The Effect of the "Pirates of the Caribbean" on Pirate Terminology in Croatian Translations

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Contents

Abstract

The paper examines the translation of the English word *pirate/piracy* into Croatian using the Croatian words *pirat(stvo)* and *gusar(stvo)*, more specifically it examines how the *Pirates of the Caribbean* film franchise caused a change from the previous translation norm in which *gusar(stvo)* was the single dominant word. The research focuses on written texts translated from English into Croatian, ranging from literary works of fiction to research and encyclopedic books related to the topic of piracy divided into two time periods: before the release of the film in 2003, and after the release. The results show that the works translated before 2003 used *gusar(stvo)* as the preferred translation of *pirate/piracy*, whereas *pirat(stvo)* became more frequent in Croatian translations after that period, suggesting that the franchise caused translation norms to change. Given that the two lexical items are not absolute synonyms and differ in meaning, whereby the word *pirat* is the actual formal equivalent of *pirate* and the word *gusar* is the formal equivalent of the English word *privateer*, the fact that the *gusar = pirate* pattern existed and continues to exist indicates that the translation of these lexical items – when it comes to literary works – abides primarily by informal equivalence.

Sažetak

Istraživanje se bavi prijevodom engleske riječi *pirate/piracy* na hrvatski jezik pomoću riječi *pirat(stvo)* i *gusar(stvo)*, tj. istražuje se na koji je način filmski serijal *Pirati s Kariba* izazvao odmak od prijašnje prijevodne norme u kojoj je dominirala riječ *gusar(stvo)*. Istraživanje se usredotočuje na pismene tekstove prevedene s engleskog na hrvatski, kako na književna djela beletristike, tako i znanstveno-enciklopedijske knjige koje se bave gusarskom tematikom, te ih dijeli na dva perioda: djela prevedena prije i nakon 2003., godine kada je serijal nastao. Rezultati istraživanja pokazuju da se *gusar(stvo)* koristi kao jedini prijevod leksičke jedinice *pirate/piracy* u hrvatskim prijevodima do izlaska franšize 2003., a riječ *pirat(stvo)* postaje frekventnija u prijevodima nakon tog razdoblja, iz čega se može zaključiti da su se zbog serijala promijenile prijevodne norme. Obzirom da ove leksičke jedinice nisu apsolutni sinonimi, već postoji razlika u njihovu značenju, što čini riječ *pirat* stvarnim formalnim ekvivalentom riječi *pirate*, a riječ *gusar* formalnim ekvivalentom engleske riječi *privateer*, činjenica da *gusar = pirate* obrazac uopće postoji sugerira da se prijevod ovih leksičkih jedinica – barem što se tiče prijevoda književnih djela – ponajprije vodi neformalnom ekvivalencijom.

Key words

pirat(stvo) / *gusar(stvo)*, translation, translation norms, equivalence

Ključne riječi

pirat(stvo) / *gusar(stvo)*, prijevod, prijevodne norme, ekvivalencija

1. Introduction

Translation in the narrow sense involves two different languages, and it is nowadays done by man or machine, or both (Pavlović 2015: 25). Translations from English into Croatian or vice versa are undoubtedly the most frequent types of translations done in Croatia today. The influence of English has grown and developed over the course of the 17th and 18th century, both the British and the American variants, since the interest in everything English culminated and a lot of loanwords began entering Croatian (Filipović 1986: 50), but its greatest impact has been witnessed only relatively recently, due to the popularity of the Anglo-American movies, music and media. Consequently, "over the last thirty years, the volume of translation from English into Croatian and from Croatian into English […] has grown substantially" (Veselica Majhut and Hlavac 2019: 9). This marks not only a contact between Croatian and English, but their respective cultures as well. Hence, it is pertinent to keep in mind that a translation is more than merely a text, it is a social and cultural artefact. In other words, it is not just that the differences between the source and the target culture influence solutions a translator may choose, but the translations themselves affect the development of systems within cultures and the relations between cultures (Pavlović 2015: 113). This paper focuses on the subtitling of the *Pirates of the Caribbean* franchise, both as a translation and a point of contact between cultures.

The franchise has thus far had five different installments, the first movie having been released in 2003, and the fifth (and – as of the writing of this paper – also the last) in 2017. The movies have been translated (dubbed or subtitled) to multiple languages, including Croatian (subtitled). There exist many different translations of each of the movies: for the cinema, DVDs and television (HRT, RTL, Fox Movies, etc.). Naturally, many of the same lexical items have

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been translated in a multitude of various ways. This comes as no surprise, given that languages of limited diffusion (such as Croatian) often lag behind major languages (such as English) in terms of the development of terminology in certain areas (Pavlović 2019: 19), not to mention the fact that translation depends on context and that translators opt for a solution they deem best in a specific situation (Pavlović 2015: 92). Thus, in the franchise, *the Flying Dutchman* has sometimes been translated as *Leteći Holandez*, sometimes as *Ukleti Holandez*, the translations for *Davy Jones' Locker* have ranged from *groblje (svih) poginulih na moru* and *(morsko) dno* to *Tamnica Davyja Jonesa* or *Sanduk Davyja Jones*. The name of the main protagonist, Jack Sparrow, has been translated as *Jack Vrabac* on Fox Movies, while most other translations have not changed the character's name. Nonetheless, one word has been translated consistently in virtually every medium: the word *pirate(s)* is translated as *pirat(i)* as opposed to *gusar(i)*, and the franchise is known in Croatian as *Pirati s Kariba*.

The paper examines the reason behind using the word *pirat(stvo)* more frequently in the translations of written texts from English into Croatian in the 21st century, notwithstanding the fact that *gusar(stvo)* used to be the preferred solution, as well as the frequency of the use of the two lexical items before and after the *Pirates of the Caribbean* film series was released. The reason why the paper focuses on *pirat(stvo)* and *gusar(stvo)* as opposed to any other lexical item is that the lexical item *pirate/piracy* – and thus its translation – was consistently and frequently used throughout the franchise, its salience evident from the series title, whereas any other lexical item was not nearly as frequent or significant within the context of the series.

2. Translation theory

In this section, we will introduce the key concepts and premises presented in translation theory that will be relevant to the analysis. Our analysis deals with translations from English into Croatian, whether of written texts or subtitles.

A question arises – is the word *pirate* a specificity of the Anglo-American (source) culture and, if that is the case, does this influence how one opts for a translation solution? Culturally specific references, as they are referred to by Veselica Majhut (2020) out of an array of different

terms[1], can be defined as source culture elements absent in the target culture, gaps which result either from the differences present in the extralinguistic reality or the fact that different languages have a different way of mapping the same extralinguistic reality (Veselica Majhut 2020: 22). Manifestly, the word *pirate* is not unique to the Anglo-American culture and can be expressed by a single lexeme in the Croatian culture. Still, a difference exists in linguistic coding – while a single word is dominant in English, in Croatian we have two contenders: *pirat* and *gusar*, as will be further elaborated below – in the section devoted to these words. The two Croatian words are not absolute synonyms, but the target language offers two solutions to the English word *pirate*, i.e. the same concept is classified differently in Croatian. This makes the word *pirate* a culturally specific reference in the narrow sense, as it points to nothing unique in the English understanding of the world, but most certainly differs with regard to connotations in the source and target culture, which is a feature of culturally specific references (ibid: 27). Indeed, pirates occupy a more prominent position in the early English colonial history, which is often used as the setting of most pirate novels and the *Pirates of the Caribbean* franchise. This is a note in history that Croatia simply does not have. Babić therefore suggests that the distinction in meaning between *gusar* and *pirat* was most likely influenced by English (2009: 148), given that this distinction mattered in the context of the colonial history that England was a part of. Additionally, if a target culture happens to be weaker than the source culture, then the source culture forms are more likely to appear in translations (Veselica Majhut 2020: 14), and subsequently the language, so it makes perfect sense that English exerts this sort of influence on Croatian language system and translations.

Regarding the cultural specificity of lexemes, Pavlović defines this problem as the case in which the concept expressed by a source language lexeme is completely unknown to the target culture audience (2015: 39), and the concept of piracy as criminal activity on the sea is well-known to the Croatian recipient. The problem of cultural specificity in translations, Pavlović adds, is expressed depending on how unknown the source culture is to the target culture (ibid), which again does not represent an issue as far as translating pirate novels and pirate movies from English into Croatian is concerned. However, simply because the audiences of the two cultures are both familiar with the concept of piracy, that does not necessarily mean that they perceive it in the same way. Russian philologist Alefirenko asks a similar question with regard

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[1] These are also known as cultural words, culture specific items, culturemes, culture-bound elements, etc., but we have decided to use the term used in Veselica Majhut (2020: 21) – *culturally specific references*.

to the perception of snow: do Americans and Eskimos see and feel snow in a different way simply because they categorize it differently within their respective lexical systems. Research has shown, Alefirenko claims, that they do indeed think about snow in a different way due to this linguistic classification, despite the fact they witness the same atmospheric event (Alefirenko 2012: 80). This claim is referred to as the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis, a theory that proposes that "since different languages have different concepts, speakers of different languages think, or interpret, the world differently" (Athanasopoulos 2023: 468). In his article about linguistic relativity, Athanasopoulos presents the misconceptions related to this theory, explaining that it is based entirely on empirical investigations of categorization (ibid: 471). When other elements of language are taken into consideration and tested, it becomes evident that "language does indeed seem to exert a measurable influence on our [human] thinking, directing, rather than permanently shaping, our attention to and experience of those aspects of reality that are readily encoded in it" (ibid: 475). Wilhelm von Humboldt, for example, believed that every language constitutes a specific perception of the world and that very few words have true equivalents in other languages, but also emphasized that human thought is only partially limited by one's first language (Raffaelli 2015: 135). A general consensus seems to be that some phrases are so deeply rooted in their source culture and so characteristic of it that they have no real equivalent in a target culture. And although we could say the same about pirates, that the Anglo-American and Croatian audiences think about them in a different way, nonetheless both see the same movie and the same scenes. Athanasopoulos emphasizes that the lexemes and categorization used have a role of directing, rather than determining, one's perception (Athanasopoulos 2023: 475). In our case, how the audience perceives pirates is largely directed by the plot of the movie anyway, not so much the lexical items utilized, seeing as the movies introduce the viewers to a Hollywood version of dashing heroes or malevolent villains, far from historically accurate. The concept of 'encyclopedic knowledge', knowledge of the word (or, more specifically, a different culture), which is of particular importance to translations, has become rather hazier in the modern, globalized world (Veselica Majhut 2020: 27) – an audience may be familiar with a large number of culturally specific references, even when they are unfamiliar with the language of the source material and lack 'encyclopedic knowledge'. Thus, if both audiences see the same characters on screen no matter what they are named – *pirati* or *gusari* – the differences in their 'encyclopedic knowledge' play a less prominent role. It can be argued that the case is different with pirate novels, as the audience has to use a bit more imagination even when descriptions and illustrations are provided.

In his book on linguoculturology, Alefirenko also writes about the problem of formal equivalence when addressing the interrelation of language and culture, as well as the concept of cross-cultural communication. He warns of a widespread misconception that the literal equivalent of a word from one's first language has the exact same meaning in a foreign language. As he explains, while these words may refer to the same concept, they are used in different contexts and they evoke different associations, which effectively means that no full formal equivalents actually exist (Alefirenko 2012: 77). This sentiment is shared by Ferdinand de Saussure, according to whom words carry not only meaning, but value as well, which is never truly equivalent between languages (Pavlović 2015: 33), and Eugene Nida, who states that, since there are no identical equivalents, it is up to the translator to find the closest possible equivalent (ibid: 46). The difference in value advocated by de Saussure is illustrated by the French word *mouton*, which can express the same meaning as the English word *sheep*, but not the same value, for English also has the word *mutton*, the meaning of which is expressed in French with the same word *mouton* (ibid: 33). This resembles – but does not equate to – the situation at hand, in which we have *pirat* and *gusar* that can both be translated as *pirate*, even though a difference in meaning and value exists. Meanwhile, Nida lists two different types of equivalence: formal and dynamic (Nida 1964: 159), wherein "formal equivalence focuses attention on the message itself, in both form and content" (ibid.) and the translator attempts to convey the message so that it corresponds as closely as possible to various elements in the source language, whereas dynamic equivalence is based upon the principle of equivalent effect, according to which "the relationship between receptor and message should be substantially the same as that which existed between the original receptors and the message" (ibid.). In essence, we may say that the first type advocates for literal translation, approximation to the original form and content, while the second type emphasizes naturalness of expression, the importance of value and aesthetic experience. The notion of equivalence is also addressed by Veselica Majhut and Hlavac, who point out two mutually exclusive approaches: one which claims that everything can be translated as "there are forms and features in all languages that can be considered equivalent to each other", and the other, according to which nothing can be translated since "the forms and features of languages are so different that they cannot be considered to be equivalent to each other" (2019: 28-29). The fact that we do indeed translate confirms that everything can be translated, but it is also noteworthy that target language items matching those of the source language are seldom of equal value.

