtitles each instance is substituted with a variant of "iskoračiti" [to step out]. The motivation concerning this translation solution seems quite clear and rather similar to the motivation that operated in the construal of the conceptual metaphor *to come out (of the closet).* The metaphor can be rephrased as *to step out* and, in fact, this phrase is another available metaphor in SL that denotes the same concept. Gjalski's solution may thus also be observed as the literal translation of the less common form of the metaphor, i.e., *to step out.* However, this seems to be the only instance in which a translator has opted for this particular solution. The subtitler has thereby attempted to add a new connotative sense to the TL's preexisting verb and its senses.

Another curious translation solution concerns the term *cruising.* As presented in the analysis (see *Appendix 2*), Croatian language has a specific term that denotes *cruising grounds* ("štajge"), but does not have a distinctive term for the very concept of *cruising.* Texts that are originally composed in Croatian and refer to *cruising* typically use *cruising* as an italicized loan word. This practice is also commonly applied in the translations of texts that refer to this concept. However, in this case, Gjalski has opted for what might be labeled as lexical recreation based on a calque. Original speech refers to the *culture of cruising,* in the subtitles conveyed as "kultura kruženja" [culture of circulation/ orbiting]. The pairing of this term and this sense (*cruising*) has not

otherwise been attested in TL. The motivation prompting this solution is ambiguous – it seems that the subtitler perhaps aimed to produce a calque, however, her solution cannot exactly be observed as a case of literal translation. While the motivation for this solution remains unclear, what is certain is that this solution must have raised, rather than fixed, more comprehension difficulties for the viewers of TC, even more so than the use of an italicized loan word would. There is, furthermore, one more translation solution that might have perhaps prompted more comprehension issues than it solved and it concerns the term *chemsex drug G.* In the subtitles, the term is conveyed as "kemseks droga G." This solution can be observed as a case of loaning. This term, in this exact form, is used as a loan in Slovenian. However, the use of "kemseks (droga G)" has not been attested in Croatian language outside the context of these particular subtitles. Seeing that this is not an established loan in Croatian, this translation solution does not provide much clarification for the viewers of TC. As illustrated in the analysis, in English, this type of drug is also referred to as *drug rape* and *date rape,* owing to its sedative properties and the fact that sexual assaulters commonly abuse these properties in order to drug their victims. Croatian *street names* for this and similar drugs are prompted by the same motivation as their Anglophone counterparts. This group of sedatives is most commonly referred to as "droge za silovanje" [rape drugs]. Needless to say, the audience of TC is far more likely to be familiar with this term than with the loosely established loan term.

Finally, to wrap up the discussion on subtitles for *Growing Up Gay,* we shall summarize the findings derived from the analysis and discussion: (1) Positive/ neutral terms of queer (self-) reference are either transferred via a loan "gej," or via an outdated and clinical "homoseksualac"; (2) SL's queer-related pejoratives are substituted with TL's *own* pejoratives that are applied rather arbitrarily, seeing that there is no one-to-one correspondence between the pejorative terms of the two languages; (3) TL and TC do not have set phrases that denote certain queer-related concepts and actions, as opposed to the SL and SC, thus the subtitler resorts to the strategies of literal translation, loaning, substitution, and lexical recreation; (5) The subtitler is reluctant to use certain loans, that otherwise have no lexical equivalents in TL, because of their foreignizing form and ring. The strategies that are applied in avoidance of such loans occasionally succeed to provide clarification, but in certain cases, they seem to even enlarge comprehension issues, rather than resolve them, or even produce inappropriate, dated, and potentially offensive solution; (6) Substitutions, which have generally been favored by the subtitler, at least over the use of loans,

have occasionally affected the overall tone of the programme, as various discrepancies seem to be operating between the original speech and the subtitles at the pragmatic level.

5.3 *Coming Out Colton*[3]

The analysis in this dissertation concerns the third episode of the series, titled *Friends,* in which Colton attempts to socialize within the new community (see Chapter 4 for the details of the series' plot). In this episode, he meets a group of gay men and a drag queen that all attend his coming-out-party. Naturally, while being initiated into the community, Colton is also introduced to gayspeak, as well as to one of its most playful variations, drag language. The programme's dialogue can be observed as a case of what Hayes (1976) calls *the social setting* of gayspeak. The social setting provides the ground for in-group slang, humor, sexual innuendos, and in-speech gender inversion. The features ascribed to the gayspeak of the social setting also pose as some of the prominent features of the drag language. Other features of the drag language also include some of the devices of verbal camp, such as irony, theatricality, emphasis on the femininity, and aestheticism (Crutzen, 2021: 14). Having observed the substance of queer terminology and gayspeak relating to this particular programme and episode, we can now turn our attention to the discussion of findings based on the analysis of Croatian subtitles for *Coming Out Colton* by DM143.

The only term of queer (self-) reference uttered in the episode is *gay,* which has been transferred in the TL as "gay," i.e., as a loan word imported in its original, foreign, orthographically unadapted form. Generally speaking, in Croatian language, the uses of "gay" and "gej" have both been attested, i.e., both forms coexist in the writing, as well as in the translation. In fact, it could be argued that the most readers/ viewers are very well accustomed to both forms to the extent that they would not observe "gay" as a foreign form, unless it was somehow marked, or italicized. Indeed, the foreign form of the term does not look overly peculiar when written as a singular noun in the nominative case. The reader/ viewer is, however, reminded of its foreign form and origin when the term is written in, e.g., plural form of the noun, or any noun case other than the nominative, or comparative and superlative forms of adjectives. There is one such

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[3] For a detailed analysis of the Croatian subtitles for *Coming Out Colton,* see *Appendix 3.*

situation in the analyzed episode, where "**The most gayest** shit we've done" is rendered as "Ovo je **najgay** stvar ikad" in the subtitles. This semi-foreign superlative form might appear as somewhat unnatural to the viewers of TC.

The analysis has shown that the subtitler of this programme is certainly less hesitant in the use of loan words in the translation, as opposed to Gjalski and her translation of the previously discussed documentary. Another example of a loan word used in the subtitles for *Coming Out Colton* is *drag*. TL does not have a unique verbalized form that conveys the sense of *drag*, thus the term is most frequently written and applied in translation as a loan word in its imported, foreign, unassimilated form. Drag culture is still rather young in the TC and therefore it uses a plethora of loan words and phrases when referring to some of the key concepts pertaining to this culture. In the subtitles for the series, the translator has also used the term *drag queen* as a loan. However, at one instance, they conveyed *drag queen* as a semi-loan phrase in the subtitles, whereby only *drag* is used as a loan and *queen* is substituted with TL's lexical equivalent, i.e., "drag kraljica." In TC, both forms of term are used interchangeably. The analysis has also illustrated that there are certain instances where *drag* is omitted in the translation. Sometimes this is due to the spatial and temporal limitations imposed on the practice of subtitling. However, at one instance, *drag* is omitted because, in the original speech, it is used as a phrasal verb *drag up* ("Somebody should drag you up one day"). In TL, *drag* can be easily transferred as loan when it is used as a noun or in a noun + noun phrase. The issues for the translators arise when *drag* is transposed to another part of speech in ST. One must then resort to a different translation strategy. In this case, the subtitler has omitted *drag* and explicitated the term in a way that, in back translation, it reads as [Somebody should dress you up as a woman].

From the pragmatic perspective, the elements of drag language have been faithfully conveyed in the translation. Considering that drag queens adopt female names and feminine personalities, and they overall emphasize their femininity through their physical appearance, (linguistic) behavior, and lexical choices, it is not only appropriate, but even desired and required to treat drag queens as women when addressing them and referring to them, both in real-life situations and in translation. Furthermore, when translating the speech of a drag queen, one has to remember to use an appropriate grammatical gender. These requirements have been met by the subtitler of this episode.

We will observe two more instances of loan words being used in the subtitles. One of them is a TL slang word denoting a type of (homo-/ hetero-) sexual practice, *fisting.* In the subtitles, the term is directly loaned, i.e., written in its original Anglophone form. The motivation prompting this strategy can be observed as twofold. Firstly, TL does not have a specific verbalized term denoting this particular sense of the SL term. Secondly, considering its sexual implications, the term can be observed as an instance of taboo. In translation, it is much simpler to use a loan word and thereby dismiss the term's taboo properties, at least simpler than having to explicitate the term. The second term is *Pride* which, like *gay, drag* and *fisting* earlier, is used as in its original, foreign, unassimilated form in the subtitles. Generally speaking, TL has its *own* term for *Pride* – "Povorka ponosa," which is, however, derived as a literal translation of the Anglophone *Pride parade.* Both variants of the term are used interchangeably among the speakers of TL. In writing, there is also a third option, "Prajd," an orthographical variant of *Pride*, i.e., an assimilated form of the loan *Pride.* The reason that this is being pinpointed is to note how DM143 has consistently opted for loans with foreign orthography. Although all listed loans are quite common and recognizable, the consistent use of their foreign forms risks producing an overly foreign-looking translation. In other words, the subtitles that contain this many foreign forms might be perceived as a product of foreignization of the translation, which risks producing an impression that the programme is discussing concepts that are SC-specific only, while these concepts, in reality, also exist in TC.

