

**UNIVERSITY OF JYVÄSKYLÄ**

***TUNTEMATON SOTILAS* AND ITS ENGLISH AND GERMAN TRANSLATIONS:  
A STUDY OF REALIA**

**A Pro Gradu Thesis in English**

**by**

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Vaikka kääntäminen on ikivanhaa, alkoi käännöstiede kehittyä omaksi tieteenalaksi vasta 1950-luvulla. Käännöstiede on kehittynyt alun lingvistisistä teorioista yhä kommunikatiivisempaan suuntaan ja uudemmat suuntaukset keskittyvät enenevässä määrin tulokieleen lähtökielen sijasta.

Tämän tutkielman aiheena olivat realiat, eli kulttuurisesti muodostuneet sanat, joille ei ole vastinetta muissa kielissä. Realit jaotellaan maantieteellisiin, historiallisiin, sosiaalisiin ja kulttuurisiin. Suomalaisia realioita ovat esimerkiksi *rapakivi*, *kansalaissota*, *karjalanpiirakka* sekä *KELA*. Vastineen puuttuessa realiat muodostavat käännösongelman, jonka kääntäjä ratkaisee käyttämällä käännösstrategiaa. Käännösstrategiat ovat kääntäjän tietoisia tai automatisoituneita ratkaisuja tekstissä tavattaviin ongelmiin. Laajemmin käännösstrategiat jaetaan kotouttavaan ja vieraannuttavaan strategiaan. Kotouttavassa käännöksessä vieraat ainekset on muokattu sopimaan kohdekielen kulttuuriin. Tällöin realiakäsitteiden käännösstrategioina voidaan käyttää etenkin yläkäsitteitä, kulttuurista adaptaatiota ja poistoja. Vieraannuttavassa käännöksessä tekstin vieraus säilytetään, realiat lainataan suoraan alkukielestä tai selitetään tekstissä tai alaviitteessä. Käännöksissä strategian valinta ei ole kuitenkaan näin yksiselitteinen, vaan kaikkia strategioita käytetään. Aiempi tutkimus osoittaa, että mitä suurempi kulttuurillinen ero lähtö- ja kohdekulttuurin välillä on, sitä suuremmalla todennäköisyydellä käännös on kotouttava.

Tutkielmassa tarkasteltiin Väinö Linnan *Tuntemattoman sotilaan* englanninkielistä käännöstä *Unknown soldier* vuodelta 1986 sekä saksankielistä käännöstä *Kreuze in Karelien* vuodelta 1955. Tutkimuksessa realiat etsittiin alkuteoksesta sekä niiden vastineet käännöksistä ja ryhmiteltiin ne käännösstrategian mukaan yhdestä yhdeksään. Alkuperäisen seitsemän strategian lisäksi mukana jaottelussa olivat käännösvirhe sekä sanat, jotka ovat realioita vain toisessa vieraista kielistä tai joita ei muista syistä otettu mukaan tutkimukseen. Tulokset analysoitiin kvantitatiivisesti sekä realiatyyppin että käännösstrategian näkökulmasta. Tutkielmassa ei arvioitu käännösten laatua.

Tutkielman tulokset viittasivat siihen, että englanninkielisen käännöksen päästrategia oli kotouttaminen ja käännös oli tulotekstiin keskittynyt. Käännökseen oli mm. tehty paljon poistoja. Saksankielisen käännöksen päästrategiana oli vieraannuttaminen. Yleisin strategia oli käännöslaina ja poistoja oli hyvin vähän, joten käännös keskittyi lähtökieleen.

Asiasanat: Translation Studies, translation strategy, culture-specific translating, realia

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## I INTRODUCTION

A playful metaphor describes translation as bigamy or even incest; a translator should be considered “not as a dutiful spouse but as a faithful bigamist, with loyalties split between a native language and a foreign tongue” (Johnson 1985, as quoted in Koller 1992:38). What translators do is a balancing act between two cultures and two languages. This study aims at understanding some of the differences between Finnish, English and German cultures that are manifest in their languages.