The type of equivalence that relates to the problem of our research is one-to-several or several-to-one, exemplified by Veselica Majhut and Hlavac with entries '*sentence = rečenica and kazna*'; '*town* and *city* = *grad*' (2019: 29). In these examples, much like with the '*pirate = gusar* and *pirat*' pattern, one lexeme from the source language matches at least two lexemes in the target language, which is indicative of structural differences between the two languages involved. Mihić asserts that choosing "the right equivalent" for the source language word out of two virtual synonyms in a target language is one of the most difficult tasks in translation, since a wrong choice may completely alter the original meaning (Mihić 2009: 143). While we do not dismiss that careful consideration of a synonym matters in translation, there is a bit more nuance to the issue. Roman Jakobson, who also accepts that full equivalence between linguistic codes in two different languages does not exist, insists that translators replace messages expressed in one language by utilizing entire messages in another language, that they do not in fact merely substitute linguistic codes (Pavlović 2015: 44-45). Jakobson's thesis is further developed by John Catford, who recognizes formal correspondence and textual equivalence, the former term relating to an entire language system (*langue*), and the latter to its realization (*parole*), by which Catford stresses the fact that we do not in fact translate on a lexical, but textual level (ibid: 45). When we speak of equivalence in translation, we cannot simply point to a target language lexeme being 'equivalent' to a source language lexeme. What is crucial is that a translated text is regarded as equivalent to the source language text, and for this to be achieved grammar and vocabulary may change to suit the needs of the language of the target text. Another fact pointed out by Veselica Majhut is that the type and scope of equivalence registered in translations is determined by translation norms (2020: 14), which introduces yet another concept.

Translation norms, unwritten rules of translating that exist in a specific culture in a specific period, are divided by Gideon Toury into three groups: initial, preliminary and operational (Pavlović 2015: 128). Toury further divides operational norms, which refer to the translator's decisions during the process of translating, into matricial and textual-linguistic norms (ibid: 130). While matricial norms determine the macrostructure of the text, govern the location of target language material in the text and govern textual segmentation, textual-linguistic norms determine the microstructure of the text and govern the selection of target language material, such as lexical items (ibid). Our analysis concerns textual-linguistic norms, i.e. the translator

choosing which lexical item to use as an adequate equivalent for the source text form. Translation norms also determine what makes a translation good or acceptable – or rather, whether a translation is perceived as such (Pavlović 2015: 125). Pavlović compares translation norms to fashion as both are prone to change and what was once considered adequate and desirable may become undesirable, meaning that translators have to be aware of translation norms in the source and target culture so as to effectively communicate between them (ibid: 124-125). Essentially, that translation norms change over time is evident in part due to shifts in what is considered as equivalent in a target language to a form or phrase from a source language, a phenomenon that our analysis shall focus on. It is asserted in Veselica Majhut that translation norms also concern the types of texts and which specific texts are chosen to be translated, as well as the distribution of the text in question (2020: 15), all of which affects the translator's decisions in one way or another. As for which texts are chosen to be translated, this is most often not up to the translator, but to the person who commissioned a translation. The translator, we are reminded by Veselica Majhut and Hlavac, works from a translation brief, "instructions from the commissioner of the translation work about the anticipated recipients of the translation, for whom it is being prepared, and in some cases, the desired purpose of the translation for the TT [target text] audience" (2019: 27), and, as per Skopos theory, strategies chosen in a translation do not depend primarily on the source-text genre, but on the intended function (*skopos* = purpose, aim) of the translation (ibid: 32), which can be determined by the commissioner.

3. Aims and hypotheses

The aim of the research is to show that the word *pirat(stvo)* became more widespread in Croatian translations after the release of the *Pirates of the Caribbean* franchise, taking the place of the previously used word *gusar(stvo)*. In other words, we hypothesize that during and after the release of the franchise, the use of *pirat(stvo)* as the translation of *pirate/piracy* increased in Croatian translations (H1). The research does not propose that the word entered Croatian under the influence of the franchise, because – as we are about to see in the analysis – it had already existed in Croatian long before the films were made. Instead, we hypothesize that the word was popularized as a consequence of the success of the franchise (H2). We also hypothesize that the switch from *pirat* to *gusar* was possible because *pirat* began to denote a fictional stereotypical character of a raider at sea (previously referred to as *gusar*) because of

the franchise (H3). Finally, we hypothesize that the use of the words *gusar(stvo)* and *pirat(stvo)* in translated texts may not be indicative of the denotative meaning they convey (H4) given that the two words are used and perceived as synonyms by the Croatian speaker – despite the fact they differ in meaning. This hypothesis is a matter of synonymy and is crucial to our discussion about translation and equivalence.

4. Methodology

To test our hypotheses, we are going to analyze several works of fiction that relate to pirates and include piracy as an essential or notable part of the plot, i.e. their translations into Croatian. We will divide these works of fiction into those that were written and translated before the series was released, and those that were translated during the popularity of the franchise as well as the period after the last instalment was released. Before doing so, however, we will devote a section of the analysis to the lexical items *pirate*, *pirat* and *gusar*, whose meanings we will explore through an analysis of Croatian-English and English-Croatian dictionaries. This is a prerequisite to our understanding of how *pirate* is translated in different media and why translators opt for either of the two possible translations in Croatian. Furthermore, we will also examine possible explanations as to why the Croatian translations of the franchise use the lexical item *pirat* and not *gusar*.

Novels that were written and translated before the first *Pirates of the Caribbean* movie came to the theaters include: *Treasure Island* by R. L. Stevenson [TRI], *Peter Pan* by J. M. Barrie [PAN], *Captain Blood* by R. Sabatini [CB], *On Stranger Tides* by T. Powers [OST], and *The Cruise of the Dazzler* by J. London [CD][2]. As for the first three titles, we will look into multiple translations done before 2003 to compare if the lexical items used vary between different translations of the same source material. Novels, short stories and other works of literature translated from 2003 onwards include: *Pirates!* by R. Celia [PIR], *Howard Pyle's Book of Pirates* by H. Pyle [HPBP], *Pirate Latitudes* by M. Crichton [PL], *The Offshore Pirate* by F. S. Fitzgerald [OP], as well as *Queen of the Black Coast* and *Red Nails* by R. E. Howard [QBC and RN]. In addition, we will revisit the translations of *Treasure Island*, *Peter Pan* and *On Stranger Tides* to see if anything changed in the newly published editions. The reason why the translation of these three in particular will be analyzed for the period before and after 2003

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[2] The abbreviations proposed in square brackets will be used in citation for simplicity's sake.

is that *Treasure Island* and *Peter Pan* constitute the two most well-known and popular pirate novels of all time, while *On Stranger Tides* served as direct inspiration for the fourth instalment of the *Pirates of the Caribbean* series, as evident from the fact the fourth film was named after the novel. Lastly, the first four films were turned into books based entirely on the screenplay and then translated into Croatian. These books too will be of interest to our study, as well as two children pirate-themed encyclopedias translated from English into Croatian. Table 1 lists the Croatian translations/adaptations, years of their publication, people who translated/adapted the texts, and abbreviation codes for each text:

Table 1. Translations considered in the study

Period	Texts, years of publication, translators, and abbreviation codes
Translated before 2003 (source text available)	*Joe među gusarima: pustolovni roman iz Kalifornije* (1933) [Iso Velikanović] [JOE]; *Otok s blagom* (1953) [L. Držić] [OB1]; *Krvavi kapetan* (1966) [Dušan Puhalo, Slobodan Jovanović] [KK]; *Kapetan Blad* (1968) [R. Živanović] [KB]; *Otok s blagom* (1975) [Milivoj Telećan] [OB2]; *Petar Pan* (1995) [Marija Salečić] [PP1]; *Petar Pan* (1995) [Zdenka Drucalović] [PP2]; *Otok s blagom* (1998) [Drago Štajduhar] [OB3]; *Na čudnijim plimama* (2001) [Marko Fančović] [ČP]
Translated after 2003 (source text available)	*Gusarice* (2004) [Aleksandra Mihaljević] [GUS]; *Knjiga o piratima* (2005) [Hrvoje Topić] [KP]; *Piratske širine* (2011) [Damir Biličić] [PŠ]; *Nepoznate plime* (2011) [Marko Fančović] [NP]; *Kopneni gusar i druge priče* (2016) [Ana Levak Sabolović] [KGDP]; *Kraljica crne obale* (2018) [Milena Benini, Marko Fančović] [KCO]; *Petar Pan* (2018) [Zvonimir Bulaja] [PP3]; *Otok s blagom* (2021) [Rudi Aljinović] [OB4]
Translated after 2003 (source text unavailable)	*Piratologija: pomorski dnevnik kapetana Williama Lubbera generala-lovca na pirate, Boston, Massachussets* (2007) [Nebojša Buđanovac] [POL];

	Pirati s Kariba: Prokletstvo Crnog Bisera (2007) [Karla Bareta] [PK1];
	Pirat-o-pedija (2008) [Mane Galović] [POP];
	Pirati s Kariba: Mrtvačeva škrinja (2011) [Ines Weismann] [PK2];
	Pirati s Kariba: Na kraju svijeta (2011) [Karla Bareta] [PK3];
	Pirati s Kariba: Nepoznate plime (2011) [Mirta Jurilj] [PK4]

It should be made clear that not all the translations consulted necessarily represent the first time the book was translated by the said translator. For example, although we have consulted the 1995 translation of *Peter Pan* by Marija Salečić in this research, there are versions dating from 1980 that were also translated by Salečić. This is due to the same translations getting republished (and perhaps edited) over time. What matters for the purposes of this research is that both versions predate 2003, allowing us to rule out the influence of the franchise.

To determine how the lexical items *pirate/piracy* were translated, we first of all had to find out how many times they appear in the source text of each book analyzed and where they appear so as to cross-reference them with the translated text. The source material for TRI, PAN, CB, CD, HPBP, OP, QBC and RN is available online at www.gutenberg.org and, therefore, using electronic search we confirmed the exact number of times a lexical item was repeated for each source material. The words were then found in the translated texts and compared. Naturally, it would have been challenging to check every instance of a word in every translation. Thus, if the word appeared 20 times or less in the source material, all the instances were cross-checked in the translation, as was the case with JOE. If the word appeared between 20 and 50 times, then over half the words were checked, randomly dispersed across the text, as was the case with OB1. In case the word was repeated more than 50 times in a text, specific chapters where selected and consulted. For example, in PP1 and PP2 to determine how *pirate/piracy* was translated we checked chapters IV and V, in which Wendy, John and Michael first encounter Hook and his pirate crew, and chapter XII, which tells of the pirate attack. This was then followed by our skimming of the remaining chapters. The same criteria were applied for all the words relevant to our study: *pirate*, *privateer*, *buccaneer*, *marooner* and *corsair*. Some of these words, such as *privateer* and *corsair*, most often appeared less than 20 times in a text, which is why they were checked for all instances in the translation. For example, all mentions of *privateer* were checked in KK, but only specific mentions of *pirate*. Not all the

texts were found online however – OST, PIR and PL were checked using downloaded PDF versions of the novels. All the translations were consulted in printed form. Special methods were applied for OB2, OB3, KB and OB4. OB2 and OB4 are comic book adaptations of TRI. Seeing as they could not be compared with the source material (novel) to search for words, both were read in their entirety to determine what lexical items were used in the translation. As for OB3 and KB, these texts are either shortened translations, or translations of adaptations, as is explained in the analysis, and so required a different approach. After reading the first five chapters and skimming through the rest of OB3, enough information was gathered to draw conclusions of the lexical items used in this book. Chapters VII to XII were checked for KB, after which we skimmed over the rest of the novel. Checking only certain chapters and skimming through the others was also used to analyze POL, POP, PK1, PK2, PK3 and PK4.

5. Findings

Generally speaking, the findings support our first hypothesis, i.e., that there was an increase in the use of the word *pirat* after 2003. The details of this are available in Tables 2-4. Table 2 displays Croatian translations for the period before 2003, Table 3 for the years that followed since, and Table 4 shows translated texts for which we could not find the source material:

Table 2. Gusar *and* pirat *in Croatian translations 2003*

	gusar	**pirat**	**gusar + pirat**
JOE	X		
OB1	X		
KK	X		
KB	X		
OB2	X		
PP1	X		
PP2	X		
OB3	X		
ČP	X		

Table 3. Gusar *and* pirat *in Croatian translations after 2003 (where source material is available)*

	gusar	**pirat**	**gusar + pirat**
GUS	X		
KP			X
PŠ			X
NP	X*		
KGDP	X		
KCO		X	
PP3			X
OB4	X		

Table 4. Gusar *and* pirat *in Croatian translations after 2003 (where source material is not available)*

	gusar	**pirat**	**gusar + pirat**
POL			X
PK1		X	
POP			X
PK2			X
PK3		X	
PK4		X	

As seen in Table 2, before 2003, nine out of nine times the word *gusar* was used as the only translation of the word *pirate*, and of the words *buccaneer* and *privateer* if they appeared in a text. In contrast, after 2003, as shown in Table 3, that number drops to four out of eight times, and we may not even consider NP as it is just a republished translation from 2001. Interestingly, the word *pirat* was used only once as the sole translation of *pirate* in Table 3 (it technically appears in two stories, *Kraljica crne obale* and *Crveni klinovi*, but within the same collection of stories, KCO, translated by the same people at the same time, so it was counted as a single

occurrence). In the other three cases, both *pirat* and *gusar* are used with a varying degree of frequency: in KP the word *pirat* is the dominant lexical item, both are used equally as often in PŠ, while in PP3 the dominant lexical item is *gusar*. We may highlight PŠ and PP3 as exceptions to the mix of *gusar* and *pirat* we found in other translated texts. Indeed, both translations utilize both lexical items, but in PŠ the word *pirate* was translated solely as *pirat*, and *privateer* solely as *gusar*; whereas in PP3 the word *pirate* was consistently translated as *gusar*, and *pirat* was used as the translation of *buccaneer*. In the other texts, these lexical items are used synonymously – *gusar* and *pirat* often come in place of the same word *pirate*. If we exclude Table 4, this means that the *pirate* = *pirat* and *privateer* = *gusar* pattern was adhered to – with no exceptions – only in PŠ, i.e. this is the only text which respects the strict definitions as they are found in the specialized dictionaries. With regard to Table 4, our analysis suggests that only POP strayed from the *pirate* = *pirat* and *privateer* = *gusar* pattern, utilizing the Croatian lexical items interchangeably, and that the other translations use the lexical items consistently, but this is difficult to verify without access to the source material.