The analysis has, furthermore, illustrated that, in each programme, the term *coming out* has been transferred through a different translation solution in their respective subtitles. In this series, each instance of *coming out,* and its variants, have been conveyed as "izlazak iz ormara" [coming out of the closet]. The subtitler has thereby opted for the literal translation of the full form of the SL phrase. Although there are no *closets* explicitly mentioned in the original dialogues, DM143 has provided this additional information in their translation in order to eliminate any potential comprehension difficulties for the viewers of TC. This lengthier form that is provided in the subtitles does, however, seem somewhat peculiar from the pragmatic point of view at certain instances. For example, "proslava izlaska iz ormara" [coming-out-of-the-closet-party] seems somewhat cryptic and unnatural, and definitely too formal from the perspective of TL, or at least less casual and spontaneous than the original soundtrack.

Finally, it should be noted that certain other aspects of gayspeak have been rendered considerably faithfully in the subtitles, namely the practice of in-speech gender inversion. For example, when one of the men attending Colton's coming-out-party addresses another man as a girl ("You ready girl?"), *girl* is omitted in the subtitles due to spatiotemporal limitations, but the effect of gayspeak is compensated through the application of the feminine form of an adjective – "Jesi li spremna?" [Are you ready *f.*?].

To conclude the discussion on subtitles for *Coming Out Colton,* we will summarize the findings derived from the analysis and discussion: (1) Positive/ neutral term of queer (self-) reference is transferred via a loan word of foreign, unassimilated orthography; (2) The subtitler is not hesitant to use loan words and phrases, whereby they favor the original (foreign, unassimilated) forms of loans over their orthographically assimilated variants; (3) The insistence on foreign forms might be perceived as the foreignization of translation by the viewers of TC; (4) The translation respects the unique properties of drag language; (5) TL and TC do not have set phrases that denote certain queer-related concepts and actions, as opposed to the SL and SC, thus the subtitler resorts to the strategies of literal translation, explicitation through addition and generalization, substitution, omission (combined with other strategies), and loaning; (6) The insistence on loans and lengthy literal translations has occasionally affected the overall tone of the programme, whereby certain subtitles employ a higher degree of formality than is actually present in the original speech. Certain subtitles can thus not be said to equate with the properties of gayspeak from the pragmatic point of view.

6. Discussion

The previous chapter has presented the findings of the analyses of Croatian subtitles for three selected queer programmes. Chapter 5 has also attempted to reconstruct the process of translation of *coupled pairs,* i.e., corresponding segments of the ST and TT, and to situate particular translation solutions within the TC system. This allowed for a better understanding of the experience that the viewers using the Croatian subtitles might have, as well as for the understanding of how this experience might be different from that of viewers watching the programmes in their original language. The experience of a viewer using the subtitles depends on the strategies that a translator employs to transfer queer terminology and pragmatic features of gayspeak. However, a subtitler her/himself may be limited by a variety of external factors, one of them being the very nature of the subtitling practice that encompasses a number of technical constraints. Another possible limiting factor is the lexicon of a language that they are translating to, if that language is in lack of lexical items pertaining to a certain field, or if SL-TL lexical equivalents fail to cover the same semantic areas. After all, the very aims of this research have been to: (1) gauge the degree to which two cultural systems differ or coincide in their transfer of the queer terminology and language, i.e., to establish whether the items of the queer lexicon in the English and the Croatian languages cover similar semantic fields; (2) verify the strategies, and their motivation, used to transfer queer terminology from English to Croatian; (3) assess the extent to which produced translation solutions equate to the features of gayspeak from the pragmatic perspective.

The three separate sets of findings based on the conducted analyses, when observed collectively, allow us to reach certain conclusions. Overall, the sections of Chapter 5 have provided certain overlapping findings, which can thus be observed as patterns. Other findings seem to vary on a case-by-case basis. This does, however, not mean that such results should be dismissed. Their conflict, in fact, poses a pattern, as well. The rest of this chapter is dedicated to these patterns, i.e., to the discussion of the juxtaposed sets of findings derived from the separate analyses.

A first and most obvious finding that goes without saying but ought to be discussed is that there is a severe discrepancy operating between the queer lexicons of the Croatian and the English language. Croatian queer lexicon is rather poor, both regarding the amount and the quality of its

original content. Firstly, we can distinguish those queer-related terms that have made their way into the general lexicon of Croatian, such as "homoseksualnost" [homosexuality], "biseksualnost" [bisexuality], etc., which are the basic terms noting the categories of sexual orientation within the heterosexual – homosexual continuum. Etymologically, terms noting to sexual orientation stem from either Greek or Latin, or pose as the hybrids of these two languages. Most Indo-European languages that use the Latin script share these same terms. These terms, however, are commonly criticized for being clinical because of their insistence on the matter of sexuality that seems to exclude all other dimensions of the queer identity. This has naturally led to the activation of different, less technical terms in English, such as *gay* and *queer*. Croatian language, in itself, has not created any such positive/ neutral queer-related terms. Rather, all positive/ neutral terms of queer (self-) reference have been imported to Croatian from the English language as loan words. The loan word *gay* is commonly written in its orthographically assimilated form "gej," but it also frequently retains its foreign orthography (*gay*), i.e., both is foreign and assimilated forms coexist as orthographical variants in the Croatian language. Curiously, although most queer people tend to prefer the word "gej" over "homoseksualac," *Hrvatski jezični portal* [Croatian Language Portal] still labels this word as merely a slang word. The term *queer* (alternative spelling: "kvir") has also entered Croatian language as a loan word. Similarly to what was observed in the case of Anglophone societies, the term *queer* has also been somewhat appropriated in the Croatian academic contexts that explore the matters of sexuality and gender. However, the use of the term seems to be limited to these academic contexts and to the activities of Croatian queer collectives and activist groups. The term *queer,* owing to its foreign form and ring, is even further from acquiring the standard language status. What poses as quite problematic, regarding the translation of queer terminology in Croatian subtitles, is that certain translators do not seem to be aware of the load of the term "homoseksualac." Some translators seem to favor this translation solution because it sounds more domestic than *queer* or *gay*, therefore neglecting the terms that are actually preferred by the queer people themselves. Finally, not only is the term "homoseksualac" dated and loaded, but it is also rather impractical, seeing that it takes up too much space within the subtitle.

The only productive category of the Croatian language queer-related terminology is the category of pejorative terms. However, even in the category of pejorative terms, there is an imbalance pertaining to the amount of *queer* lexical items that can be quantified in the English and the

Croatian language. Croatian queer-related pejorative terms include "peder," derived from *pederasty,* which is a term used in reference to the pedophilia of Greek and Roman antiquity; "homić," a diminutive form of "homo," which is short for "homoseksualac"; "tetkica," a diminutive form of "tetka" [aunt], that portrays homosexuality (or effeminacy) as a matter of gender inversion; "peško," the origin of which remains ambiguous, although it is one of the most frequently used derogative terms. Other Croatian queer-related pejorative terms are mostly variants of the listed terms, e.g., "pederčina," "pederko," "peškić" (nouns), and "pederkast/ pederski," "peškast/ peškasti," "tetkast/ tetkasti" (adjectives). All these pejoratives are mostly treated as synonyms and thereby used interchangeably and arbitrarily.

This dissertation has, furthermore, observed various queer-related terms and phrases that either belong to the queer slang/ language, or that have made their way into the general English lexicon but are described in reference to the *queer.* Some of these terms and phrases include: *coming out, being out, closet-queen, to swing both ways, camping, cruising, chemsex, drag (queen), Pride,* etc. In the Croatian language, the listed terms and phrases are either imported as loans from English (e.g., *Pride, drag (queen), cruising*), or transferred through the strategy of literal translation (e.g., "Povorka ponosa" [Pride parade], "*drag* kraljica" [drag kraljica]. However, as this research has shown, Croatian language is lacking of such set (established, recognized, standardized) items of the queer lexicon. There have been certain endeavors that attempted to propound the ideas of the politically correct and standardized queer-related terminology; however, these endeavors are mostly limited to the actions of the Croatian LGBT-rights movement groups. In general, Croatian culture has proved to be rather slow, oftentimes even unwilling, in opening up to queer themes, and there has also been a general lack of interest in linguistic circles pertaining to the standardization of certain terms that are central to the expression of queer identity. The poorness of the Croatian lexicon naturally poses as an objective obstacle even for the most experienced and unprejudiced translators. Most of the queer terminology encountered in the ST has to be dealt with by the means of various translation strategies, seeing that such terminology is not verbalized, or at least not standardized in the TL and TC. Translation solutions for certain SL's set phrases, such as *coming out,* therefore vary on the case-by-case basis, i.e., they vary from one translation situation to another. In transferal of the queer terminology, subtitlers who translate programmes to Croatian most commonly opt for the strategies of substitution, explicitation (through addition or through generalization), literal

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translation, and loaning. Less commonly, subtitlers also employ the strategies of omission and lexical recreation. The translation solutions of a phrase, e.g., *coming out,* as based on our analyses, vary from a single word "iskoračiti" [step out] to lengthier forms "priznati da je tko gej" [admit that someone is gay] and "izaći iz ormara" [come out of the closet]. This means that if a viewer was to watch to watch these programmes using the Croatian subtitles, they would encounter three different translations of the same phrase. This illustrates that their experience of these programmes might be significantly different than the experience of a viewer who is watching the programmes in their original language. Furthermore, again observing the phrase of *coming out,* it cannot be said that its three different translation variants are incorrect, *per se,* but their forms can be judged to be more or less suitable from a pragmatic viewpoint. When observed within an entire subtitle, and contrasted to the original speech, "iskoračiti" occasionally seems rather cryptic and rigid. On the other hand, "izaći iz ormara" and "priznati da je tko gej" can be perceived as overly formulaic and lengthy. While trying to fit these lengthier solutions within the limited space of a subtitle, a translator sometimes has to reduce or omit some other parts of the original speech. What all of this ultimately encompasses it that, frequently, these translation solutions do not equate with the features of gayspeak from the pragmatic viewpoint. That is to say, they do not equate with the features that are considered to comprise the gayspeak of the English language, as there has been virtually no research into the matter of Croatian gayspeak.

