

The Anglicization of Croatian Language in Subtitles

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THE ANGLICIZATION OF CROATIAN LANGUAGE IN SUBTITLES

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Literature and Philosophy at the University of Rijeka

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Abstract

The aim of this study is to examine English influence on the Croatian language through analysis of Croatian translation of 13 episodes of the *Doctor Who* series. Its influence was studied through the use of anglicisms in the translation of the English language. The first part of the study introduced translation methods, types of anglicisms, and subtitles as well as their benefits and disadvantages. Upon analyzing the corpus using three different dictionaries, the results showed that the number of anglicisms present in *Doctor Who* subtitles was not as great as had been first expected (anglicisms making only 15.4% of borrowings in subtitles), showing that the influence of English language on, i.e. anglicization of, the Croatian language is not as prominent as previous studies have concluded, despite the fact that not much attention has been given to this topic so far.

Keywords: anglicization, translation, subtitles, anglicisms, borrowing

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1. Introduction

During the last few decades, English has enabled communication between people with different cultural and linguistic backgrounds across the world, and thus became a global language, or “lingua franca”, with over 380 million native speakers and more than 200 million speakers learning English as their second language. What contributed to its fast expansion is the fact that it is used in a variety of different areas, from economy and politics to technology and science. However, it is exactly the globalization of English that brought about the change in society and the loss of cultural identity (Alfarhan 2016: 1). The contact of English with other languages also led to the transfer of words from English to other languages. There are two types of such transfer — a direct and indirect one. Direct transfer occurs when nations, closely linked in some way, borrow findings, ideas or discoveries from each other and thus also borrow terms for them from a language donor. Indirect transfer, also known as indirect borrowing, arises through media between nations with no close connections (Filipović 1996: 38-39). Loan words which came into the language in the process of borrowing are what influences and shapes the receiving language structure. Moreover, they might be “passive loaning of foreign expressions and do not encourage creative thinking in the receptive language.” (Drljača Margić 2009: 53).

The research is divided into five parts. The first chapter provides a brief outline of the topic and its crucial components. The second chapter specifies the methodology used in the research as well as the aim, corpus, and questions behind the study. The third chapter presents the result of the research, while the fourth one discusses findings and compares them to the previous ones. The research ends with the fifth chapter which concludes it, specifying the degree of the influence of English on the Croatian language, i.e. determining the number of anglicisms found in *Doctor Who* Croatian subtitles.

1.1. Languages in contact

Languages in contact is a discipline established in the 19th century concerning bilingualism, borrowing, and adaptation of foreign words (Ivir 1990: 83). Filipović conducted research presented in his book “Theory of Languages in Contact: An Introduction to Contact Linguistics” (*Uvod u lingvistiku jezičnih dodira*) where he examined the contact between English and other European languages, and English and languages of American immigrants. What Ivir concluded from Filipović’s book is that these two situations express two different types of language contacts: “In Europe, English comes into indirect contact with other languages - through the agency of mediated language or means of communication [...]; on the other hand, immigrants and immigrant communities in the USA have direct contact with English, as they are forced to directly communicate with English speakers.” (Ivir 1990: 84). Language contact can thus be direct or indirect, but it can be seen that no contact is dominating in the modern era due to many languages being influenced through the press, music, or television as well as world being interconnected, enabling the establishment of even stronger cultural ties between nations and languages.

1.2. English influence in Croatia

Up to the Second World War, German’s influence was the most significant one in Croatia. However, after Germany lost the War, its significance was minimized as English began to spread its influence across Europe, substituting German as the main foreign language in Croatia. When English became dominant in cinematography, most movies and series in English were not translated into Croatian, making Croatians directly influenced by the English language (Kaucki 2014: 7). This practice goes on to this day, which leads to children learning English even before starting attending school. However, besides being taught in primary and secondary

schools, English is also widely taught in kindergartens and numerous private schools for foreign languages throughout Croatia (Pašalić & Marinov 2008: 255). Moreover, American culture plays a great role in Croatia due to its influence — this causes cultural changes in Croatia which sometimes lead to anglicization of Croatian culture.