The disparity between the lexical items in Table 2 compared to those in Tables 3 and 4 is obvious and essentially confirms our main hypothesis, that the use of *pirat(stvo)* as the translation of *pirate/piracy* increased in Croatian translations during and after the release of the franchise. The results also imply that our second hypothesis was correct as well, that *pirat(stvo)* was popularized in Croatian at the beginning of the 21st century (which is further confirmed by the results of our analysis of Croatian-English dictionaries presented in section 5.2.), but it still does not prove that this happened as a result of the subtitling of the *Pirates of the Caribbean* franchise. Lastly, the results prove that the lexical item *pirat* began denoting fictional characters who had been referred to as *gusar* previously, but we will focus on this hypothesis (H3) at a later point in our discussion. Let us now turn our attention to the translation of the movie series in Croatian to try and understand why the translator opted to use *pirat* in the first place when it was obviously not frequent before 2003 (as shown in Table 2).

5.1. The significance of film titles and subtitling

Our thesis concerns not only monosemiotic texts, but polysemiotic as well. Monosemiotic texts consist exclusively of verbal elements, while polysemiotic texts include both verbal and nonverbal elements, as is the case with comics, websites and movies (Pavlović 2015: 30). A proper analysis of *gusar* and *pirat* in monosemiotic texts cannot be conducted without

examining the *Pirates of the Caribbean* film series – more specifically, the reason why the translators chose to translate them as *Pirati s Kariba* instead of *Gusari s Kariba*. So, let us start with the title of the franchise, since this is probably where the translator started from. Movie titles and their translation is explored by Augustyn Surdyk and Anna Urban in their article about film titles translated from English into Polish in the period 2007-2015. The authors immediately clarify that it is misleading to speak of it as translation, since "fidelity to the original seems hardly even a significant consideration, much less an aim of the film distributors who provide the titles", rather new titles are chosen "to suit the needs, demands and desires of their cinema public" (Surdyk and Urban 2016: 165). No matter which strategy is employed, domestication or foreignization, the intended purpose behind the decision is the same – they are meant to be marketable. In addition, the authors notice that the cultural hegemony of English affects translation solutions given that the audience already knows the original title in English and dissuades the distributors from changing it too much (ibid: 168). The power relations are different as far as 'translating' titles is concerned. Film distributors are more likely to have the final say, not the translator, and they are guided by commercial factors, not so much translation norms. This is not to dismiss the role of the translator, but to clarify that in film translation, like any other, the commissioner may give information about necessary adjustments to a translation (Veselica Majhut and Hlavac 2019: 27). It is impossible to say who made the decision to translate the first movie as *Pirati s Kariba: Prokletstvo Crnog Bisera*, but, what is certain is that once the first movie was translated and distributed as *Pirati*, not *Gusari*, it compelled the translators of any future sequels to use the word *pirat* in their translations, since it had to be distributed under the same title. It is not unprecedented for a translation of a movie title to cause change of translation norms. Veselica Majhut provides the example of the word *Halloween*, which used to be translated into Croatian as *Dan Svih svetih*, back when the holiday and its customs were unknown to the Croatian audience (2020: 34). Today it is often translated as *Noć vještica* and the Croatian recipient is now familiar with the holiday (ibid.). The reason *Noć vještica* emerged as an adequate translation in Croatian is that this is how the title of Carpenter's horror movie, *Halloween*, got translated by distributors (ibid.), proving what prominent role translations of movie titles may play.

Film title translation is not the only factor to be considered, as subtitling too may have played a role. The limited space often forces the translator to shorten the dialogue by as much as 30%, i.e. the text is not translated in its entirety (Pavlović 2015: 27). Subtitling leaves no

place for strategies such as footnotes and explanations of the difference between *gusar* and *pirat* to be added, something that can be used in books and other written texts (as we will see in our analysis). Also worth noting is that polysemiotic texts have "substantial additional context such as pictures, music, gesture and facial expressions, which not only augment the text but co-determine its function" (Veselica Majhut and Hlavac 2019: 33). The translator is aided by this additional context, as it does not warrant explanations or descriptions to be introduced to explain a concept which is presented to the audience on the big screen. Other than that, when watching a subtitled movie, the audience hears the text that was originally spoken by the actors. Researching the translation turn in cultural studies, Bassnett shares her thoughts on censorship in movie translations, claiming that "technical factors can be used as means of removing material deemed unacceptable" in subtitling and dubbing (1998: 136). Still, Bassnett adds: "subtitling, in contrast [to dubbing] makes a comparative perspective possible, as audiences are allowed to access both source and target systems" (ibid: 137), attesting that hearing the original text does matter, and not just in the case of censorship. Despite the fact *gusar* might have been a more frequent word than *pirat* before 2003, making it a better translation of the word *pirate* when translating for a Croatian audience, the audience will still be exposed to a very frequent repetition of the word *pirate* while watching the movie. This matters since the English word *pirate* is phonologically and orthographically close to the Croatian word *pirat*, unsurprising as they derive from the same word – *pirata* (Latin) or *peiratḗs* (Greek) – according to *Hrvatski jezični portal* (entry: *pìrāt*) and Online Etymology Dictionary (etymology of *pirate*). Therefore, a viewer of the subtitled film (assuming they have sufficient metalinguistic competence of both languages) may easily identify *pirat* and *pirate* as correspondents and presumed equivalents. This claim is supported by Filipović and his theory of how languages develop when they come into contact. On the phonological level, when languages come into contact – a contact that, Filipović argues, is based on bilingualism and biculturalism (Filipović 1986: 36-37) – speakers tend to equate the elements of their first language with those of a foreign language, to develop an interlingual identification that the monolingual speaker simply lacks (ibid: 40). This assumption of equivalence would not happen if the bilingual speaker were to read a translated book (or watch a dubbed movie) and never get exposed to the original text, and is thus unique to the phenomenon of subtitling.

5.2. The meaning and use of *pirate*, *pirat*, *gusar*

This subsection defines the main lexical items relevant to our analysis, starting with the English word *pirate* on the one side, as well as the Croatian words *pirat* and *gusar* on the other, since we still have to tackle H4. The aim here is to ascertain how these lexical items compare and whether they are of equivalent meaning and value, which will help us determine whether *pirat* and *gusar* are in fact used as synonyms by Croatian speakers. In order to achieve this, we are to look into the differences in meaning between the two Croatian words, examine if they compose a synonym pair, and take into consideration how they are used in everyday language.

Let us first of all examine what are the proposed formal equivalents of *pirate* as presented in Croatian-English dictionaries published in Croatia from 1991 until 2019. Regarding the words *piracy*, *pirate* and *piratical*, the eighteenth edition of Filipović's *Englesko-hrvatski rječnik* (1991: s.v. piracy; pirate; piratical) lists the following entries:

piracy ['paiərəsi] *s* 1. gusarstvo, pljačkanje, robljenje (na moru) 2. nedopušteno reproduciranje, tiskanje, štampanje (književnih djela); plagijat

pirate ['paiərit] *s* 1. gusar, pirat 2. gusarski brod 3. onaj koji reproducira, tiska, štampa književna djela bez autorova pristanka; plagijator

pirate ['paiərit] *vt/i* **I.** *vt* 1. izdavati, tiskati, štampati (književna djela) bez autorova odobrenja; plagijator 2. robiti, pljačkati, krasti **II.** *vi* gusariti | **~d edition** neautorizirano izdavanje književnog djela

piratical [pai'rætikl] *adj* (**~ly** *adv*) gusarski, razbojnički

The 1999 dictionary, *Veliki englesko-hrvatski rječnik* (1999: s.v. piracy; pirate; piratical), provides the following words and definitions:

piracy ['paiərəsi, *AE* 'pairəsi] *n* gusarstvo | **sky ~** otmica aviona; **literary ~** književna krađa; plagijat

pirate[1] ['paiərət, *AE* 'pair-] *n* gusar; gusarski brod; plagijator; kršitelj autorskih prava

pirate[2] [↑] *vt & vi* baviti se gusarstvom; tiskati (izdavati) knjige bez piščeve dozvole

piratical [pai'rætikl, *AE* -æd*i*-] *adj* piratski, gusarski

The 2017 English-Croatian dictionary, *Veliki englesko-hrvatski rječnik* (2017: s.v. piracy; pirate; piratical), contains the following translation solutions:

piracy ['paɪərəsɪ] *n* 1. *Br* gusarstvo 2. kazneno djelo (npr. pljačka ili otmica) počinjen na brodu ili zrakoplovu 3. nedopušteno korištenje patentom ili autorskim pravom zaštićenih materijala, ideja itd.

pirate[1] ['paɪərət] *n* 1. gusar, pirat 2. gusarski brod 3. onaj koji reproducira ili tiska književna djela bez autorova pristanka; plagijator, 4. osoba ili skupina ljudi koji ilegalno emitiraju

pirate[2] ['paɪərət] *vt* izdavati, tiskati (književna djela) bez autorova odobrenja **| ~d edition** neautorizirano izdavanje književnog djela

piratical [paɪ'rætɪkəl] *adj* [**~ly** *adv*] gusarski, piratski, razbojnički

And, finally, *Novi englesko-hrvatski rječnik* (2019: s.v. piracy; pirate; piratical), offers the following translations of *piracy*, *pirate* and *piratical*:

piracy /'paɪrəsi/ *n* 1 gusarenje, piratstvo 2 neovlašteno kopiranje zaštićenih sadržaja 3 ilegalno emitiranje radijskih/televizijskih programa

pirate[1] /'paɪrət/ *n* 1 gusar, pirat 2 gusarski brod 3 pirat, osoba koja neovlašteno kopira zaštićene sadržaje 4 *mod* piratski

pirate[2] /↑/ *vt* & *vi* 1 piratizirati, ilegalno kopirati zaštićene sadržaje 2 *arch* gusariti, baviti se gusarstvom 3 opljačkati, orobiti

piratical /paɪ'rætɪkl, *A* –'rædɪ-/ *adj* (**~ly** *adv*) piratski, gusarski

The dictionaries listed above were composed by different authors in different time periods and include different solutions. All of them include both words, *gusar* and *pirat*, as well as words deriving from them, whether they are adjectives, verbs or other nouns (*gusarski*, *gusariti*, *piratski*, *piratstvo*, etc.). There is a greater abundance of words relating to *gusar* in the older dictionaries than in the newer publications; in fact, each offers just one word stemming from *pirat* for the four words we looked up (*pirat* for *pirate* in the 1991 version, and *piratski* for *piratical* in the 1999 version). We might say that the 1991 and 1999 versions would encourage a translator to choose a word stemming from *gusar* if the translator was to consult them, but they nonetheless provide words stemming from *pirat* as well, allowing the translator to opt for either as adequate. In the 2017 and 2019 versions we can notice that the gap has narrowed and that the solutions relating to *gusar* and *pirat* are now virtually equivalent in number. This is particularly significant to our hypothesis that *pirat* became more popular after 2003 (H2).

On the other hand, the Croatian-English dictionary (*Hrvatsko-engleski rječnik* 1996: s.v. gusar; gusarenje; pirat) lists the following translations and additional information for *gusar* and *pirat*:

gusar *m* pirate; *hist* (*ovlašteni*) privateer; freebooter, sea-rover, filibuster, buccaneer, corsair / **gusarenje** *n* piracy; privateering / **gusariti** *vi* pirate, engage in piracy, scour the seas, privateer, freeboot / **gusarsk|i** *adj* piratical **| ~i brod** pirate (vessel); privateer(ing vessel); **~i plijen** prize; **~a povelja** letter of marque / **gusarstvo** *n* piracy, privateering, freebooting

pirat *m* (gusar) pirate

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English, too, as we can see, has more than one lexical item to describe a person who commits crimes at sea. The word *pirate* has several synonyms, and all of them are listed as potential equivalents of the word *gusar*. However, it is remarked that their use is not as neutral as the use of *pirate*. The annotation "*hist*" warns us that they are limited to historical references. Moreover, they are listed after the word *pirate*, indicating that they are utilized less frequently. As for the word *privateer*, the brackets add a description to it (*ovlašteni = commissioned*), which means that this is a type of a pirate, a state-sponsored one, making *privateer* a hyponym. Indeed, Encyclopedia Britannica lists *pirate* as the most general among the four words (*pirate*, *privateer*, *corsair* and *buccaneer*), with the other three words denoting a pirate of a certain type or one operating in a specific geographical area. This situation is reminiscent of Nida's concept of overlapping, according to which two or more lexemes share a part of their meaning yet diverge in some other regard (Raffaelli 2015: 117), but also of inclusion, by which the meaning of one lexeme is included in the meaning of another (ibid.). The meanings of *privateer*, *corsair* and *buccaneer* overlap in the sense that they describe a person who commits violence on sea, they just categorize it differently, but, arguably, all those meanings are included in the more general word *pirate* and can be explained with it (*privateer* = a state-sponsored pirate, *corsair* = a pirate in the Mediterranean, *buccaneer* = a pirate in the Caribbean).