Finally, it should be noted that, although there is a shortage of standardized terminology concerning various queer concepts in the Croatian language, these concepts nonetheless exist in the TC and are verbalized both within and outside the queer community. For instance, in Croatian, *coming out* is commonly phrased as "autanje" [outing], whereby "aut" is an orthographically assimilated loan imported from the English language [out]. As our analyses have shown, all three subtitlers have neglected the phrase which is actually used and preferred by the queer community, and have instead either opted for alternative phrases that are not used as frequently or attempted to map the sense of *coming out* to phrases that are otherwise not used in that context. One the other hand, the term "autanje," similarly to *queer* and *straight* (and their spelling variants in Croatian, "kvir" and "strejt," might have also been avoided because it is not a standard language term.

7. Conclusion

This dissertation has inquired into how queer terminology and language are conveyed in the Croatian subtitles for *Netflix*'s programmes. The practice of translation certainly requires some skill, as well as the vast knowledge, both of the cultures between which a translator mediates and of the subject matter of their translation task. However, regardless of their skill and knowledge, a translator still may encounter some limiting factors, one of them being the lexicon of a target language. Indeed, as this dissertation has portrayed, the queer lexicon of the Croatian language is rather poor, both regarding the quantity and the quality of its contents. Pejorative and offensive terms seem to pose as the only productive and *uniquely* Croatian aspect of queer-related terminology. It can, therefore, be concluded that there is a severe discrepancy operating between the queer lexicons of the Croatian and the English language. This discrepancy can be observed both with respect to the amount of quantifiable lexical items that comprise the queer lexicons of the two languages and to the semantic areas that are covered by these items.

Furthermore, it has been established that the only positive/ neutral terms of queer (self-) reference in the Croatian language are, in fact, loan words imported from the English language. Nevertheless, the standard language prescribers still favor the so-called clinical terms, such as "homoseksualac," which propound sexual orientation as the central identity marker. Unfortunately, (un)aware of their ideological load, some translators also seem to favor such terms, therefore neglecting those terms that are actually preferred by the queer community, and also neglecting one of the translators' tasks, that of language innovation and diversification.

However, the somewhat standardized queer lexicon of the Croatian language barely reaches beyond the terms of address. The lexicon is in lack of set, standardized phrases that would convey some of the most common themes of queer realities, such as *coming out.* This, naturally, poses an obstacle for a translator. Seeing that the target language does not have an established lexical equivalent that denotes a certain sense, a translator must find other means to bridge the gap. The analysis has shown that the subtitlers most commonly employ the strategies of explicitation (through addition or through generalization), literal translation, substitution, and loaning. The solutions derived from these strategies manage to convey the intended meanings of original phrases, however, they occasionally disrupt the pragmatic quality of the original speech. Although not semantically faulty, many translation solutions observed in the analyses do not

equate to the features of gayspeak from the pragmatic viewpoint. More precisely, they do not match the qualities that are typically ascribed to the gayspeak of the English language, considering that one cannot exactly discuss the properties of the Croatian gayspeak, as there has been virtually no research into this subject matter. Croatian culture has proved to be rather slow, oftentimes even unwilling, in opening up to queer themes. This is reflected both in the language and in the study of language. As it seems, in Croatian linguistic circles there has been a general lack of interest pertaining to the standardization of certain terms that are central to the expression of queer identity, as well as a lack of research interest in the topic of Croatian queer speech.

Finally, as the scope of this dissertation is limited and does not reach beyond these three samples of subtitled content, or beyond a single source of audiovisual content, its results and observations are not to be regarded as definitive. Further research into the subject matter is required to determine whether the patterns observed in this dissertation are applicable to the translation of queer terminology as a whole. This model of research is easily replicable to other studies within a similar context and scope. The model could, perhaps, be reapplied in the observation of the translation of queer terminology in Croatian subtitles for national television. Such an inquiry might be highly profitable from the point of view of research, seeing that national television may not abide by the anti-censorship policy that a global streaming service maintains.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: *The Boys in the Band,* Subtitle Analysis

Subtitler: Oleg Berić

Timecode	Speech	Translation	Translation strategy/ Back translation/ Comment
1:54:55	Yeah, it's called **Butch Assurance**.	To je **osiguranje muževnosti.**	The line is rendered in a considerably literal way. *Butch* is substituted with a standard language equivalent. [That is masculinity assurance.] In gayspeak, *butch* is used to denote "a woman or girl, especially one who is LGBTQ+, who embraces identity markers such as clothing, hairstyle, interests, or behaviors that are associated with traditional expressions of masculinity," (*Dictionary*, n.d.) or "a gay man who embraces identity markers that are associated with normative expressions of masculinity" (*ibid.*). In general slang, it is used to denote "any person who adopts a masculine appearance, manner, or persona" (*ibid*.). Etymologically, the term is described as a back-formation from *butcher.* This line covers the third, most general sense of the term, which does not have an equivalent in Croatian (gay) slang. It is thus commonly translated by means of a

			standard language equivalent, such as "muževnost" [masculinity].
1:54:00	God, if there's one thing I'm not ready for, it is five screaming **queens** singing "Happy Birthday."	Ako za nešto nisam spreman, (-) to je pet **peškića** koji pjevaju "Sretan rođendan".	The line is rendered in a considerably literal way. Queer terminology is substituted. In Anglophone cultures, *queen* is used a slang term that denotes "an effeminate male homosexual" (*The Free Dictionary*, n.d.). The term is commonly used pejoratively and thus deemed offensive and disparaging. However, the term has been reclaimed by the queer community – it is, therefore, "also used by homosexuals as a positive term of self-reference" (*ibid.*). "Peškić" is a diminutive form of "peško," a term that denotes a gay man, or an effeminate man of any sexual orientation. Both are typically used with disparaging intent and meant as insults. In the movie, the aspect of effeminacy is further amplified by the modifier *screaming* and the whole term is used as an element of self-mockery, uttered by Michael. In this context, "peškić" can be observed as an appropriate choice, considering the duality of connotations of the *queen* in Anglophone slang.
1:53:54	I mean, the same **old**	**Sve stare, umorne**	The line is rendered in a considerably literal way. Queer terminology is substituted [The

	tired fairies	tetkice	same old tired aunties...]
	you've seen around since day one.	koje odavno poznaješ.	*Fairy* is another slang term that denotes a homosexual man, especially an effeminate one. The term has similar usage and connotations as the term *queen*, discussed in the previous row. *Fairy* is used as a homophobic slur and it is considered offensive, however, it has been reclaimed by the gay community and it has thus acquired a more positive connotation. In the movie, this line is again uttered by Michael – the protagonist that makes abundant use of irony and self-deprecation in his rhetoric. Given that this line is meant to be ironic, especially considering how *fairy* has been modified by *old* and *tired*, it is suitable to convey its sense through the use of the TC's very common derogatory term in translation. "Tetkica" is a diminutive form of "tetka" [aunt] and a pejorative term for gay and/ or effeminate men.
1:53:38	Oh, I beg your pardon. There will be six tired, sceaming **fairy queens** and one	Bit će šest umornih **tetkastih peškića** i jedan anksiozni **peder**.	Queer terminology is substituted. *Fairy* and *queen* are substituted with the same terms as earlier. *Oh, I beg your pardon,* which can be observed as a case of *camp emphatics* (Harvey 1998), is omitted due to spatial and temporal limitations.