1.3. Translation strategies

There is a great number of authors who tried to uncover all translation strategies, one of the first being Vinay in 1958. The main taxonomy of translation strategies in this study is that of Jan Pederson since this research examines the degree of anglicization in subtitles, and Pederson's division of translation studies is "based on descriptive observations of norms underlying subtitling." (Pederson 2005: 3). Pederson (2005: 3) categorized strategies as either Source Language oriented or Target Language oriented. Source Language strategies are subdivided into retention, specification, and direct translation, while Target Language strategies are divided into generalization, substitution, and omission. The latter are used either by adopting Croatian translations or by explaining the meanings of given words. Since they do not contribute to the anglicization of languages, Target Language strategies will, for the purposes of this research, be omitted.

1.3.1. Retention

Retention is a translation strategy with the highest degree of Source Language orientation since it allows a word from the source language to enter the target one. It is further subdivided into complete retention, during which the form of the word is left as it is in the source language, and target language adjustment of the word's form, which is based on the target language's norms (by altering spelling or dismissing articles). Complete retention can be

marked or unmarked. Marked retentions are differentiated from the rest of the translated text by quotations or italics, while unmarked are not in any way made distinct from the rest of translation.

1.3.2. Specification

Specification is a translation strategy which also leaves the word untranslated but, unlike retention, adds information about the meaning of the word to the translation. The information is added through explication or addition. Explication regards spelling out certain words like acronyms or adding the information omitted in the source text which is not part of the target language's culture, so that the target audience understands its meaning. Addition, on the other hand, guides the audience towards the understanding of the intended meaning. Pederson (2005: 5) provides an example from Swedish television, where the translator added 'cricketspelaren' (the cricket player) to the name of Ian Botham to make it more accessible to the target audience. However, addition presents a problem for subtitlers since subtitles are often restricted in size and characters.

1.3.3. Direct translation

This translation strategy in no way alters the length of the translation - every word is translated as it is, with no added information, the omission of articles or quotations. Direct translation results in shifted translation or calque. Shifted direct translation is an optional shifting of the source text that makes it less prominent in the target language text. Calque is in other taxonomies also known as loan translation which has many slightly different definitions. The most common characteristic of a calque, as Fraser and Haugen point out, is that it is a word with substitution of native phonemes (either complete or incomplete) (Fraser 1975: 140;

Haugen 1950: 214). Haugen adds that “speakers have imported not only the meaning of the [calque’s] form but also its phonemic shape.” (Haugen 1950: 214). Calque is thus the main translation strategy behind anglicization of languages.

1.3.4. Audiovisual translation

Audiovisual translation (AVT) is a field of study in translation which has become popularized with the arrival of technological developments and audiovisual products such as movies, shows, series, etc. It is divided into two processes, subtitling and dubbing of the audiovisual products. What differentiates this type of translation from the written one is the fact that the written translation translates the text while AVT translates an audio, which can pose a problem for translators. Gottlieb perfectly illustrated the features an audiovisual translator ought to have - “[...] a good subtitler need the musical ears of an interpreter, the no-nonsense judgment of a news editor, and a designer’s sense of esthetics. [...] The subtitler must also have the steady hand of a surgeon and the timing of a percussionist.” (Gottlieb 2004: 222). These required characteristics show how demanding translation of audio sources really is. What makes subtitling so challenging are difficulties the subtitler is facing in his work. The first problem subtitlers encounter is that, unlike written translations where translators are working only on written texts, they must also take into account non-linguistic signs which communicate meaning but are not spoken or written, such as pictures, music, facial expressions, etc. The second problem is that subtitles are restricted to two (or sometimes three) lines, which makes it difficult for the subtitler to accurately translate conversations. The advantage of subtitles against dubbing is that the original language is not completely omitted in the audiovisual products, which helps with learning the language of movies, series, etc. However, when the target

language lacks the term with the same meaning as the one from the source language, subtitling can occasionally result in welcoming borrowings to the target language.

1.4. Anglicisms

As was mentioned in the previous section, translation often leads to borrowings making their way into the target language. Another way of embracing them is through direct contact between languages. However, there are different degrees of accepting the borrowings in language: the word can either be fully accepted (occurs when the word ceases to be recognized as English), restricted in use, or not be part of the language (the word is rather a calque or a loan word) (Görlach 2002, cited in Fischer & Pułaczewska 2008: 3). An anglicism is thus a borrowed word, i.e. a word with an English form (spelling or pronunciation) which is accepted as part of the recipient language (Görlach 2002: 1).