Based on the consulted English-Croatian and Croatian-English dictionaries, we might conclude that *gusar* and *pirat* are synonyms expressing the same concept which is expressed by *pirate* in English. However, there are seldom examples of absolute synonyms in a language and they can only exist in a short time period before differences between them emerge (Raffaeli 2015: 201). Speakers also have sufficient linguistic competence to realize that words never completely overlap in their meanings and are not replaceable in all contexts (ibid: 199). Mihić, analyzing differences between synonyms and how these effect Croatian translations, claims that languages tend to dispose of absolute synonyms, either by creating a difference in style, or giving new meaning to one of the words in a pair (Mihić 2012: 140). As an example, Mihić provides the pair *gusar/pirat*, two words that Mihić claims used to be fully synonymous, but have since obtained different connotative meanings (ibid). It is debatable whether the two words were ever truly fully synonymous, as Mihić states, given that the existence of absolute synonyms is still an open question in linguistics and a difference between two words can always be found, whether in use or connotations (Tafra 2005: 221). Furthermore, some of the meanings

of a lexeme may disappear in one period and then reappear later (Raffaeli 2015: 204). Thus, let us now turn to the definitions of both words in monolingual learner's dictionaries to determine what the difference between them is and to assess which Croatian word, *gusar* or *pirat*, is more similar to the English word *pirate* based on denotative meaning:

> **gùsār** *im. m.* ⟨G gùsāra, V gùsāru/gùsāre; mn. N gùsāri, G gùsārā⟩ 1. *pov.* pripadnik skupine pomorskih ratnika koji su napadali i pljačkali brodove 2. pomorski pljačkaš; sin. (pirat)[3]
> 'a member of a band of sea warriors who raided and looted ships 2. a sea raider; syn. (pirat)' (translation: T.F.)

> **pìrat** *im. m.* ⟨G pìrata, V pìratu; mn. N pìrati, G pìrātā⟩ 1. v. gusar 2. *inform.* osoba koja neovlašteno umnožava računalne programe, kompaktne diskove i sl.[4]
> '1. cf. gusar 2. *inform.* a person who duplicates computer programs, compact discs, etc. without authorization' (translation: T.F.)

> **piracy** *noun* [U] UK /ˈpaɪ.rə.si/ US /ˈpaɪr.ə.si/ the act of attacking ships in order to steal from them; the act of illegally copying a computer program, music, a film, etc. and selling it[5]

> **pirate** *noun* [C] UK /ˈpaɪ.rət/ US /ˈpaɪr.ət/ a person who sails in a ship and attacks other ships in order to steal from them; a person who illegally copies music, films, computer programs, etc., and sells them[6]

According to Tafra, synonymy may be operationalized by consulting dictionaries: two words may be considered synonymous if they refer to one another in monolingual dictionaries and have the same definition, and if they are translated using the same words in translation dictionaries (2005: 219). Although Tafra's suggestion oversimplifies the problem, one that she tackles in great detail throughout the rest of her chapter devoted to synonymy, we do find that *gusar* and *pirat* are listed as synonyms in *Školski rječnik hrvatskoga jezika*, where the word *pirat* is explained as "v. gusar" ('cf. gusar'), not to mention that they are often referenced to one another in various translation dictionaries. However, the point is not to prove whether these words are truly synonymous or not, but to study their meanings and assess them as potential formal equivalents of the English word *pirate*. Since words of similar or identical meaning

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[3] https://rjecnik.hr/search.php?q=gusar
[4] https://rjecnik.hr/search/?strict=yes&q=pirat
[5] https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/piracy
[6] https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/pirate

often end up desynonymized in terminological systems, where there is a greater need for every concept to be lexicalized (Tafra 2005: 270), it is worth consulting a specialized dictionary of naval terms – *Hrvatsko pomorsko nazivlje* – to further clarify the difference:

piratstvo – DEFINICIJA: dolazak ili pokušaj ulaska na brod s namjerom pljačkanja ili drugih oblika kriminala uz uporabu sile pri provedbi takva čina; DOPUŠTENI NAZIV: *morsko razbojništvo*; NEPREPORUČENI NAZIV: *piraterija*; ENGLESKI: *piracy* (*Hrvatsko pomorsko nazivlje* 2015: 160)

'**piratstvo** – DEFINITION: the act of or an attempt to board a vessel with the intention to commit robbery or other forms of crime by using force in the execution of such an act; ALLOWED TERM: *morsko razbojništvo*; NON-RECOMMENDED TERM: *piraterija*; ENGLISH: *piracy*' (translation: T.F.)

gusarstvo – DEFINICIJA: nasilje na moru prema odobrenju jedne države; ENGLESKI: *corsairs*, *privateers* (ibid: 57)
'**gusarstvo** – DEFINITION: violence at sea authorized by a state; ENGLISH: *corsairs*, *privateers*' (translation: T.F.)

This distinction is also recognized by *Hrvatska enciklopedija*. In its article about pirates, *gusar* is referred to as a sea warrior commissioned by a belligerent government to attack vessels of commerce of a rival country. In turn, the words *pirat*, according to this encyclopedia, refers to sea warriors who committed robbery under arms of their own volition. Interestingly enough, the encyclopedia provides the word *korsari* – not *pirati* – as a synonym to *gusari*, given they have a common root – *cursarius* (Latin), much like the above-cited naval dictionary proposes *corsairs* and *privateers* as the English equivalents of *gusar*.

Having reviewed the words *pirat* and *gusar*, we can now turn to their differences. As far as their denotation is concerned, i.e. the relation between a lexeme and the object of the extralinguistic world it expresses (Raffaelli 2015: 80), *pirat* denotes a sea raider acting on their own, while *gusar* refers to a sea raider commissioned by a state. This is confirmed by Babić, who explores the differences between the two words in his article, but enumerates distinctions other than their denotative meaning. Regarding their stylistic value, Babić maintains that *gusar* is associated with a historical concept, while *pirat* is rather neutral (2009: 148). This claim is supported by Grabovac (2011: 464), who, in his article about the modern threat of piracy,

claims that today *gusarstvo* is only a historical term, which is why his article uses the words *pirat* and *piratstvo*. Another difference is that the word *gusar* entered Croatian around the 13th century and has thus been in use longer than *pirat*, which is a more recent loanword (Babić 2009: 149). Mihić also states that – in addition to exhibiting differences in style and frequency – another factor that may appear in pairs of synonyms is that one word may be regarded as domestic, and the other as borrowed (2012: 142), a dichotomy that is recognized by Raffaelli as well (2015: 211). Babić alludes to this difference too, suggesting that *gusar* is often confused as a 'more domestic' word than *pirat* even though both words were borrowed, a mistake that the author himself admits to having made before (Babić 2009: 148). All this is to say that two lexemes may be distinguished by the objective or affective difference in their meanings (Raffaelli 2015: 209). If we understand dictionary definitions as the denotative (objective) meaning of a lexeme, then subjective perception by a speaker would constitute connotative (affective) meaning (ibid: 84), which is relevant to our *pirat/gusar* dilemma. Let us present a complete list of differences between *gusar* and *pirat* as discussed up to this point:

1) *gusar* is a criminal operating on his own, *pirat* is a criminal sponsored by a state (their denotative meaning)

2) *gusar* is used to refer to a historical period, *pirat* is neutral in its use (their connotative meaning)

3) *gusar* was borrowed into Croatian before *pirat*, which is why *pirat* is sometimes confused as being 'more foreign' than *gusar* (their connotative meaning)

Based on their denotative meaning, we can say that *pirat* corresponds to *pirate* and *gusar* corresponds to *privateer*, as is indicated in the above-cited specialized naval dictionary. Why, then, do English-Croatian dictionaries propose *gusar* as the equivalent of *pirate* and enumerate *pirat* as a sort of a synonym to *gusar*? According to Mihić (2012: 140) and Babić (2009: 149), the word *gusar* used to be the Croatian translation for *pirate* (as also seen in Table 2 above), which would explain why the older dictionaries provide it as such, but even in the newer editions it has not been replaced by *pirat*, instead both are provided as equally adequate. Moreover, Babić (2009: 148) warns that these words are used as synonyms in the media and everyday communication (the period in question being 2009, when Babić's article was written), even though they are not interchangeable according to the definitions in standard and specialized language. In his paper on the theory of translation, Haas reminds the reader that what is transferred in translation is not words, but meanings, and he further elaborates:

"meanings […] are not objects or entities corresponding to expressions; they are the *uses* of expressions; they are the work expressions do" (Haas 1962: 212). To clarify his thoughts, Haas states: "Meaning (like skill) is an 'acquired property'. Whenever a word is being used significantly, another use is added to remembered uses of it; a present context joins the previous ones" (ibid: 213). The main point Haas makes is that the actual meaning of an expression is not what is listed in dictionaries or defined by experts, but what is denoted by speakers of a language, "the *uses* of expressions" as he describes it. Raffaelli explains that speakers often use two words that do not denote the same thing as synonymous and treat them as interchangeable since they are not aware of the differences in meaning between them, particularly with regard to specialized vocabulary (Raffaelli 2015: 204). The distinction between a state-sponsored sea raider and a privately operating one is less relevant today, given that state-sponsored piracy, or privateering, has been declared illegal as of 1856 with the signing of the Paris Declaration respecting Maritime Law (Grabovac 2011: 464). The practice of privateering belongs to history books and is officially banned in our time, which is most likely the reason why the actual use of *gusar* differs from the meaning defined in specialized dictionaries. This is not only the case in Croatian, but in English as well: "In casual conversation the words *pirate*, *buccaneer*, and *corsair* tend to be used more or less interchangeably. Some people, possibly to prove they paid attention in history class, also throw around *privateer*" (Encyclopedia Britannica). In essence, in everyday use, words *gusar*, *pirat* and *pirate* (and all other similar words) can all simply refer to the general concept of a criminal who attacks and plunders on seas, irrespective of other details relevant to their activity.

Consequently, the translations observed in Tables 2-4 and all the instances of *pirate* being conveyed as *gusar* are not 'wrong', even though they do not strictly abide by the denotative meaning of these lexical items as listed in dictionaries. Rather, the translated texts correspond to 'the *uses* of expressions' in a certain period.

To further complicate the issue, it seems that pre-2003 translations into Croatian from other languages were not completely devoid of the word *pirat*. Although we have not systematically studied the issue, let us refer to an illustrative example. Jules Verne's *Le tour du monde en quatre-vingts jours* (*Around the World in Eighty Days*) was translated into Croatian in 1969 by Petar Mardešić and it conveys the French word *pirate* as *pirat*. It should be noted, however, that the word appears only twice in both the original and the translated text – so it is not a

crucial point of the story. What is of particular interest is that the first time the word *pirat* is introduced in the Croatian text, it contains the following footnote:

> * Morski razbojnik, koji napada i pljačka brodove u svoju korist. Treba ga razlikovati od gusara, koji u ratu plijeni neprijateljske brodove uz pismenu povlasticu svoje države, da spriječi protivnički promet. – Prev. (Vernes 1969: 254)
>
> '* A sea raider who attacks and plunders vessels for his own benefit. He should be differentiated from a privateer [gusar], who attacks enemy ships during war under the commission of his own state so as to disrupt enemy traffic. – Translator.' (translation: T.F.)

This footnote does not exist in the source text, rather the translator felt the need to add one. The use of footnotes is a common strategy of dealing with culturally specific references and its many combinations were studied by Veselica Majhut (2020). One of such examples that was analyzed by Veselica Majhut is the translation of *three guineas* as *tri gvineje* in Croatian with an explanation added in a footnote. By preserving the exotic word, the translator preserves the color of a foreign culture, and the added footnote serves an educational role, i.e. it informs the reader of something that is not essential to the story itself (2020: 97). In a similar manner, Mardešić introduces information that is not crucial for understanding the story of the novel, rather information that makes clear his lexical choice – why he opted for *pirat* instead of *gusar*. It is safe to assume that Mardešić did not expect the Croatian audience to know the difference between the two words and hence explained it to them. The usage of *pirat*, evidently, was not entirely absent before 2003, but was very much uncommon, and we had to include a translation from French into Croatian to find even a single example of it.

5.3. Detailed analysis of the translated texts

Let us now turn to the details of each of the translated works in the order they were listed in Tables 2-4. We will start with *Treasure Island*, *Peter Pan* and *Captain Blood*, as these have multiple translations in the pre-2003 phase, and then move chronologically to the other books listed in Table 2. This will be followed by a discussion of texts in Tables 3 and 4.