anxious **queer.**			The variety of connotations of the term *queer* has been discussed in Chapter 2. To recap shortly, the term has been historically used with disparaging intent, i.e., as a highly offensive term relating to non-conforming gender identities and non-heteronormative sexualities. However, this term has also been reclaimed by the members of the LGBTQ+ community who nowadays use it as a tool of self-identification and self-representation. The load of the connotation – positive versus negative – of the term *queer* thus heavily relies on the context in which it is used. *Queer* does not have a direct translation equivalent in Croatian that can convey its layered cultural meaning. Many Croatian queer collectives have thus adopted the Anglophone term *queer* as a tool of self-identification/ representation. Sometimes it is written in its original form, which does not conform to the norms of Croatian orthography, and occasionally it is written in an adapted form "kvir." "Peder" is the most frequently used homophobic slur in Croatian. Although its overall cultural history and impact come nowhere close to those of the *queer*, it is oftentimes used as the latter's equivalent, mostly due to the dual nature of its usage – homophobes use it as a derogatory term,

			while many members of the queer community use it as a tool of self-representation. The connotative sense thus heavily depends on the context in which the term is used (*Zagreb Pride,* n.d.).
1:53:28	- Surgery? So early in the evening? - **Sunt.** **That's French with a cedilla.**	- Operacija? Tako rano navečer? - **Picko.** **To je francuski C, s kukicom.**	Literal translation. The use of French is one of the "verbal camp's most consistent devices in English […that] accomplishes a humorous nod to sophistication and cosmopolitanism." (Harvey 1998, 300). In our context, the translator attempted to convey these same senses in Croatian.
1:53:17	My hair, without exaggeration, is clearly falling on the floor.	Moja kosa, bez pretjerivanja, naočigled ispada na pod.	Literal translation. This line serves as an example of theatricality, which is commonly recognized as a device of camp talk. Theatricality "refers to situations in which exaggerated comments or attitudes can be observed, and dramatization may take place" (Brezolin 2021, 34). This line also illustrates some of the verbal camp's common themes, the desire to remain youthful and preoccupation with one's physical appearance.

1:52:17	Oh, Christ. How sick analysts must get of hearing how Mommy and Daddy made their darlin' into a **fairy.**	Psihijatrima je sigurno već zlo od slušanja kako su mama i tata ljubimca pretvorili u **pedera**.	The line is rendered in a considerably literal way. *Oh, Christ* is omitted due to spatiotemporal limitations. Queer terminology is substituted. [Psychiatrists must already feel sick of hearing how Mommy and Daddy turned their darling into a fairy/ queer/ fag/ etc.] "Peder" was earlier used as the translation of *queer*, and here it serves as the translation of *fairy*. Considering that this is the most frequently used derogatory queer-related term in Croatian, it serves as the translation of a plethora of Anglophone homophobic slurs.
1:51:33 1:51:30	What is more boring than a **queen** doing a **Judy Garland imitation**? A **queen** doing a **Bette Davis imitation.**	Što je dosadnije od **pedera** koji imitira **Judy Garland**? Peder koji imitira **Bette Davis**.	Literal translation + substitution. "Peder" is here used as the translation of *queen*, and earlier it served as the translation of *queer* and *fairy*. Imitations of, and references to Hollywood heroines belong to the features of both gayspeak and camp talk. Hayes (1976/2006, 71) describes this notion as "acting within acting," stating that "Stars such as Mae West, Bette Davis, and Carmen Miranda are mimed along with some of their famous scenes or routines probably because they exaggerate the various stereotyped roles that women play in general society" (cited in Ranzato

			2012, 372-373).
1:50:30	(...) you're the type that gives **faggots** a bad name.	(...) ti si tip zbog kojega su **pederi** na lošem glasu.	The line is rendered in a considerably literal way. Queer terminology is substituted. "Peder" (so far, in the context of this movie and its subtitles) = *faggot, fairy, queen, queer.*
1:50:28	Oh, and you, Donald, you are the credit to the **homosexual.**	A ti si, Donalde, pravi uzor **homoseksualcima.**	Literal translation.
1:50:20	You're a reliable, hard-working, floor-scrubbing, bill-paying **fag** who dont owe nothing to nobody.	Pouzdan, radišan, marljiv, odgovoran **homić**, koji nikome ništa ne duguje.	This line is considerably reduced in the subtitles due to spatial and temporal limitations. Queer terminology is substituted. "Homić" is a diminutive form of "homo," which is short for "homoseksualac" [homosexual] and it is another derogatory term used to offend gay men in Croatian. It is commonly used for the translation of a variety of homophobic slurs. Unfortunately, it is oftentimes used for the translation of *gay* and *homosexual*, which are considered to be neutral or positive.

1:50:18	I'm a model **fairy**.	Uzoran sam **homić**.	In this context, "homić" is used for the translation of *fag* and *fairy*.
1:48:20	Backstage, *Funny Girl.*	*Funny Girl*, *backstage* ovdje.	*Funny Girl* and *backstage* are loans. Michael utters this line as he answers the phone, as a reference to *Funny Girl,* a Broadway musical, and the movie adaptation of the musical, which was released in 1968, the same year in which *The Boys in the Band* is set. As it was mentioned earlier, "acting within acting" is typically observed as a feature of both gayspeak and camp talk.
1:46:30	What I am going to do? He's **straight**.	Što da radim? On **nije gej.**	Queer terminology is explicitated. [What do I do? He's not gay.] *Straight* is a gay slang term for heterosexuals, which has no direct equivalent in the TL (gay) slang. Here, Berić explicitated the term: *straight – not gay.*
1:45:41	I didn't **come out** until I left collage.	**Priznao sam da sam gej** tek nakon faksa.	Queer terminology is explicitated. [I admitted I was gay only after college.] *To come out (of the closet)* is a phrase that denotes the action of someone revealing their "sexuality or gender identity after having

			kept this a secret" (*Collins Dictionary*, n.d.). The Croatian language does not have a conventionalized, set phrase that denotes the same action. Certain Croatian LGBT organizations have proposed several phrases to refer to this action in Croatian in a politically correct and respectful manner, however, the *official translation* has never been established. The translators thus opt for many different translation solutions when dealing with this phrase. In this case, the Berić explicitated the term through the addition of extra information.
1:44:57	Hi, **doll face**.	Hej, **ljepotane**.	[Hey, beautiful *m.*] This line is uttered by Emory, the *campiest* character in the movie. Considering that, throughout the movie, Emory is consistent in the use of inverted pronouns and in assigning female names to male characters, it is quite probable that here he wished to address Larry as a woman, i.e., as [beautiful *f.*].
1:43:14	I promise to sit with my legs spread apart and keep my voice in the deep register.	Obećavam da ću sjediti razmaknutih nogu i govoriti dubokim glasom.	Literally rendered. This line serves as an example of irony, a prominent device of camp talk. In this scene, Donald is making fun of the way that heterosexual men sit and how they talk.

1:42:54	Hello, darling. **Connie Casserole**. **Oh, Mary**, don't ask.	Zdravo, dragi. **Connie Složenac**. **Mary**, ne pitaj.	Literal translation + loan. "Složenac" is a TL equivalent of *casserole*. In this, and in many upcoming scenes, Emory is assigning female names both to himself and other male characters. There are two ways in which he does this – he either inverts his friends' names into female versions of their names, or he devises new names that are typically comprised of both a personal name and surname. In the *name + surname* formula, the surname usually arises as the result of a certain situation (in this scene, for example, he arrives at Michael's door, carrying a baked dish). The surname is then combined with a personal name that, when pronounced together with the surname, produces a wordplay, or a rhyme. In the subtitles, the translator decided to interpret *casserole*, in order to enlighten what is going on in the scene. However, no intervention has been made regarding the personal name (Connie). The wordplay based on alliteration has therefore been lost in the translation.
1:42:49	Who is this **exotic woman?**	Tko je ova **egzotična dama**?	Considerably literal translation. [Who is this exotic lady?] The *exotic woman* that Emory is referring to is Donald.
1:41:31	If he's the	Ako je to onaj	Omission + explicitation.

	one I met, **he's as straight as the yellow brick road.**	kojeg sam upoznao, **sigurno je gej.**	[If he's the one I met, he's definitely gay.] As was already stated, the TL does not have a direct equivalent for this sense of *straight*. Although the general idea of this utterance is truthfully conveyed in the subtitles, the humorous effect of this line has been completely eliminated.
1:40:25	I know damn well I **didn't come out** until after I graduated.	Znam da **nisam priznao** dok nisam diplomirao.	[I know I didn't admit it until I graduated.] This line and its translation serve to illustrate that the subtitler is consistent in paraphrasing *coming out* as *admitting*.
1:39:00	Anything for a **sis, Mary.**	Sve za **sestricu, Mary.**	Literal translation + loan. In the slang of Anglophone cultures, *Mary* is "a term used to refer to or address a gay man (sometimes used facetiously)" (*Dictionary,* n.d.). Although the term can be used maliciously, it is more commonly used to produce an inoffensive humorous effect. As a term of address, *Mary* has, in fact, been largely adopted by gay people themselves. There is, however, no cultural equivalent for this term in Croatia. In the translation, *Mary* is either omitted or transferred as it is (i.e., loaned).