The art of translation is ancient. In spite of it, serious, scientific research has paid little attention to it until around the 1950s. After this, the field has incorporated an array of theories. This study concentrates on examining translation strategies adopted in translating **realia**, i.e. culture-bound linguistic items. The English and German translations of the Finnish novel *Tuntematon sotilas* (**TuSo**) by Väinö Linna have been used as research material. The novel was first published in 1954 and has been printed 60 times. The translation of unknown concepts is harder the more the target culture and source culture differ, therefore one might wonder which culture, American or German, is closer to Finnish culture. In the United States the book was published in 1986 and in Germany in 1965, which may influence the translations, since the receptor groups were different.

TuSo was chosen for the study, since it is well known in Finland, written by a renowned author and its subject matter is inexplicably linked with Finnish history and culture. The latter consideration is important, since realia are words closely linked to the society of the **source language** (SL), alternatively called receptor language, so that they cannot be directly translated into the **target language** (TS), in which they lack an equivalent. Thus, they present a challenge to the translator and may be lost in translation. *Alko* is an example

of a realia connected to Finnish culture (Ingo 1990). In countries where the selling of alcohol is not confined to specific shops, the word must somehow be, for instance, replaced, explained either in the running text or in a footnote or omitted altogether. An English realia would be for instance *10 Downing Street*, where the British Prime Minister lives. Realia can be geographical, historical, social and cultural conventional features of the source culture. The variety of options available for the translator to deal with words like these is called translation strategy and the chosen methods affect the reception of the book. After all, *Tuntematon sotilas* in English and in Greek make a very different reading (Suominen 1999, as quoted in Leppihalme 2000:97-98), since the American version ignores the different dialects and their subtle meanings and concentrates on keeping the plot in full swing and packed with action. The Greek translators, on the other hand, kept closer to the original and their soldiers speak a variety of Greek dialects, thus emphasizing the individuality of each. The translation strategy adopted in the case of realia has a similar effect. It makes a difference, whether they are translated close to the original or converted to suit the TL. In the first case the reader is continuously aware that s/he is reading a translated book and gaining an insight about a foreign culture, in the latter these kinds of considerations do not interfere with the flow of reading. Both strategies may find their supporters as well as critics.

The objective of the study is to identify the translation strategies in the original work and their respective equivalents in the two translations. The various translation strategies are marked numerically from one to nine and a table is formed of all the words and the respective strategies. Of these three groups of words I will try and find patterns that reveal the overall translation strategy of the realia used by the translators and how the choices differ. Thus, the result is numerical data that is analysed quantitatively. The theoretical framework of the study is communicative translation theory, since the successfulness of a strategy is determined by the context and whether the readers are likely to understand any given passage. The study follows the

more recent developments in the field of TS, since it studies the relationship between language and culture.

The second chapter contains the theoretical framework of the study, including an overview of **Translation Studies (TS)**, its historical developments and main theories from the 1950s to the present. The chapter also includes various definitions and classifications for translations and a description of the translation process. Since for this study the translator and his/her choices are important, the translator's role is discussed separately, as well as translation problems that are further divided into intralinguistic and extralinguistic problems. Next, realia are defined, classified and their translation strategies listed with examples. The third chapter describes the previous studies concerning realia and the translation strategies used in their translation, not to mention other studies conducted on TuSo. The fourth chapter covers the present study, including research questions and my hypotheses, research design and material. The core of the study is presented in the fifth chapter, when the collected data is analysed and the quantitative results reported. Finally, in the sixth chapter the findings of the study are discussed in more detail and suggestions for future research are given. If not otherwise explicitly stated, the German quotations are translated by the writer herself and they appear in a footnote. In some cases the original German expression follows in parenthesis.