5.3.1. Pre-2003 texts

Treasure Island was translated into Croatian in 1953, 1975, and 1998. The word *pirate(s)* is mentioned 23 times throughout the book, and the word *piracy* two times. The first translation (*Otok s blagom*, 1953) by L. Držić translates these words as *gusar(i)*, *gusarski* and *gusarstvo*, depending on the context. After confirming that 12 of 23 mentions of *pirate* were translated as

gusar(i), we concluded that this is the case with other 10 mentions too. The word *piracy* was checked both times; it is replaced by *gusarstvo* and *gusarski*. However, these are not the only uses of *gusar(i)(ski)* in the translated text. The words *buccaneer(s)* and *buccaneering* are used 32 times in the novel – more so than *pirate(s)/piracy* – and are translated exactly the same, as *gusar(i)*, which was confirmed for 17 mentions. The fact that both *pirate* and *buccaneer* were translated by a single lexical item does not undermine the translation in any regard, since these words were used interchangeably throughout the novel, as can be inferred from the following passage:

> 01 ST   We started, certainly; but in spite of the hot sun and the staring daylight, the <u>pirates</u> no longer ran separate and shouting through the wood, but kept side by side and spoke with bated breath. The terror of the dead <u>buccaneer</u> had fallen on their spirits. (TRI: chap. XXXI)

> 02 TT   Opet smo krenuli; no unatoč žarkom suncu i sjajnom danjem svijetlu <u>gusari</u> više nisu trčali pojedince, nisu više dovikivali kroza šumu, već su išli jedan uz drugog i šaptom su razgovarali. Strah pred mrtvim <u>gusarom</u> pritisnuo je njihove duše. (OB1: 192)

Long John Silver, Captain Flint, Black Dog and the crew that Silver commands are sometimes called pirates, sometimes buccaneers. The fact that their denotative and connotative meanings are the same, that they have identical cognitive and affective value, means that they constitute perfect synonyms (Raffaelli 2015: 208), at least within the context of the novel, implying that these lexical items were viewed as formal equivalent by the author of the text, which legitimizes the use of only one lexical item in the translation.

The 1975 translation by Milivoj Telećan is in fact a comic book adaptation of the novel. It too uses solely *gusar(i)* and *gusarski* to refer to Long John Silver and his pirate crew. We might consider the 1998 translation by Drago Štajduhar to be an adaptation as well. Although there are no notes in the Croatian version warning that it differs from the source text in any way, it is clear in comparison with the original novel (and with the 1953 translation) that passages and descriptions were left out or simply merged together:

> 03 ST   'And now, men,' said the captain, when all was sheeted home, 'has any one of you ever seen that land ahead?' 'I have, sir,' said Silver. 'I've watered there with a trader I was cook in.' 'The anchorage is on the south, behind an islet, I fancy?' asked the captain. 'Yes, sir; Skeleton Island they calls it. It were a main place for pirates once, and a hand we had on board knowed all their names for it. That hill to the nor'ard they calls the Fore-mast Hill; there are three hills in a row running south'ard—fore, main, and

mizzen, sir. But the main—that's the big un, with the cloud on it—they usually calls the Spy-glass, by reason of a lookout they kept when they was in the anchorage cleaning, for it's there they cleaned their ships, sir, asking your pardon.' 'I have a chart here,' says Captain Smollett. 'See if that's the place.' (TRI: chap. XII)

04 TT   'Ljudi', reče. 'Je li itko od vas već bio na ovom otoku?' 'Ja sam bio', javi se Long John Silver. 'Bio sam kuhar na brodu koji je nekoć pristao uz njega kako bi se opskrbio vodom. I', doda, osmjehujući se, 'najbolje mjesto za sidrenje se nalazi ispred južne obale.' (OB3: 62)

The conversation between Silver and the captain goes on longer than what is quoted in 03 ST, but the translated text conveys only the first two lines, while the third and the fourth line are merged into one shorter (as shown in 04 TT). Entire chapters are sometimes conveyed by Jim's inner monolog, narrating what has happened instead of showing us. Hence, OB3 counts only nineteen chapters of the original thirty-four. Perhaps Štajduhar translated an adaptation of the novel or was commissioned to produce a much shorter version of the original material. The shortened version of the text should be considered a translation with adaptation (Pavlović 2015: 27). This is the less likely of the two scenarios since there are no warnings in OB3 informing the reader that the book is an adaptation. All it says is that it was translated from English by Drago Štajduhar and that the work translated is *Treasure Island*. Regardless, the lexical items used in OB3 are in line with OB1 and OB2 – the translator employs *gusar(i)* and *gusarski*.

Peter Pan was translated by Marija Salečić and Zdenka Drucalović. Both of the books we consulted are from 1995. Unlike *Treasure Island*, *Peter Pan* is dominated by the word *pirate*, which appears 91 times in the novel, whereas *buccaneer* is used only once. In both translations *pirate(s)* is translated solely as *gusar(i)(ski)*, unless substituted by a pronoun. This was a commonly used translation strategy in most translations – replacing words with pronouns which referred to the aforementioned *gusar(i)*. The following are the passages that mention the words *pirate* and *buccaneer* in PAN, and the solutions in PP1 and PP2:

05 ST   John said 'How ripping,' but decided to have tea first. He asked if there were many pirates on the island just now, and Peter said he had never known so many. (PAN: chap. IV)

06 TT   John izjavi da je to izvrsno, ali ipak izabere najprije čaj. Zanimalo ga je ima li na otoku mnogo gusara, a Petar odvrati da ih nikad toliko nije bilo. (PP1: 47)

07 TT   John reče 'Fantastično', ali odluči da ipak prvo popije čaj. Raspitivao se ima li u ovom trenutku na otoku mnogo gusara, te mu Petar reče da ih nikad nije bilo više. (PP2: 43)

08 ST	I forget whether I have told you that there was a stave on the rock, driven into it by some <u>buccaneers</u> of long ago to mark the site of buried treasure. (PAN: chap. IX)
09 TT	Ne sjećam se jesam li vam već rekao da je na stijeni stajala jedna dužica od bačve, nju su tamo prije mnogo vremena zabili <u>gusari</u> da označe ležište skrivenog blaga. (PP1: 103)
10 TT	Ne znam jesam li vam rekao da je na Grebenu bila jedna dužica od bačve što su je <u>gusari</u> nekoć davno zabili u stijenu da označe mjesto gdje je skriveno blago. (PP2: 87)

It is unclear why *buccaneer* was used only once in the novel and in this specific sentence shown in 08 ST. The word denotes pirates who operated in the Caribbean (Encyclopedia Britannica), which makes little sense in the context of the novel, given that this rock where the buccaneers buried their treasure is located in Neverland. Perhaps the author decided to use a wider range of vocabulary so as not to come off as too repetitive, treating the two words as synonyms, as was the case in *Treasure Island*. But, the ratio is 91:1 in favor of the word *pirate*, so the single mention of *buccaneer* may be disregarded. Regardless, the translation strategy of hyponymy, which replaces a hyponym with a superordinate or vice versa (Veselica Majhut and Hlavac 2019: 43), was used by both Salečić and Drucalović. It is quite plausible that the translators used the hypernym *gusar* for stylistic reasons.

The next novel is *Captain Blood*, which was translated into Croatian twice: in 1966 and 1968. Aside from the words *pirate(s)/piracy* and *buccaneer(s)(ing)* (repeated 69/19 and 121 times respectively), the novel uses the words *privateer(ing)* (mentioned six times) and in a seemingly consistent way. It is implied from the context that characters introduced as privateers have permission from the state to engage in plundering of ships, and privateering is described as an official action "advocated by the courtly, middle-aged gentleman who in representing the French West India Company seemed to represent France herself" (CB: chap. XIII). The word *buccaneer* is first mentioned in CB when the protagonist visits Tortuga in chapter XII, which is consistent with the geographical definition of buccaneers – they are pirates who operate in the Caribbean. The word *pirate* is used in a general sense in CB, as a hypernym to the other two words, and it is introduced from chapter VII. The 1966 translation, titled *Krvavi kapetan*, was done by Dušan Puhalo and Slobodan Jovanović. As was the case in the previously consulted translated texts, *gusar(i)(ski)* and *gusarenje* were used as translations of *pirate* and *buccaneer*, unless they were replaced by a pronoun, while the word *privateer* was translated either as *gusar* or *gusarski brod*, and *privateering* as *gusarenje*:

11 ST   The stately ship that had been allowed to sail so leisurely into Carlisle Bay under her false colours was a Spanish <u>privateer</u>, coming to pay off some of the heavy debt piled up by the predaceous Brethren of the Coast, and the recent defeat by the Pride of Devon of two treasure galleons bound for Cadiz. (CB: chap. VIII)

12 TT   Veličanstveni brod, koji su pustili da pod lažnom zastavom tako bezbrižno uplovi u Carlisleov zaljev, bio je španjolski <u>gusarski brod</u>. On je dolazio da osveti teške dugove koja je imala na svom računu pljačkaška Obalska bratija[1]). Dolazio je, isto tako, da osveti nedavni poraz koji je 'Ponos Devona' nanio španjolskim galijama koje su nosile blago za Cadiz[2]). (KK: 88)

13 ST   Considering that Curacao now lay beyond their reach, as they were running short of water and provisions, and also that Pitt was hardly yet in case to undertake the navigation of the vessel, it had been decided that, going east of Hispaniola, and then sailing along its northern coast, they should make for Tortuga, that haven of the <u>buccaneers</u>, in which lawless port they had at least no danger of recapture to apprehend. (CB: chap. XII)

14 TT   Vjerujući da im je Curacao sada izvan dometa, jer su oskudjevali u vodi i namirnicama, a isto tako vjerujući da bi Pitt mogao preuzeti upravljanje brodom, odlučili su krenuti istočno od Hispaniole, a zatim ploviti duž njene sjeverne obale i tako stići u <u>gusarsku</u> luku Tortugu[1]); u toj luci izvan zakona nije im bar prijetila opasnost da ih ponovno uhvate. (KK: 134)

15 ST   Away went Don Francisco on his errand, leaving Captain Blood to reflect, between bitterness and satisfaction, that a reputation for as much chivalry as is consistent with <u>piracy</u> is not without its uses. (CB: chap. XVII)

16 TT   Don Francisco ode na put, ostavljajući kapetana Blooda da razmišlja – i s gorčinom i sa zadovoljstvom – kako nije nekorisno biti poznat po viteštvu u onoj mjeri u kojoj to odgovara <u>gusaru</u>. (KK: 190)

The 1968 translation by R. Živanović, titled *Kapetan Blad*, is actually a bilingual text with the English source material presented on the left side and the Croatian translation displayed on the right side of the book. The source text in the book differs from the online available version, as is obvious when we compare the first lines in chapter I of the online version and of the printed material:

16 ST   Peter Blood, bachelor of medicine and several other things besides, smoked a pipe and tended the geraniums boxed on the sill of his window above Water Lane in the town of

Bridgewater. Sternly disapproving eyes considered him from a window opposite, but went disregarded. Mr. Blood's attention was divided between his task and the stream of humanity in the narrow street below; a stream which poured for the second time that day towards Castle Field, where earlier in the afternoon Ferguson, the Duke's chaplain, had preached a sermon containing more treason than divinity. (CB: chap. I)

17 ST   On that July evening Peter Blood, bachelor of medicine, smoked a pipe and tended flowers which grew on the sill of his window. He watched the groups of people in the street. (KB: 6)

The printed material is by all accounts shorter, as is made evident from the fact it has eighteen chapters, whereas the online version has thirty-one. It is another adaptation, just like OB3, and yet again there are no indications or warnings in the book that the text was contracted. The only difference is that in this case we have the source material provided alongside the translated text, page to page, which enables an adequate comparison. The translation relies exclusively on the translations *gusar(i)(ski)* and *gusarenje*, much like the 1966 version:

18 ST   'Pirates!' cried the Colonel, 'Pirates!' (KB: 36)

19 TT   'Gusari!' vikne pukovnik. 'Gusari!' (ibid: 37)

20 ST   The large ship proved to be a Spanish privateer. (ibid: 36)

11 TT   Pokazalo se da je veliki brod pripadao španjolskim gusarima. (ibid: 37)

22 ST   Buccaneers of different nations found shelter on the island and formed the Great Brotherhood of the Coast. (ibid: 64)

23 TT   Gusari raznih narodnosti nalazili su utočište na ovom otoku I sačinjavali su Veliko obalsko bratstvo. (ibid: 65)

The main problem with this approach is if we were to apply backtranslation, a method proposed by Vladimir Ivir to check the equivalence of the semantic content of the source text and the translation, i.e. a source text element and its formal correspondent (Pavlović 2015: 52). Backtranslation of KK and KB, which use solely *gusar*, would result in an English text that uses solely *pirate*, which is in sharp contrast to the multitude of words that were frequently used in CB. Arguably, the stylistic effect produced by the original text – achieved by utilization of more diverse lexical items – has been undermined in the translation.