1:38:55	No **camping**.	Bez **pretjerivanja**.	Explicitation. [No exaggeration.]
			The concept of *camp* does not have a direct lexical or cultural equivalent in the TL. When described as a type of style or sensibility, it is commonly written as the English loan word or, less frequently, it is adapted to Croatian orthographic norms as *kemp.* However, the issues arise in cases such as this one. *Camping,* or *to camp,* or *to act like a camp,* or *to be camp,* etc., can only be partially translated through the use of various translation procedures. Here, Berić has neutralized or perhaps reduced *camping* to mere *exaggeration.*
1:38:41	Oh, it's only another **queen**! And it ain't the red one either. It's the queen of spades.	Još jedna **kraljica**! A nije čak ni crvena. Pikova kraljica.	Literally rendered in translation. *Queen* is rendered in its primary sense, that of a female royalty ("kraljica"). Both in the original line and in the subtitles, the primary sense is further extended to that of the playing card. The original line takes the polysemy of the lexeme even further. As already discussed, *queen* is also a slang term denoting a gay man. In Croatian, on the other hand, "kraljica" is not connotative of this sense.
1:38:29	You're such a **fag**.	Baš si **homić.**	Literal translation + substitution.

1:34:39	Oh, my God, it's **Lily Law**.	To je **ruka zakona**.	Transposition. [It is the arm of the law.] In this line, Emory is referring to Alan. In the subtitles, gender inversion is omitted, as well as the wordplay based on alliteration. *Lily Law* is transposed as an *ungendered* representative of the legal system.
1:31:22	**She**'s never been on time in **her** li-	**Ona** nikad u životu nije...	Literal translation. [Never in her life has she…] In this line, Emory is referring to Harold. The strategy of gender inversion is faithfully conducted in the subtitles.
1:27:56	Because **she**'s a sick **lady**. That's why.	Jer je **luda cura**. Zato.	Considerably literal translation. [Because she's a crazy *f.* girl. That's why.] In this line, Emory is referring to Harold. The strategy of gender inversion is faithfully conducted in the subtitles.
1:25:53	He just... seems like such a goddamn little **pansy**.	On se... čini kao prokleti **pederko**.	Literal translation + substitution of queer terminology. Merriam-Webster (n.d.) describes *pansy* as "a term of abuse and disparagement" that notes or refers to "a weak or effeminate man or boy (or) a gay man." "Pederko" is a diminutive form of *peder*

			which was discussed earlier.
1:23:33	**She**'s the Harold's present for me and **she**'s early (...)	**Ona** je moj poklon Haroldu i **uranila** je (...)	Literal translation. [She's my gift for Harold and she's early *f.*] In this line, Emory is referring to Cowboy.
1:22:15	Sheer poetry, **Emmy.**	Čista poezija.	[Sheer poetry.] Gender inversion via reassignment of a personal name that is present in the original line has been omitted in the subtitles.
1:21:05	**Faggot! Fairy!**	**Pederčino! Tetkice!**	Substitution. "Pederčino" (vocative, "pederčina" – nominative) is the augmentative form of *peder*, perhaps the harshest variant of the term, and, altogether, one of the most malicious terms of abuse and disparagement aimed at a gay man. "Tetkice" (vocative, "tetkica" – nominative) can be back-translated as *auntie*. According to various online slang dictionaries, *auntie* is a US slang word denoting an aging male homosexual. The Croatian variant of the term is also more likely to be aimed at middle-aged homosexual or effeminate men, but it is

			not restricted to this age group.
1:20:41	Fucking **faggot! Faggot!**	Jebeni **pederu!**	Substitution + omission.
1:18:20	Happy birthday, **Hallie**.	Sretan rođendan, **Hallie.**	Literally rendered in the translation. In this line, Emory is addressing Harold with a woman's name. The strategy of gender inversion is faithfully conducted in the subtitles.
1:18:04	Who is **she**? Who was **she**? Who does **she** hope to be?	Tko je **ona**? Tko je bila **ona**? Što **ona** želi postati?	Literally rendered in the translation. In this line, Harold is referring to Alan. The strategy of gender inversion is faithfully conducted in the subtitles.
1:17:24	**Mary**, **she**'s goregous.	**Prekrasna** je.	[She's gorgeous *f.*] In this line, Harold is addressing Emory and referring to Harold. The vocative "Mary" is omitted in the subtitles, but the strategy of gender inversion is faithfully conducted.
1:17:22	**She** may be dumb, but	Možda je **glupa,** ali	Literally rendered in the translation. In this line, Emory is referring to Cowboy.

	she's all yours.	**tvoja** je.	
1:16:51	Here's a cold bottle of **Pouilly-Fuisse** I bought especially for you, kiddo.	Evo hladne boce **bijelog vina** koju sam kupio posebno za tebe.	Explicitation through generalization. [Here's a cold bottle of white wine I bought especially for you.] *Pouilly-Fuisse* is a specific type of white wine produced in, and named after the white wine region in the south of Burgundy, France. In the subtitles, the specific appellation has been replaced by a more general term, *white wine*. The general sense of the original line is conveyed in the translation – Michael bought a bottle of white wine for Harold. What is lost, on the other hand, is the feature of camp talk. As was already established, the English verbal camp is highly saturated with French words and phrases that humorously hint at sophistication and cosmopolitanism. This is why Michael has bought a bottle of *Pouilly-Fuisse* and not simply a bottle of white wine. If the translator wished to neutralize *Pouilly-Fuisse* in order to make the line more explicit to the audience of TC, they could have perhaps opted for *a bottle of Chardonnay,* which is neither too specific, nor too general, it is still French, and it is faithful, as *Pouilly-Fuisse* is produced specifically from

			Chardonnay grapes.
1:15:43	**Mary**, take me home. These **queens** are crazy.	Vodi me kući. Ovi **pederi** su ludi.	Substitution and omission of queer terminology. [Take me home. These queens* are crazy.] *As already noted, "peder" is used as a translation for the majority of queer-related derogatory terms, thus it can be back-translated as almost any Anglophone derogatory. The vocative *Mary* is omitted in the subtitles.
1:15:07	Beware the hostile **fag**.	Čuvaj se agresivnog **homića**.	Literal translation + substitution.
1:13:02	You know, **faggots** are worse than women about their age.	**Gejevi** su osjetljiviji na svoje godine od žena.	Substitution via a loan. [Gays are more sensitive about their age than women.] Although Michael has opted for a derogatory term to denote the community to which he belongs, the translator has selected a neutral/ positive TL term, which is somewhat unfaithful to Michael's character who often indulges in self-loathing.

1:11:21	Harriet **Hypocrite**, that's who you are.	**Harriet Licemjer,** to si ti.	[Harriet Hypocrite *m.,* that's who you are.] The general sense of the original line is faithfully conveyed, but the wordplay based on alliteration is lost. The line is uttered by Emory, who is consistently assigning the female names and pronouns to men. Especially considering that he used female name, *Harriet*, it is probable that there should be a grammatical gender concordance between the elements *Harriet* and *Hypocrite*. The translator could have perhaps opted for "Harriet Licemjerka" [Harriet Hypocrite *f.*] This can thus be observed both as a case of literal translation and omission.
1:10:39	- Oh, **Em**, it looks absolutely fabulous. - **I'd make somebody a good wife.**	- Em, izgleda odlično. **- Nekome bi bio dobra žena.**	[- Em, it looks amazing. - I'd make *m.* somebody a good wife.] In this exchange, Harold is addressing Emory as *Em*, for short. However, considering all the gender inversion and the reassignment of personal names, it is likely that Harold used *Em* as a female name, typically short for Emma or Emily. It is also likely that, especially after having been addressed as a woman, Emory, who is quite prone to using gender inversion in

			speech, would respond to Harold from a feminine point of view, i.e., it is quite likely that he would use a feminine verbal form. Another viable translation solution might thus be: "Nekome bih bila dobra žena." [I'd make *f.* somebody a good wife.]. This, again, can be observed as a case of both literal translation and omission.
1:09:57	Have a little *vin ordinaire* to wash down all that **depressed pasta.**	Uzmi malo **stolnog vina** da spereš tu tjesteninu.	[Have some table wine to wash down that pasta.] The use of French is again omitted in the subtitles and replaced with a more neutral form – "stolno vino" [table wine]. Moreover, in the subtitles, the *pasta* is not *depressed*, but it is simply *pasta*. Camp talk is thus entirely omitted in the translation of this line. However, the omission is perhaps necessary due to the limited spatiotemporal capacity of a subtitle.
1:07:39	Not all **faggots** bump themselves off at the end of the story.	Ne ubiju se svi **homići** na kraju priče.	Literal translation + substitution. [Not all faggots kill themselves at the end of the story.] The negative load of *faggot* is somewhat ameliorated in the subtitles, seeing that "homić" is a diminutive form (of a shortened form) of a more neutral term