1.4.1. Secondary anglicisms

According to Filipović (1990), English borrowings can be divided into two categories — anglicisms and secondary anglicisms. The latter is also known as pseudoanglicisms. This (smaller) category consists of “words comprised of English elements or of English words shortened to new forms, which are not taken from the English language since they do not exist in it in that form.” (Filipović 1990: 19). However, there are some linguists who abandon this definition, and rather recognize pseudoanglicisms as “borrowings which underwent intermediary language while passing from giving language to intermediary language.” (Filipović 1990: 21). Examples of such secondary anglicisms are *šport* or *štrajk* (from *sport* and *strike*). Filipović (1990) continues by claiming that secondary anglicisms are formed in three ways: 1) by composition — word *man* is merged with the anglicism (e.g. *golman*); 2) by

derivation — suffixes like *-er* or *-ist* are added to the anglicism (e.g. *vaterpolist*, *džezzer*); or 3) by ellipsis — omitting suffixes or any other part of anglicism (e.g. *boxing - boks*, *surfing - surf*).

1.5. Previous studies on anglicization of Croatian language

Despite a great number of conducted studies on the topic of anglicization of Croatian language in general, only few of them were written before the 2010s. Antunović's study is among a few conducted in the 20th century. She attempted to group false friends consisting of anglicisms with one meaning and the original English word with a different meaning (Antunović 1996). She presented several interesting false friends which are still used today — *affirm* and *eventual*. *Affirm* in English, according to Oxford dictionary, means “to state emphatically or publicly” (Lexico, n.d.) while *afirmirati* in Croatian carries the meaning of “expressing yourself positively” (HJP, n.d.). *Eventual* in English is “occurring or existing at the end of or as a result of a process or a period of time” (Lexico, n.d.), while *eventualan* means “expected to happen” (HJP, n.d.). Antunović continues by noticing how anglicisms are often used in informal language, i.e. slang, and provides the examples such as *bus - bus*, *book - bukirati*, *cash - cash* and among many others, *girl - gerla* (Antunović 1996: 5) which is interesting since this anglicism is nowadays not used at all. In the end, Antunović considers anglicisms to already be firmly rooted in the Croatian language. Consequently, she warns the translators to be thoughtful while translating and using anglicisms so as not to increase their usage any further.

More recent research was conducted by Runjić-Stoilova and Pandža (2010), who studied the presence of anglicisms in three largest Croatian television broadcasters' programs. They found most anglicisms on RTL (50% of all found), followed by Nova TV (28%), and HTV (22%), where anglicisms in subtitles are most spread (Runjić-Stoilova & Pandža 2010:

232). They have come across a great number of anglicisms which have Croatian equivalents (e.g, *celebrity* - *poznata osoba*, *event* - *dogadaj*, *biznis* - *posao*, *limit* - *ograničenje*, *brend* - *zaštitni znak*...). The authors conclude that public service broadcasters are starting to frequently use anglicisms in their shows despite being obliged to maintain their culture and language (Runjić-Stoilova & Pandža 2010: 238).

Mikić Čolić (2015) carried out a study regarding the adaptation of borrowed verbal neologisms into the Croatian language. She came to the conclusion that the studied neologisms had no problem with adapting to our language. What is more, their grammatical structures have been modified by adding prefixes such as *od-*, *u-*, *i-*, or *na-* to make them match grammatical structures of Croatian language (examples of which are *(na)bildati*, *(u)guglati*, *(u/od)logirati se*, *(i)skenirati*,...).

Kolesarić's (2018) study looked into the language of one Croatian entertainment show and one news show. During an entertainment show, which lasted for around 40 minutes, she noticed 133 anglicisms, 52 of which had Croatian equivalents, and 81 did not. She detected 81 anglicisms used in the news show, 44 of which had a Croatian equivalent, and 37 did not. Thus, in two TV shows lasting for 40 minutes each, Kolesarić in total found over 200 anglicisms, almost half of which (96 of them — 48,78%) had Croatian equivalents which could have been used instead, from which she concluded that Croatian media favors anglicisms over Croatian words (Kolesarić 2018: 64).

Another research regarding the usage of anglicisms in Croatia was conducted by Barjaktarević in 2018. She looked into the adoption of anglicisms in the language of the youth present in web pages and every-day language. Some of the anglicisms she came across on social networks and web pages were *drink*, *keš*, *sorry*, *parti*, *frend*, *chat*, *mobbing*, *blog*, and *shopping* (Barjaktarević 2018: 17, 22). She noticed the tendency to use anglicisms in order to make

Croatian sound more modern and warns the youth to employ them cautiously with the purpose of preserving the integrity of Croatian language.