## **2 THEORETICAL BACKGROUND**

This chapter gives an overview of TS. Firstly, the history of TS is summarized. Secondly, the concepts of equivalence and interference are described, because they appear repeatedly in this study and require some clarification before an overview of theoretical approaches. Thirdly, main theories and their critique are described in a chronological order, including the most recent developments in the field. The point of view is the method each approach adopts about translating with regard to culture. Fourthly, the concept “translation” is defined and the role of the translator considered. Finally, the various problematic aspects of translations are illustrated and realia described in more detail, characterising and classifying them and listing the possible strategies used in their translation.

### **2.1 History of Translation Studies**

The earliest records of written translations have been found in Egypt and Mesopotamia, where the beginning of translating is dated, depending on the source, somewhere in the 1900s BC (Saksa 2004:15-20) or 3000 BC (Newmark 1981:3). About four thousand years translating developed on its own devices and then, in the 1950s, scholars began to pay more attention to scientific research on translations. Previously mostly translators had commented on the works of other translators. From this point onwards the field might be called TS.

#### **2.1.1 Development of translating**

According to the biblical myth humans originally shared a common language. Due to their arrogant attempt to build a tower that would reach heaven, God destroyed their tower of Babel, dispersed the people and mixed their language, thus creating a need for translators. Nowadays translators have adopted the

tower as their international symbol (Saksa 2004:15). Whether one believes the myth or not, the need for translations has always existed, owing to the 5000-6000 languages spoken in the world today (Paloposki 2002:350).

The history of TS expands from the Roman Empire, where Cicero thought only the incompetent translate word-for-word, to the medieval times, when translations were often seen as valuable as the originals, which had no copyright (Paloposki 2002:360-361). In England Alfred the Great (849-899), the King of Wessex, translated religious texts from Latin into English in order to counteract the cultural decline of his country and succeeded in creating both a medium for rescuing the English language as well as a sense of national unity (Delisle et al. 1995:27-28). Later the King James's Bible (1611) helped lay the foundations of English language and literature (Newmark 1981:3). The translation of Christian texts promoted the development of standard national languages also in Sweden, Germany (Delisle et al. 1995:25-26), Italy, France and Finland, where Agricola translated the New Testament in 1548 (Paloposki 2002:365). For a long time mostly Scandinavian and German texts were translated into Finnish but later English literature has prevailed (Paloposki 2002:366).

### **2.1.2 Development of TS**

TS is defined "as the field of study devoted to describing, analysing and theorizing the processes, contexts and products of the act of translation as well as (the roles of the) agents involved" (Williams et al. 2002:1). Determining appropriate translation methods for as many text categories as possible is the main object of TS (Newmark 1981:19). Serious scientific research in the area in the 1950s was triggered by the achievements of linguistics and rudimentary developments with machine translations; the earliest studies were mostly comparative (Saksa 2004:159). The need for a more comprehensive theory arose as globalisation expanded during the middle of the 20<sup>th</sup> century and more and more texts were being translated (Vehmas-Lehto 1999:32). At this

time accurate translation becomes politically important (Newmark 1981:5). However, translators have always had implicit translation theories that can be reconstructed by analysing their works (Koller 1997:35) and often translators included pre-theoretical comments into their translations on mostly religious or classical texts (Koskinen 2002:374). Explicit theories came about later. Nida, who became renowned as a Bible translator, brought TS into a new level with his book “*Towards a science of translating*” in 1964 (Ingo 1990, Vehmas-Lehto 1999). Other important researchers were Vinay, Darbelnet, Catford, Mounin, Lado and the German researchers Koller, Reiss, Vermeer and Neubert (Ingo 1990:11-12). Despite the short history of serious, scientific TS, the theories and trends are heterogeneous and fragmented, therefore an overview of TS is necessarily simplified (Vehmas-Lehto 1999:23).

Until quite recently TS concentrated on the study of the Bible or the works of Classical Antiquity and since it was a new discipline in the academic world, it generally had an uncertain status (Snell-Hornby 1995:7-8). Undeniably, TS and its theories may not even make translations simply “better”, but enable translators become conscious of the problems and methods in their work and also help them to give arguments for their choice of strategy and see the problematic passages in a wider perspective that can be theoretically reviewed, therefore TS remains closely linked to the practice of translation (Koller 1997:23).