The situation remains unchanged for the Croatian translations of *The Cruise of the Dazzler* and *On Stranger Tides*. The translation of London's novel made by I. Velikanović, titled as *Joe među gusarima: pustolovni roman iz Kalifornije* in Croatian, makes it already clear from the

title which word was chosen by the translator. The novel does not talk of pirates in a traditional colonial setting, as opposed to other novels analyzed in our study, rather a group of criminals who commit robbery on the shore of California (San Francisco Bay Area) at the beginning of the 20th century. They are referred to as bay pirates or oyster pirates in the novel. The lexical item *pirate(s)(ing)* is mentioned 12 times and the adjective *piratical* once. The lexical items are translated as *gusar* (*bay pirates* = *zalivski gusari*, *gusari u zalivu*; *oyster pirates* = *ostrižji gusari*), *gusariti* (*bay-pirating* = *gusariti po zalivu*) or *gusarski* (= *piratical*) 12 out of 12 times:

24 ST   His companions were thieves and robbers – the bay <u>pirates</u>, of whose wild deeds he had heard vague tales. (CD: chap. X)

25 TT   Drugovi su mu tatovi i razbojnici – zalivski <u>gusari</u>, o čijim je divljim djelima slušao nejasne pripovijesti. (JOE: 64)

On Stranger Tides, translated by Marko Fančović (*Na čudnijim plimama*) in 2001, replaced its pirates with *gusar(i)* as well. The word *pirate(s)* is mentioned 224 times (*piracy* nine times) in the original text. As for the other words, *buccaneer(s)* appears seven times and *privateer(s)* five times, significantly less frequently than *pirate(s)*. In the novel, the word *privateer* is used consistently with its official meaning, i.e. it refers to a legal form of pirating, as seen from the following passage:

26 ST   'You see,' he went on, chewing, 'after the damned Utrecht Treaty left the <u>privateers</u> jobless, and ruined sailoring as a legal livelihood, and I turned <u>pirate</u>, I promised myself I'd never hang. (OST: chap. VIII)

27 TT   'Znaš' nastavio je žvačući, 'nakon što je prokleti Sporazum iz Utrechta ostavio <u>*privatere*</u> bez posla, i upropastio mornarsko zvanje kao zakonit način zarade za život, i ja sam postao <u>gusar</u>, obećao sam sebi da neću visjeti. (ČP: 90)

Moreover, OST, if compared to other pre-2003 texts, makes the clearest distinction between a buccaneer and a pirate. The word *buccaneer* is used in OST to denote a specific type of piracy that used to exist, but seemingly disappeared by the time in which the plot of the novel is set. The word emerges when the characters talk of the old "buccaneer days":

28 ST   […]; the <u>buccaneer</u> way of life had effectively ended a century ago when the Spaniards drove all such harmless beach-gypsies off their islands and onto the sea – and the Spaniards had soon regretted it, for the evicted <u>buccaneers</u> quickly became seagoing predators – but the islands were still there. (OST: chap. III)

29 TT   […]; <u>*bukanirski*</u> način života je konačno nestao prije jednog stoljeća kad su Španjolci otjerali sve takve bezopasne cigane s plaža i sa svojih otoka na more – a Španjolci su

> to uskoro zažalili, jer su istjerani *bukaniri* brzo postali pomorski grabežljivci – ali otoci su još bili tamo. (ČP: 46)

It is probably this distinction that encouraged Fančović not to translate all the lexical items simply as *gusar(i)*, as was the case in KK, but rather to think of his own neologisms: *bukanir* and *privater*. Employing a neologism is a strategy not often used in translations, one that a translator turns to when there is no adequate equivalent for a culturally specific reference (Pavlović 2015: 81). There are no guarantees that the readership will understand or accept the neologism (ibid.), which is probably why the first time Fančović introduces the word *bukanir*, he provides a footnote and an explanation that states:

[1] bukaniri – eng. buccaneers – avanturisti koji su tijekom druge polovice sedamnaestog stoljeća pljačkali španjolske kolonije i brodove duž američke obale (nap. prev.) (ibid.)
'[1] *bukaniri* – English *buccaneers* – adventurers who plundered Spanish colonies and ships along the American coast during the second half of the seventeenth century (translator's note)' (translation: T.F.)

The word *bukanir* may not have been invented by Fančović, as the entry exists in *Hrvatski obiteljski leksikon*[7] and *Hrvatski jezični portal*[8] and could have been around before 2001. It is just not in wide use, as it is absent from *Školski rječnik hrvatskoga jezika*. On the other hand, *privater* has not been recorded in any dictionary and produces no results in Croatian when googled, which suggests it is a true neologism. No explanation was provided for *privater*, probably because the context of the novel makes it clear that Blackbeard was once a privateer in service of the Crown, but is now a rogue captain, a pirate, which is a definition by and in itself. By translating the word *privateer* as *privater* and *buccaneer* as *bukanir(ski)*, instead of *gusar(ski)*, Fančović was able to convey the difference in sentences in which all three lexical items are used, as for example:

30 ST   The two of them had sailed together way back in the privateer days, and then again as pirates under the old buccaneer admiral Ben Hornigold, and Israel Hands dared to be far more familiar with Blackbeard than anyone else did. (OST: chap. XX)

31 TT   Njih su dvojica plovila skupa još davno u *privaterskim* danima, a onda opet kao gusari pod starim *bukanirskim* admiralom Benom Hornigoldom, i Israel Hands usuđivao se razgovarati prisnije s Crnobradim nego bilo tko drugi. (ČP: 188)

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[7] https://hol.lzmk.hr/clanak/bukanir
[8] https://hjp.znanje.hr/index.php?show=search

The analysis of seven translations and two adaptations into Croatian (of what are all in all five different novels) done by ten different translators (since KK gives credit to two translators) reveals that the words *gusar(i)(ski)* and *gusarenje* were used as translations not only for the words *pirate(s)* and *piracy*, but for *buccaneer(s)(ing)* and *privateer(s)(ing)* as well (with the exception of ČP, in which *bukanir* and *privater* were used). What is most important, *pirat* was not used at all, even though it is the actual formal equivalent of the word *pirate* based on denotative meaning, which again raises the question of equivalence. While the words *gusar* and *pirate* may not overlap in the strict definition of the two words, equivalence is determined by other factors, such as associative meaning and frequency of use (Pavlović 2015: 41), which is what made *gusar* an appropriate lexical solution, one that would produce a similar effect to the original *pirate* and express the same concept to the target culture readers. Incidentally, *gusar* has a longer tradition of being used in Croatian literature and there are more words that have derived from *gusar* (*gusarica, gusarina, gusarov, gusariti, gusarenje, gusarstvo, gusarski*, etc.) than *pirat* (*piratstvo, piratski, piratkinja, piratov*) (Babić 2009: 149), which might be why the translators preferred *gusar*. Other constraints involved in the transfer of texts may include the role an editor, a publisher, or patrons played, given that "a translation always takes place in a continuum, never in a void, and there are all kinds of textual and extratextual constraints upon the translator" (Bassnett 1998: 123). It is entirely possible that translation norms or translation briefs influenced the solutions the translators turned to.

5.3.2. Post-2003 texts

Chronologically, the first novel of the ones we took into consideration for this research to be translated after the release of the *Pirates of the Caribbean: The Curse of the Black Pearl* in 2003 is *Pirates!*, written by R. Celia. It was translated into Croatian by Aleksandra Mihaljević in 2004 and titled *Gusarice*. As is evident from the title of the translation, the translator opted for the word *gusar*, hence: *pirate(s)* became *gusar(i)(ce)*, *piratical* became *gusarski*, and *female sailors bold* was translated as *gusarice*. The word *pirate(s)* appears 167 times in PIR (*piracy* only once), the word *buccaneer(s)* eight times, whereas *privateer* and *corsair* appear one time each. An example sentence from chapter XIX and its translated counterpart are as follows:

32 ST   '<u>Pirates</u> coming! <u>Pirates</u>!' A little boy ran pell-mell into the village, yelling, followed by another. (PIR: chap. XIX)

33 TT   'Dolaze <u>gusari</u>! <u>Gusari</u>!' Neki je dječačić dotrčao u selo izbezumljeno vičući, a za njim još jedan. (GUS: 152)

The word *buccaneer* is used to describe past professions of certain characters in the novel and Mihaljević translated them as *gusar(i)* all eight times. The word *privateer* was used one time to denote the same character who had been referred to as *buccaneer* at other times, which was translated as follows:

34 ST   'A long time ago. They tell it about a <u>privateer</u>. A Brazilian, called Bartholomeo. (PIR: chap. XXI)

35 TT   Odavno. Pričaju o <u>vlasniku broda</u>. Brazilcu po imenu Bartholomeo. (GUS: 185)

The word *corsair* appears in the following sentence, expressing 'thief, scoundrel' in a different way:

36 ST   We accept money from anyone: kings and dukes, merchants and manufacturers, thieves and <u>corsairs</u>. (PIR: chap. XXIII)

37 TT   Primamo novac raznih ljudi: kraljeva i vojvoda, trgovaca i tvorničara, lopova i <u>gusara</u>. (GUS: 197)

No words other than *gusar* were employed. Notwithstanding the fact that the first *Pirates of the Caribbean* movie had been released just a year ago, the word *pirat* did not find its way into Mihaljević's translation, despite our assumption that it had been popularized by the franchise. Another possibility is that the translation had been done earlier and only published in 2004.

In 2005, before the release of the second film (*Dead Man's Chest* in 2006), *Howard Pyle's Book of Pirates* was translated into Croatian by Hrvoje Topić. The title of the translated text was *Knjiga o piratima*, indicating the first time that we witness *pirate(s)* translated as *pirat(i)*. As for the text itself, the situation gets complicated since the book employs the words *pirate*, *buccaneer*, *marooner* and *privateer*. The foreword to the book starts as follows:

38 ST   <u>Pirates</u>, <u>Buccaneers</u>, <u>Marooners</u>, those cruel but picturesque sea wolves who once infested the Spanish Main, all live in present-day conceptions in great degree as drawn by the pen and pencil of Howard Pyle. (HPBP: Foreword)

39 TT   Za današnju sliku koju imamo o <u>piratima</u>, <u>gusarima</u>[1], <u>bjeguncima pred zakonom</u>, o tim okrutnim ali živopisnim morskim vukovima kojima su Karibi nekada bili krcati, u velikoj su mjeri zaslužni tekstovi i slike Howarda Pylea. (KP: 7)

Since the foreword of the source material starts by listing what are essentially synonyms of the word *pirate*, the translator too introduces a list of synonyms: *pirati*, *gusari*, *bjegunci pred zakonom*. We are also provided with a footnote after *gusarima*, similar to Mardešić's solution in *Put oko svijeta u osamdeset dana*, which says:

1 Pirati su morski razbojnici koji djeluju u svom interesu, a gusari to rade uz ovlaštenje državne vlasti (nap. pr.) (ibid.)

'1 Pirates [pirati] are sea raiders who act in their own interest, in contrast privateers [gusari] operate under the commission of a state (translator's note)' (translation: T.F.)

The translator felt the need to add a definition of the words *pirat* and *gusar* for the Croatian audience, presumably one he would abide by for the rest of the translation. However, the word *pirate* is mentioned four more times in the foreword, and, in the translation, it is translated as *pirat* twice, and *gusar* twice – randomly and synonymously, with no regard for the established working definition. In the preface, which follows the foreword, *pirate* and *piracy* appear eight times, and they are translated as *pirat* only once, mostly they were replaced with *gusar*, *gusarski*, *gusarstvo*, *gusariti*. This made it seem as if the translator would predominantly use *gusar* throughout the entire translation, even if the working definition – "[those who] operate under the commission of a state" – did not fit the context. This, however, applies only to the translation of the foreword and the preface, where the translator uses *pirat* and *gusar* interchangeably. The first chapter, titled *Buccaneers and Marooners of the Spanish Main* in the source material, is translated as *Pirati i gusari s Kariba* in the Croatian text. This title is the last time the translator uses *gusar* in place of *pirate(s)*, *buccaneer(s)* or *marooner(s)*. In the rest of the text, we get *gusar* and *gusarenje* only once more, as translations of *privateer* and *privateering*, in accordance with the definition set up by the translator in the foreword. The words *pirate* and *piracy* are translated as *pirat* and *piratstvo* consistently (other than in the foreword and the preface), which means that they are the dominant words used in the translated text. Furthermore, the words *buccaneer* and *marooner*, talked about in the first chapter, are mostly translated as *pirat(i)*. Since the first chapter explains how these sailors got their names and where they first emerged, the translator refers to buccaneers at first as *mesari*, *lovci*, *stranci*, or *Francuzi*, before he develops them into *pirati*. Once the topic switches to marooners, the translator introduces them as *novi pirati* and describes their operations as *novo piratstvo*. In summary, the translation is dominated by the word *pirat* in favor of the word *gusar*, with the exception of the foreword and the preface, which are just a few pages long. Translation, according to John Catford, does not happen on a lexical, but a textual level, as was discussed before, and a text has several linguistic levels – equivalence cannot be achieved on all of these (Pavlović 2015: 45), which is why we rarely see a clear match between various lexical items.

In 2011, *Zagrebačka naklada* republished Fančović's translation of Tim Powers's novel *On Stranger Tides* just as the fourth instalment, *Pirates of the Caribbean: On Stranger Tides*, was released. It was essentially the same translation as in 2001, i.e. *gusar* was used in the text,

not *pirat*, with one significant difference. The title of the book was no longer *Na čudnijim plimama*, it was *Nepoznate plime*. The reason this change was made can be found in the book itself, in a section devoted to the author, Tim Powers:

> […] da bi se uklopila u već etablirani serijal priča romana 'Na čudnijim plimama' tj. 'Nepoznate plime' kako su ga distributeri preveli, morala je doživjeti brojne izmjene […] (NP: 247)
>
> ' […] to fit into the already established film series, the story of the novel 'Na čudnijim plimama', or rather 'Nepoznate plime' as it was translated by distributors, had to undergo myriad changes […]' (translation: T.F.)