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			"homoseksualac." Although "homić" is a derogatory term, its impact in the TL is not as harsh as that of *faggot* in the SL. In this scene, Michel is criticizing and ridiculing Harold and therefore deliberately using perhaps the most offensive queer slur. A more suitable translation solution might have thus been "peder," or its augmentative form "pederčina," as these terms are significantly more negative and offensive, and therefore closer to the intended effect of the original speech.
1:06:29	**She**'s 32 years young!	Ima 32 godine!	[∅ has 32 years!] In the subtitles, the line does not have a visible subject. The result is the complete absence of grammatical gender in the translated clause which, in the original, uses the strategy of gender inversion. The *young* element is omitted in the translation and, therefore, a camp feature is lost, as well.
1:01:12	Uh-oh, **Yvonne the Terrible** is back.	**Yvonne Užasna se vratila.**	Literal translation. [Yvonne the terrible is back *f.*] In this line, Emory is referring to Alan, whom he has assigned with the gender-inverted variant of the name of a historical figure – the first Russian tsar Ivan the Terrible. The strategy of gender inversion is faithfully conducted in the subtitles. On the

			other hand, the translator has perhaps missed out on the historical reference. Berić opted for "Užasna," although there is a recognized/ official translation for *Ivan the Terrible* (Russian: *Ivan Grozny*) in Croatian – "Ivan Grozni."
00:56:30	Alan, Hank **swings both ways**... with a definite preference.	Alane, Hank **naginje u oba smjera**... uz jasnu preferenciju.	Literal translation. *To swing both ways* is an idiomatic expression that implies that somebody is sexually attracted to both women and men, i.e., they are bisexual. In Croatian, bisexuality is implied either through the use of the literal translation of an English phrase, such as in this case, or through the use of loosely established idioms that are founded on a similar basis as the English counterpart, such as "igrati za obje ekipe" [to play for both teams], or "igrati na obje strane" [to play for both sides].
00:48:34	**Phyllis Phallic.**	**Falusna Phyllis.**	Literally rendered in the subtitles. The strategy of gender inversion is faithfully conducted in the translation. In this case, Berić has also managed to convey the wordplay based on the alliteration.
00:48:07	Oh, **Mary**, it takes a **fairy** to make	Potreban je **homić** kako bi nastalo	[It takes a fag to make something pretty.] The vocative *Mary* is omitted in the subtitles. In the original line, *Mary* and *fairy* create a

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	something pretty.	nešto lijepo.	rhyme which, due to lexical differences, cannot be recovered in Croatian. Furthermore, the original line can also be observed as a play on the polysemy of the lexeme *fairy*. In this case, considering the ways the term has been previously used throughout the movie, a *fairy* is primarily a gay man. However, what is also implied is the general, primary sense of the lexeme – a mythical being that possesses magical powers and can make things happen.
00:43:50	I can do without your goddamn spit on my telephone, you **nellie coward!**	Mogu i bez tvoje pljuvačke na telefonu, **ženkasta kukavico**!	[I can do without your spit on the telephone, you girly coward.] *Nellie* (alternative spelling – *nelly*) is a slang term that denotes an effeminate man, typically an effeminate homosexual, with disparaging intent.
00:43:48	I may be **nellie**, but I'm no coward.	Možda sam **ženskast,** ali nisam kukavica!	[I may be girly, but I'm no coward.] The translator here opted for the first sense of *nellie*, that of an effeminate man (whose sexuality is not disclosed).
00:42:48	You're a falling-down-drunk-	Napio si se kao zemlja.	[You're drunk as earth.]; a TL's informal idiomatic expression suggesting that someone is very drunk, similar to the English

	nellie-queen.		*as drunk as skunk* or *as drunk as a lord.* The general meaning of the line is conveyed in the subtitles – Emory has gotten very drunk. The translation of the line, however, has significantly reduced original speech and omitted queer terminology, as well as the elements of gayspeak.
00:38:44	Go ahead, **Hankola**. Tell him all about it.	Hajde. Sve mu ispričaj.	[Come on. Tell him everything.] In this line, Hank is assigned a female name which is omitted in the subtitles.
00:35:19	Aw, Larry, everybody knows you're **Frieda Fickle.**	Larry, svi znaju da si **Prevrtljiva Frieda.**	Literally rendered in the subtitles. The strategy of gender inversion is faithfully conducted in the translation, with the loss of the wordplay based on alliteration.
00:34:47	Why would anybody want to go to bed with a flaming little **sissy** like you?	Zašto bi netko spavao s takvom **pičkicom** kao što si ti?	[Why would anybody want to sleep with the pussy like you?] *Sissy* is a derogatory term that notes or refers to "a soft, <u>timid</u>, or <u>oversensitive</u> person, or a boy or man viewed as being <u>overly</u> interested in things traditionally associated with women" (*Oxford Languages,* n.d.). In the subtitles, this sense was rendered by "pičkica" (substitution [pussy or little cunt]),

			a highly offensive, even taboo term, used exclusively in the informal register. Despite the term being misogynistic and highly impolite, its cultural connotations are perhaps the closest to those of *sissy*, especially considering the context in which the characters are verbally fighting.
00:26:23	I'm surprised you didn't say **"sodomite"** or **"pederast."**	Čudim se da nisi rekao **"sodomit"** ili **"pederast".**	Literally rendered in the subtitles. *Pederast* is a man engaged in *pederasty,* which is defined as "the sexual relationship between an adult man and a pubescent or adolescent boy" (Ross 2020). Nowadays, this type of behavior is regarded as pedophilia, which was largely practiced, accepted, and even celebrated among the Ancient Greeks and Romans. The term *pederasty* is thus primarily used in reference to the pedophilia of Greek and Roman antiquity. The Croatian's most frequent derogatory, "peder", has been derived from the *paiderastēs,* Greek for *pederast,* i.e., *a lover of boys.* Funnily enough, in the movie, Michael is making fun of Alan for using dated homophobic slurs, and he is surprised that Alan did not use something as dated as a *pederast,* and Croatian still uses "peder" as

			one of the most common pejoratives.
00:26:17	Have you ever heard the term **"closet-queen"**?	Jesi li ikad čuo za izraz **"ormaruša"**?	Substitution.
			[Have you ever heard the term "closeted person *f.*?"]
			In the English language, *closet-queen* is "a contemptuous term used to refer to a gay man who denies his sexual orientation to himself or keeps it hidden from others" (*Dictionary*, n.d.). The TL term "ormaruša" conveys the same sense and can thus be considered as the direct equivalent. Both *closet-queen* and "ormaruša" are pejorative terms used with disparaging intent.
			Croatian term is rather interesting from the morphological and semantic point of view. "Ormaruša" is the result of suffixation, whereby the suffix *–uša* is attached to the stem *ormar* [closet]. The suffix *–uša* is not a part of the Croatian standard language – rather, it is observed as the product of various jargons. The basic semantic quality of lexemes that are the result of this type of suffixation is pejorative. Although *–uša* is a feminine suffix, i.e., it is used in the process of word formation of feminine nouns, its jargonic productivity permits the expansion of its semantic field. Words ending in *–uša* can thus note or refer to a man (Čelić and Lewis 2012, online excerpt). "Ormaruša," for

			example, is a feminine noun, according to its grammatical gender, but it can be used in reference to a man.

Appendix 2: *Growing Up Gay*, Subtitle Analysis

Subtitler: Veronika Gjalski

Timecode	Speech	Translation	Translation strategy/ Back translation/ Comment
59:29	*I'm a lead singer of the band Years & Years, and an* **out gay man.**	*Pjevač sam grupe* Years & Years, i **otvoreno sam gej.**	Considerably literal translation. [I'm a singer of the group *Years & Years* I'm openly gay.] Being *out (LGBT)* is commonly phrased as *openly (LGBT)* in Croatian. *Gay* is a loan morphologically adapted to Croatian ("gej").
58:23 58:16	I personally have yet to meet **an LGBT person** that hasn't... been unschated by... **growing up LGBT**.	Osobno tek trebam upoznati **LGBT osobu** koja je... ostala neoštećena odrastajući kao **LGBT**.	Literally translation + loan. The same variant of the abbreviation *LGBT* is used both in the SL and the TL.
58:10	*I want to understand why*	*Želim shvatiti zašto je i kako*	The line was literally translated to Croatian, resulting in a somewhat

	and *what impact* **growing up gay** *has had on me.*	**gej odrastanje** *imalo utjecaja na mene.*	unnatural form "gej odrastanje." *Growing up* is transposed as a verbal noun "odrastanje." "Gej" is used as a noun modifier, similarly as it is used in collocations "gej parada" [gay parade], "gej aktivist" [gay activist], "gej populacija" [gay population]. This indicates that, in Croatian, "gej" is only used as a modifier of proper nouns. Verbal nouns are usually modified by a limited set of modifiers and this is done, most commonly, by means of adjective modifiers. A more natural-sounding translation is, for example, "odrastati kao gej," which can again be back-translated as, literally, *growing up gay*.
52:52	(...) actually I think maybe **growing up gay** in-in a **straight world**... um, has really affected me...	no, mislim da je to što sam **odrastao** **kao gej** u **heteroseksualnom svijetu**, zaista utjecalo na mene...	Literal translation + substitution with a standard language form. For *growing up gay*, see the explanation provided in the previous row. Here, Gjalski opted for the more natural-sounding solution. *Straight*, as noted in the previous table, is a gay slang term for heterosexuals, which has no direct equivalent in Croatian (gay) slang, thus it is commonly substituted with

			a standard language form, as "heteroseksualno" [heterosexual], or "hetero" for short. The slang word is hereby replaced with a more formal, standardized form, resulting in a very formal-sounding translation.
42:30 42:28	*Whilst we've both grown up **queer**,* *George has only recently had the courage* *to come out* (...)	*Istovremeno smo oboje odrastali **gej**,* *a George je tek nedavno* *smogla hrabrosti **iskoračiti** (...)*	Substitution via a loan. [While we've both grown up gay.] Here, *queer* is translated as *gay*, as *queer* does not have a specific lexical/ cultural equivalent in Croatian. However, the use of *queer* as a loan has also been attested in Croatian, both in its original and orthographically assimilated form – "kvir." *To come out* is substituted by "iskoračiti" [to step out]. This dissertation will reveal that there are multiple translation solutions for *coming out* – however, this is perhaps the only instance in which someone opted for "iskoračiti." This strategy can thus be observed as a case of lexical recreation, or perhaps as an addition of a new semantic