## **2.2. Important concepts of TS**

This section describes the concepts equivalence, adequacy and acceptability, interference and translation error. They are noteworthy, because most theoretical approaches in TS have an opinion of them and they are discussed later in this study. Definitions of these concepts have changed over time and are still controversial.

### 2.2.1 Equivalence

The text produced by a translator is not identical with the original but should be **equivalent** with it (Saksa 2004:158), translations may be expected to be either linguistically, formally or functionally equivalent (Koskinen 2002:375). All linguistic theories of translation share equivalence as a central concept, even though they fail to specify the term (Snell-Hornby 1995:15-16). Newmark (1993:75) goes as far as to say that even though an indispensable operational term in translation, equivalence cannot be defined and there are only degrees of equivalence. Researchers have used the concept of equivalence with many different meanings (Koskinen 2002:375) and there is an array of categories for the term. For example, Koller (1997) lists up to fourteen different categories of equivalence. The source of the term is debatable, it may stem from logics or mathematics (Reiss 1986:73).

The categories of **formal equivalence** and **dynamic equivalence** may be the best known. The first refers to the attempt to digress as little as possible from the form of the original, i.e. word order and syntax (Vehmas-Lehto 1999:27-28). Dynamic equivalence, on the other hand, attempts to produce the closest natural equivalent in the TL (Nida 1969:14).

**Standard equivalents** and **alternative equivalents** are clear-cut cases (Vehmas-Lehto 1999:37-38). Standard equivalents replace each other independent of the context, such as weekdays, specific terms and names of international organizations. The choice of an alternative equivalent depends on the context. For example, the word *niece* is in Finnish translated in two different ways, if the person is a sister's or a brother's daughter. **Zero-equivalence** (German *Nulläquivalenz*) means there is no corresponding TL word available (Kutz 1981:107). This results in a translation problem. Equivalence is problematic, since linguistic scholars debated whether words, segments of words or longer units should be equivalent and gradually the

concept of **translation units** developed, referring to a “cohesive segment lying between the level of the word and the sentence” (Snell-Hornby 1995:16).

After its dismissal in the 1980s, equivalence has experienced a revival in a modified form, this time as the illusion of equivalence (Koskinen 2002:375). This means that in order to meet the needs of the current communicative situation, it can be agreed upon that the translation is more or less equivalent with the original.

The idea of **formal equivalence** concentrates on the message itself (Koller 1997:192) and since it often resulted in texts that were difficult to understand, over time it became more and more old-fashioned (Vehmas-Lehto 1999:56). If the text is translated first and foremost with formal equivalence and the translator’s neutrality and objectivity in mind, the resulting text may be lifeless (Oittinen 1995:143). Loyalty to the original text may be seen not as respect for it but as fear of it (Oittinen 1995:150).

Nida (1969:23) replaced the old concept with **dynamic equivalence**, referring to the process of finding the closest natural equivalent to translation units. Dynamic equivalence is defined based on how similarly the respective readers of the original and the translation respond to the text, even though due to the different historical and cultural setting the response can never be identical (Nida 1969:24). Snell-Hornby (1995) describes Nida’s famous illustration of dynamic equivalence, the phrase *Lamb of God*. The phrase should be translated *Seal of God* in an Eskimo context, since seals are associated with innocence in that community as lambs are in Western culture. Translated according to the ideal of formal equivalence, the phrase would be unintelligible to an Inuit. Revolutionary in Nida’s idea was that it was possible and acceptable to deviate from the meaning of the SL text in order to create in the TL receptor the same kind of reaction to the text as in the SL reader (Vehmas-Lehto 1999:56). Thus, according to the principles of dynamic

equivalence, the text must both communicate information correctly and retain its expressive function, i.e. the people must “feel as well as understand what is said” (Nida 1969:25). In some cases the text may indeed be equivalent in function and effect only then, when striving after equivalence of information and form are given up (Nord 1998:145), the quoted metaphor about the lamb illustrates this point. However, dynamic equivalence, or the similarity of reader reactions is difficult to measure (Oittinen 1995:34).