The new title of the novel is actually the one under which the movie was distributed: *Pirati s Kariba: Nepoznate plime*. In other words, the change was motivated by sales and marketing and is reflected not in the text itself, but paratexts. Paratexts, identified by Surdyk and Urban, include "titles, prologues, prefaces and epilogues, illustrations, covers and any other item which accompanies the main *text*" (2016: 162), and when studied together with the text, "they provide additional information of significant value which might be used as an explanation or justification, or substantially enrich the context of the main text" (ibid.). Aside from the title, we need also analyze the book cover, as it now states: "the novel that served as inspiration for the fourth instalment of the *Pirates of the Caribbean* film series"[9] (NP). The way this sentence is positioned is curious as well – the first part of the sentence is written in small print in the top corner of the cover, while the end of the sentence, "Pirati s Kariba", is emphasized by larger print and excluded in the next line, standing on top of the novel title "Nepoznate plime", as shown in Figure 1:

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[9] "roman koji je poslužio kao predložak za četvrti nastavak filmskog serijala Pirati s Kariba" (translation: T.F.)
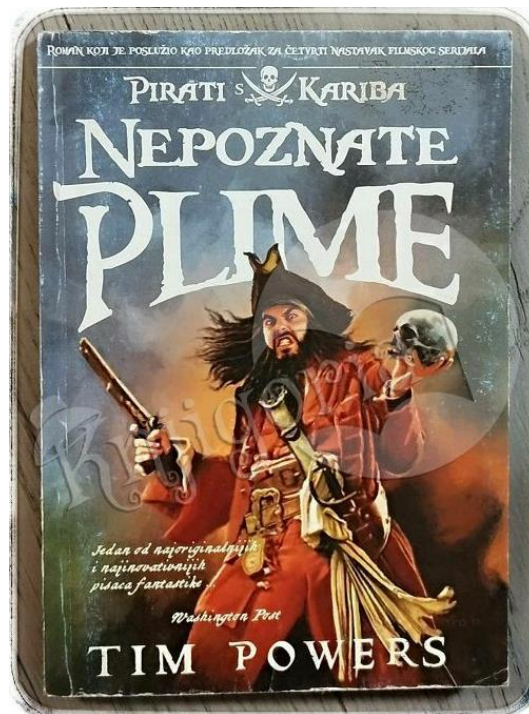
Figure 1. Book cover of NP

If you do not notice the writing in the top corner, you might misread the title as "Pirati s Kariba: Nepoznate plime", which was no doubt the intention. Surdyk and Urban point out in their study of translated movie titles that sometimes the chosen translations are the ones that "were made famous by means of previous publications, e.g. in the case of film adaptations of books" (2016: 167), a way of building an association with the already known works to ensure ticket sales. Our case is the reverse: the movie title influenced the book title, as the publishers certainly hoped the allusions to the high-grossing *Pirates of the Caribbean* films would ensure profit. Even the iconic skull seen on all *Pirates of the Caribbean* film posters was added to the cover, whereas the 2001 cover had the illustration of a sailor in a boat, above which it is written: "Tim Powers: Na čudnijim plimama", as shown in Figure 2:
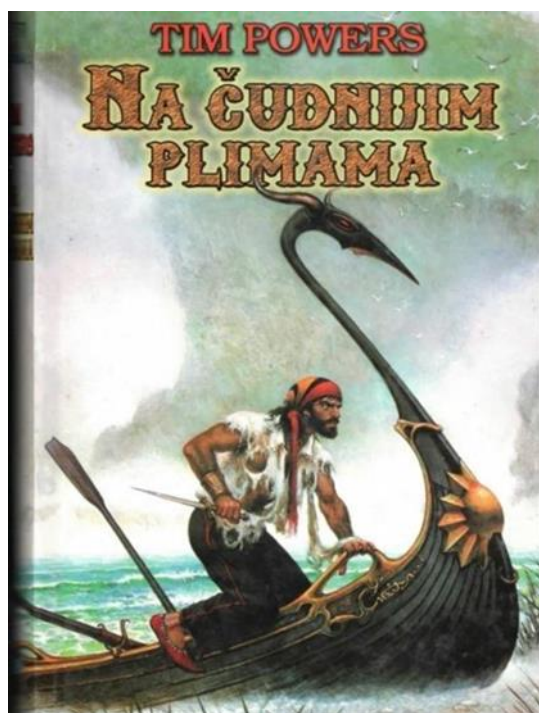
Figure 2. Book cover of ČP

Nothing changed in the 2011 novel translation with regard to the 2001 lexical items used, but the title and cover changes testify to the influence the franchise had on pirate-related publications, as well as to the influence a translation brief could have had in 2001 had the movie already been released back then. This is of importance to our second hypothesis, as it shows the direct influence of the *Pirates of the Caribbean* franchise on post-2003 translations.

Another translation from 2011 is that of the novel *Pirate Latitudes* by Damir Biličić. Again, we need only refer to the title of the translated text, *Piratske širine*, to develop an idea of what lexical items were utilized by the translator. The main protagonist is hired by the Governor of Jamaica to go on an expedition which – they both hope – will yield profit. Hence, they refer to this action as privateering, while the protagonist's adversaries often call him a pirate and accuse him of piracy. The lexical item *pirate(s)/piracy* is mentioned 42/13 times in the book and the lexical item *privateer(s)(ing)* 51 times. Both are used roughly equally, as opposed to the other novels we consulted. This distinction serves an important role for the plot, since the protagonist and his crew ultimately have to prove that their actions constituted privateering, not piracy, in order to escape unjust punishment. The word *corsair* appears twice to denote characters who are clearly established as privateers. A corsair is indeed a type of a privateer, but one associated with the Mediterranean Sea (Encyclopedia Britannica), which does not seem to fit the context, as the plot is set in the Caribbean, which means that the word *buccaneer* or *marooner* would

be more apt. Regardless, we do observe a consistent use of the main lexical items in the translation: *pirat(i)(kinja)(stvo)* was used as the translation of *pirate(s)* and *piracy*, and *gusar(ski)* as the translation of *privateer(ing)*:

40 ST You see, Mr. Hacklett, <u>privateering</u> is an honorable occupation. <u>Pirates</u>, on the other hand, are outlaws. Do you seriously suggest that Captain Hunter is an outlaw? (PL: chap. VI)

41 TT Znate, gospodine Hacklett, <u>gusarstvo</u> je častan poziv. S druge strane, <u>pirati</u> su izvan zakona. Doista želite reći da je kapetan Hunter izvan zakona? (PŠ: 42)

The two instances of *corsair* were translated as *korsar(i)*. Five chapters and the epilogue of the translated text were analyzed, and in each one the terminology is consistent and does not stray in any way. As a matter of fact, of all the translations that were consulted as part of our study, PŠ is the only text that uses the *pirate = pirat*; *privateer = gusar* pattern with no exceptions or overlaps. As synonymy provides a certain stylistic effect (Raffaelli 2015: 212), the other texts we consulted used *pirat* and *gusar* to that end, instead of treating them as two distinct lexical items that convey separate meanings, which is the case in PŠ.

The 2016 translation of *The Offshore Pirate* (*Kopneni gusar i druge priče*) by Ana Levak Sabolović seems to bring *gusar* back as the main translation of the English *pirate*. The word *pirate* appears eight times in the short story. Sabolović translated it as *gusar* or *gusarski*, and no other lexical item was used. It should be noted that this short story was published in 1920, as it was included in Fitzgerald's collection of short stories *Flappers and Philosophers*. Therefore, it is highly probable that the story was translated earlier than 2016, only republished at that time. Another explanation is that, given that five years had passed since a *Pirates of the Caribbean* movie was last released, the translation norm changed back to *gusar*. Or it may just be the translator's personal preference that does not reflect the frequency of the usage (or the lack thereof) of the words *pirat* and *gusar* at the time. In any case, it shows that the word *gusar* still holds in translations well beyond the release of the initial *Pirates of the Caribbean* film.

The 2018 translations of two short stories, *Queen of the Black Coast* and *Red Nails*, are included in R. Howard's collection of short stories titled *Kraljica crne obale* (*Red Nails* was titled *Crveni klinovi*). In the first story, the word *pirate*, which recurs 15 times, was translated as *pirat* (x7), *piratski* (x4), *piratski brod* (x3), or *[oni]* (x1); in the second story the word *pirate* occurs 14 times and is translated as *pirat(ica)* (x11), *piratski* (x1), *piratičin* (x1), or *[ona]* (x1), again supporting the idea that translation norms changed following 2003. Most importantly,

KCO was translated by Milena Benini and Marko Fančović – Fančović being the one who had previously translated OST. In 2001, Fančović employed *gusar* to translate the word *pirate*, whereas in this case he used exclusively *pirat*. This is indicative of change of translation norms, as the same translator opted for a different translation of the same word in two separate periods.

We once again turn to the translations of *Peter Pan* and *Treasure Island*, this time to the 2018 and 2021 versions respectively. In translation studies, "a comparison of translations of the same text, particularly of a text that has been translated frequently, exposes the fallacy of universal greatness" and reveals that there are no definitive translations (Bassnett 1998: 135). The 2018 translation of *Peter Pan* by Zvonimir Bulaja uses *gusar* in place of *pirate*, just as was observed in the previous translations. There is, however, one minor difference worth mentioning. In the entire *Peter Pan* novel, the word *buccaneer* is used one time, as was already discussed. In the PP1 and PP2 versions, this was translated no different from the word *pirate*, as *gusar*. In PP3, Bulaja instead translates *buccaneer* as *pirat*, probably so as to differentiate it from *gusar*:

42 ST   I forget whether I have told you that there was a stave on the rock, driven into it by some <u>buccaneers</u> of long ago to mark the site of buried treasure. (PAN: chap. IX)

43 TT   Ne sjećam se jesam li vam rekao da je na hridi bila jedna daska iz bačve, koju su tamo davno donijeli neki <u>pirati</u> kako bi njome označili mjesto gdje su zakopavali blago. (PP3: 132)

This was most likely used for the sake of choosing a different word to avoid repetition, as was the case in the source text, rather than carrying a difference in meaning to the word *gusar*. All 91 mentions of the word *pirate* in the novel were translated as *gusar*, *pirat* was used just for *buccaneer*. As for the 2021 translation of *Treasure Island*, it is another comic book adaptation of the novel and it uses *gusar(i)(ski)* throughout the entire text. It should be emphasized that *Treasure Island* and *Peter Pan* are world-renowned pirate-themed novels that introduced two of the most iconic pirate captains: Long John Silver and James Hook respectively. They have been translated into multiple languages numerous times and adapted into different media (cartoons, movies, comic books, etc.), so it is possible that no translator would ever stray from the solution that was originally established and then reused by in other translations – *gusar*.

5.3.3. Post-2003 texts with no source text

Last but not least, let us comment on the results of Table 4, i.e. translations from English into Croatian for which no source text was available. First of all, we have two children's books

(*Piratologija* and *Pirat-o-pedija*) related to the topic of pirates. As a separate category, we have four novels based entirely on the *Pirates of the Caribbean* movie scripts and titled after them. One could argue that the movie script is the source text of these novels, which is why we will use it for reference.

Piratology and *Pirate-o-pedia* were translated into Croatian in 2007 and 2008 respectively, right around the release of the third film (*At World's End* in 2007), which marked the height of the franchise's popularity. *Piratology* was first published in Great Britain in 2006 by Templar Publishing, and *Pirate-o-pedia* in 2007 by Dorling Kindersley Book. Considering the timely release of the books and the fact that *Pirate-o-pedia* has a section devoted to the franchise, it seems likely that the publishing of these children-oriented encyclopedias was motivated by the *Pirates of the Caribbean* series and the interest in pirates that had peaked at the time. *Piratology* was translated by Nebojša Buđanovac and titled *Piratologija*. The book is brimming with the word *pirat*, albeit there are a couple dozen mentions of *gusar* and *bukanir*. Most importantly, they are used consistently with their denotative meanings, which are even laid out and explained in a passage after which a short explanation of each word is provided:

> Ljudi često brkaju pojmove 'bukanir', 'pirat' i 'gusar'. Pirat je uvijek kriminalac, dok gusar može biti i građanin koji se pridržava zakona. (POL)
>
> 'People often confuse the terms 'bukanir', 'pirat' and 'gusar'. A pirate [pirat] always refers to a criminal, while a privateer [gusar] may denote a law-abiding citizen.' (translation: T.F.)

Indeed, in the book *gusar* is only used to refer to commissioned sea raiders, which is why most often they are introduced as "gusar u kraljevskoj službi" ('a privateer in service of the Crown') or "gusar s vjerodajnicom" ('a privateer with Letters of Marque'). The word *bukanir* is used in a chapter that speaks of Tortuga and the Caribbean, locations where buccaneers operated. With no source material to examine whether or not the translator consistently translated the words *pirate*, *privateer* and *buccaneer* without exceptions, nothing can be concluded with certainty, but at the very least we can verify that the Croatian lexical items are used in accordance with the denotative (specialized) meanings and that the word *pirat* comes out dominant in POL.