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			sense of the verb "iskoračiti," seeing that this verb already exists in the TL, but is not commonly used in this sense.
			The motivation pertaining to this solution is clear and quite similar to that of an English phrase – *coming out of the closet* ≈ stepping out of the closet (*stepping out of the closet* is another available metaphor that denotes the same phenomenon in English, however, it is significantly less common than the *coming out* variant).
39:44	I feel like it's a really brave thing **to come out** as young as you did.	Mislim da je stvarno hrabro **iskoračiti** u tako mladoj dobi.	This line and its translation serve to illustrate that Gjalski is consistent in translating all forms of *coming out* as "iskoračiti" [to step out]. During the movie, this phrase is uttered a few more times and each instance is interpreted as a variant of "iskoračiti." As noted in the previous comment, the pairing of this term and this sense (*coming out*) has not otherwise been attested in the TL. Although Croatian does not have one unique and standardized phrase that covers the sense of the term, *coming out* is still both *done* and discussed in the TC. In TL, *coming out* is most

			commonly phrased as "autanje" [outing], wherby "aut" is an orthographically assimilated loan imported from the English language [out]. Here, Gjalski neglects the phrase that is actually used within the queer community (and increasingly recognized even outside the community) and employs an untypical translation that frequently disrupts the narrative of the documentary on the pragmatic level.
37:48	(...) *including 45 percent of **trans peoples**,* *will have attempted* *to take their own life.*	(...) *uključujući 45 posto **transrodnih ljudi**,* *pokušat će si oduzeti život.*	[including 45 percent of transgender people...] In Anglophone societies, it is a common practice to use *trans*, a short form of the term *transgender*, especially in more informal settings. This form is also available and frequently used in Croatian but, here, the translator decided to explicitate the term by using its full form "transrodni" [transgender].
36:05	(...) just because they've **come out** as **transgender, bisexual, lesbian,**	(…) samo zato što su **iskoračila** kao **transseksualci, biseksualci, lezbijke,**	Although she has correctly used the term "transrodni" [transgender *pl. m.*] only a few subtitles earlier, Gjalski here opted for "transseksualci" [transsexual *pl. m.*]. *Merriam-Webster* (n.d.), for instance,

	gay.	**gejevi.**	warns that *transsexual* is a dated term, which some may find offensive, considering that sex and gender represent two separate categories (biological vs. social). The speakers often mistake the two by mixing them up or by treating them as synonyms. Such misuses occur both among English and Croatian speakers.
34:59	(...) and having places where young **queer people** can meet each other and share stories (...)	(…) i mjesta gdje se mladi **homoseksualni ljudi** mogu sastajati i dijeliti priče (...)	Earlier, *queer* was translated as *gay*, and, here, *queer people* is substituted with a standard language form *homosexual people*, despite the fact that the very term *queer* is also a viable term in TL, considering that it is frequently used by the members of the community, and also considering the target audience for this type of content. The term *homosexual* is too formal and clinical and thus unfit for this context. The term *queer* is uttered by multiple speakers at multiple instances throughout the movie, and each instance is substituted with *homosexual* or via a loan *gay*.
31:24	School was horrible.	U školi je bilo grozno. Ako nekome kažeš da	As discussed in detail in the previous table, "peder" is the most common

	You tell someone a **faggot** that straightaway, is like using the N-word (...)	je **peder**, to kao da kažeš prostu riječ (...)	homophobic slur in TC. "Peder" thus serves as the substitution for a plethora of derogatory queer-related terms (*fag, fairy, sissy, poof, pansy,* etc).
31:00	The whole **culture of cruising**, it-it felt so...	Cijela ta **kultura kruženja** bila je...	Lexical recreation based on a calque. In terms of gay slang, *cruising* is defined as "walking or driving about certain areas, called cruising grounds, looking for a sexual partner. These meetings are usually one-off, anonymous encounters" (*Birmingham LGBT* 2020). This sense of the term emerged in the 1960s, as "a way for people who knew its meaning to arrange sexual meetings" (*ibid.*). In Croatian, these *cruising grounds* are called "štajge" (Sorel 2014). However, as the very concept of cruising is now becoming somewhat dated (partly due to the emergence of online dating sites), the term "štajge" has become relatively obsolete. On the other hand, Croatian does not have a lexical equivalent that would denote the act or the culture of cruising for sex. *Cruising*

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			is thus commonly used as a loan word, written in italics. However, Gjalski here opted for "kruženje" [circulation/ orbiting], the use of which is otherwise not attested in TL and TC. This solution may be observed as a lexical recreation that is based on *what would be* a calque for *culture of cruising*.
30:13	Yeah, I slipped into typical **gay drugs.** I began with MDMA. And then, um, meeting one person, they helped me into what the **gay community** called **"slamming".**	Da, navukao sam se na tipične **gej droge.** Počeo sam s MDMA-om. I onda upoznaš nekoga i on ti pomogne s onim, što se u **gej zajednici** zove **"pucanje".**	*Slamming* is the term "used to describe the action of injecting drugs in a recreational setting, typically in relation to gay and bisexual men" (Page 2018). In Croatian, there are no direct equivalents that would convey this sense. The translator substituted it with "pucanje" [shooting]. In the following line, Sean explains the meaning of *slamming*, and accordingly, "pucanje" is explained in the subtitles.
19:59	*I'm putting on the night* *with East End **drag** **royalty**, Jonny Wu.*	Priređujem večer s **drag plemstvom** East Enda, Jonnyjem Wuom.	[drag nobility] *Drag*, as in, *drag queen, drag culture, drag show,* etc., does not have a lexical equivalent in the TL, therefore it is most commonly transposed as a loan word in

			translation.
18:23	"I'm supposed to stay clear of **queer company.**"	Trebala bih se kloniti **homoseksualnog društva.**	[I'm supposed to stay away from homosexual company.] As discussed, Gjalski switches between *gay* and *homosexual* when translating the term *queer*. For this reason, certain lines, i.e., their translations, such as the translation of this line, seem somewhat unnatural in TL.
13:14	And they told me to stop **being gay**, and to stop **behaving gay**. That I was a **poof** or a **fag**.	Govorili su da prestanem **biti gej,** da se prestanem **ponašati kao gej.** Da sam **peško** ili **homić.**	"Peško" is a term that denotes a gay man, or an effeminate man of any sexual orientation, usually used as a pejorative. As already noted, it is used less frequently than the term "peder." "Homić" is a diminutive form of "homo," short for "homoseksualac" [homosexual *m*.]. "Peder," "peško," and "homić" are used interchangeably, and oftentimes randomly, as substitutions for the majority of SC queer-related slurs.
6:10	*A recent report by Imperial College claims* *someone dies every*	*Nedavno izvješće Imperial Collegea tvrdi* *da svakih 12 dana u*	*Chemsex drug G* is transferred to Croatian as a loan, however, there are multiple issues with this solution. Firstly, the use of the term "kemseks" is otherwise not attested

	12 days in London, *just from the* **chemsex drug G.**	*Londonu netko umre* *samo zbog* **kemseks** **droge G.**	in Croatian. Gjalski probably selected this option because the term is used in Slovenian and thus used it as it is used in Slovenian, i.e., as a loan. *Chemsex* denotes "sexual activity, mostly between men, while under the influence of drugs" (*ChangeGrowLive.org,* n.d.). Chemsex drugs include stimulants and sedatives. *Drug G* (also known as *gina, geebs,* and *liquid ecstasy*) is short for two types of sedatives – gammahydroxybutyrate (GHB) and gammabutyrolactone (GBL). Because of their sedative properties, sexual assaulters commonly use them to drug their victims. For this reason, GHB and GBL also go by names *drug rape* and *date rape*. In Croatian, they are commonly referred to as "droge za silovanje" [rape drugs], and "klupske droge" [club drugs/ party drugs]. Both these options seem like more appropriate translation choices, as the audience of the TC is most likely familiar with these terms, unlike the one that the subtitler opted for.