2. Methodology

2.1. Aims and research questions

The aim of this study is to determine to which extent anglicisms are present in subtitles of TV series. People are influenced by media to a high degree and, since Croatian TV channels are nowadays dominated by series, they were made the object of this study. Since there is a rising number of anglicisms present in the everyday conversations, the hypothesis behind this research is that anglicisms constitute the largest number of borrowings found in TV series' subtitles. The study intends to answer the following questions: To what extent are anglicisms present in TV series? Which parts of speech are most commonly anglicized? To what degree are anglicisms preferred over their Croatian equivalents?

2.2. Corpus

As was already mentioned, anglicisms are most prominent in the media since the media is what influences the public to the greatest extent. However, not every aspect of the media is given the same attention when it comes to research of its anglicization, the proof of which is the fact that there are not many studies conducted about anglicization of subtitles in Croatia. For this reason, what serves as the corpus of this research are the Croatian subtitles of BBC series *Doctor Who*. This series was chosen because it has a large vocabulary range since every episode deals with different situations/times. Specifically, in one of the episodes the action is set in ancient Egypt, while in other the protagonists are dealing with dinosaurs on a spaceship,

so instead of examining different series with different themes, I decided to look closely into only one with a wide vocabulary range. Thus, the corpus consists of the seventh season of TV series *Doctor Who*, with a total of thirteen episodes. Taking into account that the approximate length per episode is 45 minutes, the total length of the reviewed material is little less than 10 hours.

2.3. Research method

In the course of 5 weeks, I watched the seventh season of the above-mentioned series with Croatian subtitles while noting down detected borrowings. Care was taken that no borrowings were missed, so English transcription of episodes and Croatian subtitles were compared side by side, and all the noticed borrowings were noted down once again. Having listed all of them, I checked Filipović's *Anglicizmi u hrvatskom ili srpskom jeziku* (1999), Klaić's *Novi riječnik stranih riječi* (2012) and Anić's *Školski riječnik hrvatskoga jezika* (2015) to extract from the list only those borrowings which have their root in the English language. Having listed all the anglicisms, their usage was compared to the usage of borrowings originating from other languages to see how frequent they were used in comparison to other languages' borrowings. Anglicisms were then grouped into categories according to the word class they belong to, in order to observe in which part of speech anglicisms are most frequently found. In the end, all the anglicisms which have their Croatian equivalents that have not been used were noted down, to see to what extent the subtitler favored anglicisms over Croatian words, and thus, to see whether the observed subtitles supported the initial hypothesis of the study.

3. Results

As the aim of this research is to determine how frequently the anglicisms are used in the TV series subtitles, the results will focus on their frequency, what part of speech they belong to, and to what degree they are used in cases where they could have been replaced by the Croatian word of the same meaning.

After checking Filipović (1990) and Klaić (2012) for source languages of all the borrowings extracted from subtitles of 13 episodes, it turned out that, out of more than 300 borrowings elicited, 54 of them originated from the English language.¹ The following table presents the number and percentage of borrowings from different languages used in the subtitles.

Language	Number of borrowings	Percentage
Latin	142	40.46 %
Greek	62	17.66 %
English	54	15.39 %
German	51	14.53 %
French	30	8.55 %
Italian	7	1.99 %
Czech	1	0.28 %
Japanese	1	0.28 %
Portuguese	1	0.28 %
Russian	1	0.28 %
Spanish	1	0.28 %
Total:	351	

Table 1. List of languages from which words were most frequently borrowed in the subtitles of the 7th season of the Doctor Who series

¹ Filipović (1990) recognized more borrowings extracted from the subtitles as anglicisms, but their origin was differently stated in more recent dictionaries (Anić 2015 and Klaić 2012).