As for *Pirate-o-pedia*, translated by Mane Galović and titled *Pirat-o-pedija*, it uses the words *pirat(i)*, *gusar(i)*, *bukanir(i)* and *korsar(i)*, with *pirat(i)* being used most frequently. We may assume that the words *bukanir* and *korsar* replaced the English *buccaneer* and *corsair*, since – in the translated book – the former refers to sea raiders operating in the Mediterranean and the latter denotes sea raiders in the Caribbean, which is in line with the dictionary

definitions. The word *pirat* is used in chapters about both ancient and modern times, whether they speak of raiders in Europe, Asia or the Americas, while *gusar* is used in the chapters that speak of the colonial era, i.e. to describe state-sponsored piracy. The chapter is introduced by a definition in which the word *gusar* is explained in relation to *pirat*:

> Mnogobrojni europski vladari, vođeni gospodarskim interesima, sponzorirali su svoje <u>pirate</u> i tako potpuno ozakonili napadanje brodova iz drugih država. Zakoniti morski razbojnici poznati su kao <u>*gusari*</u> i svojim su poslovanjem priskrbili blagoslovna bogatstva svojim pokroviteljima. (POP: 35)
> 'Numerous European rulers, driven by economic interests, sponsored their own <u>pirates</u> [pirat] and thus completely legalized attacking ships belonging to rival nations. Lawful sea raiders are known as <u>*privateers*</u> [gusar] and their raids provided their patrons with various riches.' (translation: T.F.)

However, this distinction is suspended once we turn to the chapters devoted to pirates in pop-culture, i.e. in literature and cinema. From that point on, the translator uses the words *pirat* and *gusar* interchangeably, as synonyms:

> Vjerojatno si gledao mnoštvo filmova s <u>gusarskom</u> tematikom. U Hollywoodu je prvi film o <u>gusarima</u> snimljen 1905. godine. Bio je to nijemi film pod naslovom *Riječni <u>pirat</u>*. Sad ćeš moći gledati takve filmove kao pravi poznavatelj budući da si upućen u <u>piratsku</u> prošlost. (ibid: 96)
> 'You've probably seen a lot of <u>pirate</u>[gusar]-themed movies. The first movie about <u>pirates</u> [gusar] was made in Hollywood in 1905. It was a silent film entitled *The River <u>Pirate</u>* [pirat]. From now on you will be able to watch such films like a true expert since you have acquired the history of <u>pirates</u> [pirat].' (translation: T.F.)

It is unlikely that the original text stated "privateer-themed movies" or "the first movie about privateers", which suggests that in this chapter *gusar* and *pirat* were used synonymously to replace the word *pirate*. On the very next page, the *Pirates of Caribbean* franchise is described as "Najpopularniji filmovi s <u>piratskom</u> tematikom svih vremena" (ibid: 97)[10], even though the collocation "<u>gusarskom</u> tematikom" was used mere lines before that, which means that the usage is random. Incidentally, the well-established characters of Captain Hook and Long John Silver, who were invariably translated as *gusari* in all our analyses of the *Peter Pan* and *Treasure Island* novels, are introduced as *pirati* in this book:

> Jim nabavlja brod i otplovi u potragu za skrivenim blagom. Trebat će mu mnogo hrabrosti jer se <u>pirat</u> Dugi John Silver prerušio u brodskoga kuhara i neće prezati ni od čega kako bi se dočepao blaga! (ibid: 103)

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[10] "The most popular pirate-themed movies of all times" (translation: T.F.)

'Jim acquires a ship and sets sail in search of the hidden treasure. He will need a lot of courage because the <u>pirate</u> Long John Silver has disguised himself as the ship's cook and will stop at nothing to get his hands on the treasure!' (translation: T.F.)

No Wendy ne želi ostaviti svoju mlađu braću i tu počinje luda pustolovina; u njoj se susreću i sa zloglasnim <u>piratom</u>, kapetanom Kukom. (ibid: 115)

'But Wendy does not want to leave her younger brothers behind and so the adventure begins; they also meet the infamous <u>pirate</u>, Captain Hook.' (translation: T.F.)

This is related to the third hypothesis, that *pirat* denotes fictional pirate characters, alongside the word *gusar*. Translators select these words carefully when describing historical events, but then seem to synonymize them when it comes to fictional characters. They represent a category of their own, one which used to be termed solely *gusari* in the past (as seen from the results of Table 2), but now allows *pirati* as an adequate variant.

Finally, we analyzed four franchise-based novels to see if anything changes when the movie plot is presented in print. The novels (*Prokletstvo Crnog Bisera*, *Mrtvačeva škrinja*, *Na kraju svijeta*, *Nepoznate plime*) were translated by three different translators and, as expected, the terminology is consistent with the movies. Jack and his pirate crew are *pirati* (not *gusari*) and they engage in *piratstvo* (not *gusarstvo*). Based on the movies, we know that the word used in the source material had to be *pirate*, but there are nonetheless two mentions of the word *privateer* throughout the series. In the *Dead Man's Chest*, Lord Beckett seeks to recruit Captain Jack by offering him a full pardon and employment, i.e. the position of a privateer, while in the fourth installment, *On Stranger Tides*, Hector Barbossa – Jack's rival – becomes a privateer (in fact, he pretends to be one) and corrects his old friends when they refer to him as 'pirate'. In PK2, Beckett's offer was translated as follows:

44 ST   Letters of Marque. You will offer what amounts to a full pardon. Jack will be free, a <u>privateer</u> in the employ of England.[11]

45 TT   'Pisma odobrenja'[1], objasni mu Beckett. 'Bit će to potpuni oprost. Jack će biti slobodan, imat će privatni <u>gusarski</u> brod u službi Engleske.' (PK2: 28)

The Croatian translator, Ines Weismann, adds a footnote to the term *Pisma odobrenja* (Letters of Marque) on that same page, which explains to the reader that these documents allowed an individual to attack and rob enemy ships:

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[11] in place of the source material: https://imsdb.com/scripts/Pirates-of-the-Caribbean-Dead-Man%27s-Chest.html)%20(https://transcripts.foreverdreaming.org/viewtopic.php?t=36769

[1] Odobrenje admiraliteta za opremu privatnog <u>gusarskog</u> broda koji ostvaruje dobit napadajući neprijateljsko trgovačko i ratno brodovlje. (ibid.)

'[1] Approval from the Admiralty for equipping a privateer that makes a profit by attacking enemy merchant and warships.' (translation: T.F.)

The most appropriate solution, *gusar* as the translation of *privateer*, was utilized, with an explanation added so as to clarify the difference. The sequel, *Nepoznate plime*, which was translated by Mirta Jurilj, uses quite a different solution, "civilni službenik":

46 ST	How nice to see a fellow <u>pirate</u> make good of himself. – <u>Pirate</u>? Nay. <u>Privateer</u>. On a sanctioned mission under the authority and protection of the Crown.[12]
47 TT	'Lijepo je vidjeti <u>pirata</u> koji je nešto postigao u životu.' '<u>Civilnog službenika</u>', ispravi ga Barbossa, 'Na odobrenoj misiji pod autoritetom i zaštitom Krune.' (PK4: 28)
48 ST	We be <u>privateers</u>, not <u>pirates</u>, Master Gibbs. And in the king's name, we behave as such.[13]
49 TT	Gospodine Gibbs, mi smo <u>civilni službenici</u>, a ne <u>pirati</u>. Tako mi svega, ponašat ćemo se sukladno našem položaju! (PK4: 55)

Conformation that *pirat* is predominantly used in these novels was highly expected. It was of greater interest to see how the translators would deal with *privateer*. Whereas the other works and characters depend entirely on the translator with regard to the choice of lexical items, it is safe to assume that any books, comics or similar publications based on or related to the *Pirates of Caribbean* franchise are predetermined to use *pirat* for *pirate*.

6. Discussion and conclusions

Having compared the results of Tables 2-4 and analyzed the works consulted, we can now conclude that translation norms did change after 2003 as well as that the word *pirat* became an acknowledged and widely-used translation of the word *pirate*, which had up to that point been translated exclusively as *gusar*. In her book on the translation of culturally specific references, Veselica Majhut takes into consideration instances of intercultural evolution between language communities, whereby what was once completely foreign and unknown to a target culture, and thus presented a challenge for translators, becomes known and no longer constitutes a problem (Veselica Majhut 2020: 26). Culturally specific references are not a permanent matter. Much

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[12] in place of the source material: https://transcripts.foreverdreaming.org/viewtopic.php?t=36771
[13] ibid

like translation norms and translation solutions, they evolve and change. The word *pirate* never presented a translation problem and it is only culturally specific in the narrow sense, so it is not as if the target culture – more specifically, the Croatian audience – borrowed it and familiarized itself with it. Rather, the use of *pirat* was scarce, and the difference between *pirat* and *gusar* mattered little, so it was the target language word that was in fact unknown to the target culture audience. Veselica Majhut also provides an interesting example of the English word *pub*, which forced Croatian translators to look for appropriate equivalents in the target culture, such as *bircuz*, *krčma* or *gostionica*, until the word *pub* became a transcultural reference and thus an adequate translation solution (ibid: 36). The same could be said about the word *pirat* – once the translators had been convinced that the Croatian audience was familiar with the word, this became another adequate equivalent at their disposal. Babić, in his article about the differences between *gusar* and *pirat*, claims that *pirat* has become more widespread than it used to be (the period in question being 2009, the year when the article was published) due to foreign news agencies, mainly the English ones, reporting about them, which then influences Croatian news articles, newspapers and reports in general (Babić 2009: 148-149). Although Babić does not list the franchise as the 'culprit' responsible for the dissemination of the word *pirat*, which Babić views as negative, he does acknowledge that this happened under the influence of English and the language used by the media. Mass media (newspapers, radio, television, etc.) are listed in Filipović (1986) as the most efficient tool for one language to come into contact with another – aside from the direct contact of bilingual speakers – and for one language to borrow elements from a foreign language (Filipović 1986: 50). This was Filipović's observation in the mid 1980's, so one can imagine how it developed with the development of the mass media in the 2000's.

The fact that the word *pirat* became more frequently used in Croatian from the 2000's and that a change of translation norms occurred is undisputable, but how much this was affected by the *Pirates of the Caribbean* movies is still open for debate. Most sources that we have consulted speak of the influence exerted by the mass media, the Anglo-American culture and similarly broad concepts, which can but do not have to entail the influence of the franchise. The only source that openly accredits the franchise with the recent change is Mihić in her essay on synonymy:

Da riječ *pirat* nije popularizirana u posljednje doba (medijima, kulturom, filmovima *Pirati s Kariba*), ona ne bi ušla u sustav hrvatskoga standardnoga jezika kao zamjena za *gusara* jer nije bila ni nužna budući da je jezik toliko godina bio bez nje (Mihić 2009: 140)

'Had the word *pirat* not been popularized recently (by the media, culture, the *Pirates of the Caribbean* movies), it would not have entered standard Croatian as a substitute for *gusar* as it was not necessary in the first place, seeing how the language worked without it for so many years.' (translation: T.F.)

This was one of our main initial concerns – that the word *pirat* has been popularized not as a result of the *Pirates of the Caribbean* film series, but owing to the general trend of borrowing from English that developed in the 21st century. Tafra complains about the media using English loanwords in abundance as it allowed English to influence Croatian vocabulary, orthography and even syntax, with foreign terms becoming a norm (Tafra 2015: 209), which is why we took this possibility into consideration. That is why we sought to identify any sort of 'proof' in the translated works themselves, not just secondary sources. Indeed, in the analyzed books we have found instances in which the franchise unambiguously affected the (re)publication of a book, marketing schemes used or topics discussed. It is therefore almost certain that it was the film series that acted as the main (if not the only) catalyst for the translation norms to change and for the word *pirat* to become popular. Another point worth mentioning is that the series exerting this sort of influence does not contradict the notion that the change was caused due to the mass media and Anglo-American cultural dominance.

All four hypotheses laid out at the beginning have been confirmed: *gusar* and *pirat* are used and perceived as synonyms by the Croatian speaker, notwithstanding the differences in their denotative meaning; the lexical item *pirat(stvo)* was popularized in Croatian at the beginning of the 21st century; it is used in translations of various works of fiction; its usage increased when compared with the pre-2003 period; and it is reasonable to assume the *Pirates of the Caribbean* franchise was the direct cause of this change of translation norms. What needs to be emphasized is that, while a change did occur, *pirat* did not replace *gusar*, it merely became an alternative or a synonym to it, depending on how a translator employs it. Indeed, it was never our assumption that *pirat* would replace *gusar*. It should be noted that the research was limited to texts translated from English into Croatian. Had the research included other languages, we might have witnessed different results, as is evident from the Croatian translation of a French novel (Jules Verne's *Le tour du monde en quatre-vingts jours*), in which the word *pirat* is used well before the release of the film series. It has not been explored how lexical items from these languages were translated before and how they are translated more recently, although such a study would also have to analyze the specifics of terminology of each language and the scope of meaning other words for *pirate* convey. Furthermore, the analysis assumes

that everything after 2003 can be classified as a single period, when it arguably could have been split into two: 2003-2011 (the peak of the franchise's popularity) and 2011-onwards (the period after its influence had waned). Another limitation is the analysis itself – not all the lexical items were cross-referenced in all the books due to the size of the corpus, but the general trends are likely to stand. All this presents an opportunity for future research.

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