4:49	(…)	koji organizira ekipa Sink the Pink,	*Queer* is yet again substituted with a loan "gej" [gay], i.e., *queer collective* is turned to *gay collective*.
	organized by the Sink the Pink crew,	koji su **gej kolektiv.**	Considering that many Croatian queer collectives label themselves as, literally, *queer collectives*
	who are **queer**, kind of **collective**.		("kolektivi" or "udruge," e.g., *queerANarchive, House of Flamingo*), the translation of this phrase is perhaps unnecessary.

Appendix 3: *Coming Out Colton*, Subtitle Analysis

Subtitler: DM143

Timecode	Speech	Translation	Translation/ Back translation/ Comment
30:40	You do something wrong, or you bend over, or something was bad, it was "**gay**."	Čim napraviš nešto pogrešno, sagneš se, kad nešto ne valja, svi su su govorili da je to **gay**.	"Gay," here, is used as a loan word and it is not morphologically adapted to Croatian. As observed in the previous analyses, the loan *gay* is firmly established in the TL. It has become a part of everyday language and it is recognized by virtually all speakers of the TL. The frequent use of the term has naturally led to the assimilation of its form so that it complies with the orthographic, morphologic, and phonetic norms of the TL. Seeing that the TL has its own variant of the word ("gej"), it is not clear why the translator has opted for the foreign form of the word. Through the use of a foreign form, the translator is linguistically foreignizing a concept that is most certainly not foreign to the members of TC.
30:00	(…) and I knew that	(...) i da znam da se zbijaju	Substitution of *gay jokes* with "homofobne šale" [homophobic

	there were **gay jokes** going around, would you **come out**?	**homofobne šale**. Biste li vi **izašli iz ormara**?	jokes]. Literal translation + addition. [would you come out of the closet?]
27:35	Since **I've come out**, I think what I'm realizing is (...)	Otkad sam **izašao iz ormara**, shvaćam da (...)	Literal translation + addition. [Since I've come out of the closet, I'm realizing that (…)]
25:20	Dude, let's have a **coming-out party** in Nashville.	Treba ti **proslava izlaska iz ormara** u Nashvilleu.	[You should have a coming-out-of-the-closet-party in Nashville.] This and the previously highlighted lines and their respective translations serve to illustrate that the subtitler is consistent in translating *coming out* as "izlazak iz ormara" [coming out of closet], although the *closet* is not explicitly used in the original. With the addition of extra information, the translator has attempted to eliminate any potential comprehension problems for the viewers of TC. Although the

			majority of TL speakers are familiar with the meaning of the calque "izlazak iz ormara," this solution seems rather formulaic and rigid, especially when observed from the pragmatic viewpoint. Similarly to Gjalski and her subtitles for *Growing Up Gay,* DM143 has also neglected the TL phrases that are actually used within and outside the queer community to denote the concept of *coming out,* such as "autanje" [outing].
23:46

23:44 | (...)

I've had so many heavy conversations about being **gay**,

and now I can just be **gay**

and enjoy the moment (...) | (...)

nakon svih ti*****

razgovora o tome kako sam **gay**,

konačno mogu biti **gay**

i uživati u trenutku (...) | The asterisk marks a typographical error.

This line and its translation serve to illustrate that the translator is consistent in using *gay* in its SL form. |
| 21:30 | (...)

just now **coming out** | A baš zato što je tek **izašao iz ormara**, | Literal translation + addition.

[And because he has just come out of closet…] |

21:28	and being this **baby gay**, figuring everything out for the first time.	on je poput **bebe** koja sve otkriva po prvi puta.	Omission. [… he is like a baby discovering everything for the first time.] The omission of *gay* results in the loss of somewhat humorous effect.
20:18	I'd been in a **sex store** before, prior to this. I had a hat and then sunglasses on, and I'd sneak around and look at some of the **gay stuff**.	Bio sam ranije u **sex shopu**, u šeširu i sunčanim naočalama, šuljao sam se i gledao **gay police**.	[I'd been in a sex shop before, with a hat and sunglasses on, sneaking around and looking at the gay shelves.] In the subtitles, *sex store* is substituted with another Anglophone term, i.e., a loan – *sex shop*. This loan phrase is commonly used to denote that kind of store in TL and TC.
20:01	I mean, you're ready for **Pride**.	Spreman si za **Pride**.	Here, the subtitler opted for a loan (*Pride*), although TL has its *own* term for the same concept – "Povorka ponosa." However, the TL's *own* term is basically a literal translation for *Pride parade*. Both variants are, however, interchangeably used in the TC.
18:09	...but if you wanna	Ako želiš izbjeći	[If you want to prevent sexually transmitted diseases, stick with the

	make sure you don't get an **STD**... you just stick with your trusty **VixSkin**.	**spolno prenosive bolesti**, drži se dobrog starog **vibratora**.	good old vibrator.] *STD* is explicated, i.e., spelled out in its full form "spolno prenosive bolesti," [sexually transmitted diseases]. The translation thus departs from the casual atmosphere of the conversation. Croatian variant of the abbreviation is "SPB," however, it is not used as commonly as *STD* is in English. The brand name is explicitated by a more general term, "vibrator" [vibrator], which, in itself, is a well-established loan.
16:21	- So you invited some **old souls** tonight? - He invited some **old holes** tonight.	- Pozvao si par **staromodnih**? - Pozvao je par **iskusnih** večeras.	[- You invited a couple of old souls/ old fashioned ones? - He invited a couple of experienced ones tonight.] The humorous sense of the dialogue exchange is preserved in the translation, however, the wordplay based on the near-homophones *souls-holes* is lost. The original exchange contains a prominent sexual innuendo, while the translation only subtly hints at someone being sexually

			experienced.
16:02	This is a good **friend** of ours from Nashville, Jaidynn Diore Fierce.	Ovo je naša dobra **prijateljica** iz Nashvillea, Jaidynn Diore Fierce!	Literal translation. [friend *f.*] Jaidynn Diore Fierce is a drag queen. Drag queens carry female names and adopt female personalities. It is thus appropriate to treat a drag queen as a woman in translation, as the subtitler of this episode did.
15:57	Thanks for joining our party.	Hvala što si **došla**.	Here, the speaker is addressing the drag queen. [Thank you for coming *f.*]
15:55	When you got a **drag queen** around, it is party time, okay?	Nema zabave bez **drag kraljica.**	[No party without the drag queens]. *Drag* is almost always transferred as a loan word in the TL. The translator opted for the *more Croatian* variant of the term, by substituting *queen* with the TL variant "kraljica." However, in the TC, *drag queen* and "drag kraljica" are both viable terms.
15:51	Somebody should **drag you up** one day.	Netko bi te trebao **obući u ženu.**	[Somebody should dress you up as a woman]. *Drag* is omitted in the subtitles. TL has no equivalent for *drag*. When *drag* is used as a noun, or in

			a noun + noun phrase (e.g., drag queen, drag show, drag culture), it is left untranslated, i.e., transferred as a loan word. However, the issues for the translators arise when *drag* is transposed to another part of speech. Translators then usually omit the *drag* element and attempt to explicitate the SL term.
15:48	What would my **drag name** be?	Kako bih se zvao?	[What would my name be?] *Drag* is omitted.
15:40	Yes, I'm so **excited.**	Jako sam **uzbuđena**.	[I'm so excited *f.*] Uttered by Jaidynn Diore Fierce and literally translated.
14:21	I'm like a **teenager** in drag **queen years**.	**Tinejdžerka** sam u **drag queen** godinama.	[I'm a teenager *f.* in drag queen years.] Here, the translator opted for the Anglophone variant *drag queen*, and earlier they used a (semi) translated variant.
11:46	- **You ready, girl?** - I'm ready.	- Jesi li **spremna?** - Da, jesam.	[- Are you ready *f.* - Yes, I am.] One of the features of gayspeak, as well as of the camp talk, is the assignment of female names, pronouns, and other feminine gender-specific terms to men. The

			translator omitted *girl* in subtitles, however, the effect of gayspeak was compensated through the use of a feminine form of an adjective.
11:40	- The **most gayest shit** we've done. - You got **fisted** earlier, and you're like, "This is the **gayest thing** thing I've done."	- Ovo je **najgay stvar** ikad. **Fisting** od ranije - je je bio **manje gay.**	[- This is the gayest thing ever. - Fisting from earlier was less gay.] In the show, this is a very fast-paced dialogue exchange, and the translator had to reduce the dialogue significantly due to temporal constraints. Fisting, here, is a slang word denoting a type of (homo-/ hetero-) sexual practice. As TL does not have a word for this concept, it is transferred as a loan word in the subtitles.
3:49	I walked in, and he was just this **flamboyant gay guy**.	On je bio zbilja **feminiziran.**	[He was really effeminate.] *Flamboyant* has no direct equivalent in TL. On *Glosbe*, some of the translation solutions include "upadljiv" [showy, or conspicuous], "pretjeran" [excessive, or exaggerated], "ekscentričan" [eccentric], "razmetan" [prodigal, or flashy], "blistav" [sparkly, shiny,

			or radiant], etc. *Flamboyant + gay* were thus neutralized and generalized in translation to simply denote someone effeminate. The colorfulness and playfulness of the term *flamboyant* are thus omitted in the translation.