As Table 1 demonstrates, among all the extracted borrowings, the largest number of them originated from Latin — as many as 142 of them. Some of the most common words originating from Latin were *aktivirati*, *kamera*, *dimenzija*, *garantirati*, and *identificirati*. The second largest group of borrowings, with 62 of them, are those borrowed from Greek, some of which are *energija*, *politika*, and *tehnologija*. Anglicisms constitute the third largest group of borrowings in *Doctor Who* subtitles. There are 54 of them, and some of those present in the subtitles are *čips*, *haker*, *park*, *sendvič*, and *taksi*. The fourth group, with 51 borrowings, are German words, examples of which are *kontrola*, *informacija*, and *paničariti*. French borrowings make for less than 10%, and some of them appearing in subtitles are *emocije* and *sabotaža*. Only 7 words originate from Italian, for example, *alarm* and *rizik*. Languages with only one borrowing are Czech (*robot*), Japanese (*karaoke*), Portuguese (*kasta*), Russian (*mamut*) and Spanish (*bomba*).

Anglicisms can be subdivided according to the part of speech they belong to, which is shown in the table below.

Word class	Number of anglicisms	Percentage
Nouns	39	72.22 %
Verbs	10	18.52 %
Adjectives	5	9.26 %

Table 2. Recurrence of anglicisms found in the observed subtitles based on their word class

Table 2 shows that anglicisms found in *Doctor Who* subtitles comprise only three parts of speech - nouns, verbs, and adjectives. The largest group of anglicisms are nouns, which are 39 out of 54 anglicisms. Some of the nouns found in subtitles are *kauboj*, *džungla*, *puding*, *tenk*, and *Wi-Fi*. There are ten anglicisms extracted from the subtitles which are verbs, examples of which are *kliknuti*, *resetirati*, *skenirati*, *testirati*, and *zumirati*. Adjectives constitute the smallest group of anglicisms found in the subtitles, with only 5 of them, three of which are *kul*, *marketinški*, and *sonički*.

Some of the anglicisms were used by the subtitler despite the fact that there exist Croatian words with the same meaning as the borrowing. The anglicisms with possible Croatian equivalents are listed in the following table.

Anglicism	Possible Croatian equivalent		Anglicism	Possible Croatian equivalent
<i>blokovi</i>	<i>gromade</i>		<i>marketinški</i>	<i>trgovački</i>
<i>kul</i>	<i>guba</i>		<i>partner</i>	<i>suradnik</i>
<i>dekodiranje</i>	<i>dešifriranje</i>		<i>kviz</i>	<i>ispitivanje</i>
<i>inženjering</i>	<i>strojarstvo</i>		<i>sonički</i>	<i>zvučan</i>
<i>humor</i>	<i>šaljivost</i>		<i>standard</i>	<i>norma</i>
<i>lider</i>	<i>vođa</i>		<i>tim</i>	<i>družina</i>
<i>lift</i>	<i>dizalo</i>		<i>trik</i>	<i>lukavština</i>
<i>linč</i>	<i>premlaćivanje</i>		<i>tunel</i>	<i>prokop</i>
<i>menadžer</i>	<i>upravitelj</i>		<i>vorteks</i>	<i>vrtlog</i>

Table 3. Possible Croatian equivalents of anglicisms used in Doctor Who subtitles

After consulting Klaić (2012) and Anić (2015), it was found that the subtitler decided to incorporate 18 anglicisms which could have been substituted with their Croatian equivalent, as can be seen in Table 3. Anglicisms used by the subtitler which have a one-word Croatian equivalent comprise 33.33% of all the anglicisms found in the subtitles. Most of the anglicisms in the table are nouns, which comes as no surprise since they constitute the largest number of anglicisms in the subtitles. The most frequently used English words in the series are sonic (*sonički*), partner (*partner*), vortex (*vorteks*), and cool (*kul*).

4. Discussion

Despite BBC's *Doctor Who* being primarily science fiction series and knowing that many anglicisms enter various languages through topics and terminology of science, the number of anglicisms found is not as high as expected. A large number of Croatian words originate from Latin or Greek languages, which explains why the majority of borrowings belong to the first two categories. Anglicisms are the third largest category of borrowings in this study — 54 of them were found in 13 episodes, which equates to a little more than four anglicisms per episode. This is, for a series with topics of everyday life as well as fiction, fewer than anticipated.

When it comes to word classes which the extracted anglicisms belong to, the results are mostly as expected. Since nouns form the largest word class and, thus, the most frequently borrowed class, it is normal to find the greatest amount of anglicisms to be nouns. However, it was surprising to see that verbs comprised less than twenty percent of anglicisms found in the subtitles since English verbs for technology and science are frequently borrowed to Croatian and because the majority of each *Doctor Who* episode deals with these topics. Word class with least anglicisms in the series are adjectives, making little over nine percent of the total number of found anglicisms. English adjectives are frequently borrowed into Croatian when it comes to colloquial language, so taking into account the fact that this type of language is used in the majority of *Doctor Who* episodes, the number of anglicized adjectives is also surprising. However, considering the number of adjectives in subtitles which have been anglicized, it seems that the observed episodes make an exception when it comes to the usage of colloquial language in the series. Instead of keeping the anglicisms in the subtitles, the subtitler could have used expressions which do not resemble the English language as much. The first type of expression would be the Croatian translation, i.e. possible Croatian equivalent, while the second would be the explanation of the meaning of the word if it has no Croatian equivalent. Table 3

presents examples of anglicisms with possible Croatian equivalents, while examples of expressions found in the subtitles with no such equivalents are *piknik*, *surfati*, or *trans*. In Klaić's dictionary of foreign expressions, *piknik* is explained as *zabavan izlet u društvu izvan grada*, *surfati* as *pregledavati sadržaj interneta*, and *trans* as *pomrčenje svijesti* (Klaić 2012) — all of these explanations could have been used in the subtitles without interfering with their meanings.

However, due to restrictions translators face while subtitling, they are often compelled to employ anglicisms instead of explaining the meaning of the English word. Nevertheless, the subtitles comprised 18 anglicisms with possible one-word Croatian equivalents and 36 anglicisms with possible descriptive translations, which makes it seem that to some extent, the subtitler preferred anglicisms over their Croatian equivalents. The reason behind the preference could be his intention to bring the English culture and terminology closer to the Croatian audience, the anglicisms being so deeply rooted in the Croatian language that one thinks of them as initially Croatian terms, or merely the space restrictions in subtitles.

Similar to findings of Antunović (1996), it was noticed that anglicisms (especially verbs) are commonly used in informal language, which is the case with all verbs found in this research. Despite having found only 54 anglicisms, those which have a Croatian equivalent constitute more than thirty percent of them. This number is not as high as in Runjić-Stoliova and Pandža's research (2010), which shows that TV programs are more likely to use anglicisms instead of their Croatian equivalents in order to bring the general public closer to the culture by which they are influenced and which they often illustrate. Contrary to Mikić Čolić's findings (2015), this study found no verbs borrowed from the English language which adapt their grammatical structures to resemble those of the Croatian language.

However, the study came across few adjectives which took over the Croatian structure, such as *marketinški* or *sonički*, as well as those which did not adapt to the Croatian language

— *cool* and *web* (as in *web-kamera*). In comparison to Kolesarić's study (2018), this research shows that the Croatian language in subtitles is not as anglicized as it would be expected, while her research shows that anglicisms are favored by Croatian media, with over 200 anglicisms found in two 40-minute shows. Having compared the previous studies on the usage of anglicisms in Croatian media, it is evident that different types of media lead to a different degree of anglicization of Croatian language — TV shows and advertisements are more likely to use anglicisms than TV series due to the fact that they are largely influenced by English culture.

5. Conclusion

During the last few decades, English has spread its influence on other languages and cultures by becoming a global language. This resulted in many English words making their way in the vocabularies of other languages. The aim of this study was to investigate English influence on the Croatian language present in *Doctor Who* subtitles. The results of many previous studies, some of which have been conducted more than 20 years ago, indicate that anglicisms are increasingly intruding the Croatian language, and are, thus, extending English influence over Croatian language and culture. However, the results of this research show that, even though some anglicisms were used by the subtitler while translating the series, their usage is not as high as previous research has shown. Anglicisms constitute only the third largest group of borrowings, following those originating from Latin and Greek. Therefore, the initial hypothesis, that anglicisms constitute the largest number of borrowings found in TV series' subtitles, is rejected. However, this study constituted only a small portion of the *Doctor Who* series and was, as a result, limited in the vocabulary of various topics. For this reason, the corpus of any further research on this subject should be as broad and as comprehensive as possible

since the terminology used in science fiction series is much more diverse than in those of romance, horror, or drama.

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7. Table of figures

Table 1. List of languages from which words were most frequently borrowed in the subtitles of the 7th season of the Doctor Who series

Table 2. Recurrence of anglicisms found in the observed subtitles based on their word class

Table 3. Possible Croatian equivalents of anglicisms used in Doctor Who subtitles