### **2.2.2. Acceptability and adequacy**

Translating should never be direct, because translations should work on the terms of each language. Because of this, the translator must always take the literary conventions of languages into consideration. In order to do so, the concepts of **acceptability** and **adequacy** have been introduced into TS (Toury 1980 as quoted in Puurtinen 2002:82-81). Accordingly, a translation is acceptable, if it follows the norms of the TL and the TL literature. The form as well as the meaning contribute to it. A contrary concept is adequacy, which refers to the norms and conventions of the SL, in which case the translation is true to the original text. These two concepts that emphasize either the source or target culture are in fact extreme ends of a continuum. These two concepts are also ways of viewing equivalence from a different angle (Oittinen 1995:35). The norms that govern acceptability depend on the genre and receptor group, e.g. adult literature accepts abstruse and foreign concepts more readily than children's literature and somewhat archaic translations of old classics are accepted (Puurtinen 2002:89-90).

However, the concept of acceptability during the translation process is an assumption of the translator who is tentatively assuming the role of a member of the target culture while translating, since it is impossible to predict, if the end product will indeed be accepted into the target culture or not (Toury 1993:16). In addition, Newmark (1993:75) criticizes the use of the term adequacy and calls it “a genuine dead duck”, since it has different meanings in

different languages. It is also difficult to measure, since the studies tend to concentrate on specific features of the text subjectively chosen by the researcher and the differing reactions of test subjects are problematic to generalize (Puurtinen 2002:89). Defining acceptability according to norms is problematic, since norms change temporally and culturally and, after all, one aim of belles lettres is to break old patterns and surprise the readers (Puurtinen 2002:91).

### 2.2.3. Interference

Widely defined **interference** happens whenever the SL appropriately or not noticeably influences the TL text and is therefore inherently present in translations (Newmark 1981:78). Translations that reflect the source culture and its literary norms too closely and are in other words afflicted by interference may be rejected in the target culture (Toury 1993:13). The problem is one of interference, when the SL syntactic structure, word order, etc. are inappropriately reproduced in the TL or the primary meaning of a word interferes with the secondary meaning that would be contextually correct (Newmark 1981:123). The faux-amis or “false friends” are also examples of interference. False friends are words that look the same in the TL and SL but nonetheless have different meanings (Newmark 1981:170).

A related concept is **translationese**, which refers to the language of the translation that contains semantical errors, ambiguous expressions or violates the SL usage, due to ignorance or carelessness from the translator’s part (Newmark 1981:79). Interference, on the other hand, is not necessarily false, often depending on the type of text, since idiolectal and cultural interference may enrich the translation by introducing a kind of interlanguage, for example when idioms that are not culture-specific are literally translated and become comments on universal human behaviour (Newmark 1981:79). Especially more recent approaches even favour interference, thinking that translations should make readers aware of their foreign origins (Koskinen 2002:382). To

sum up, the newer the approach, the more liberal view it is likely to have both on equivalence and interference.

#### **2.2.4 Translation error**

Translation errors are divided into semantic divergence and systemic or grammatical discrepancies (Hartama-Heinonen 1993:78). On the other hand, every word, sentence, etc. that the reader feels is odd in some undefined way or is contrary to reader expectations, may be defined as a discrepancy (Hartama-Heinonen 1993:79). Following this definition, interference is a translation error, too. Students of translatology make mistakes mostly with choice of word, punctuation, and sentence structure or by translating ambiguously or illogically, owing to poor understanding of the ST (Hartama-Heinonen 1993:75). Finnish studies on TS have paid little attention to translation errors and they have mostly concentrated on the deliverance of the message by assessing equivalence (Vehmas-Lehto 1989, as quoted in Hartama-Heinonen 1993:77).

### **2.3 Main theories**

This section describes the main approaches of TS. The first subsection divides the approaches roughly into two groups in two different ways, therefore presenting an overview of the prominent aspects in which the theories differ from each other. The following subsections present four major approaches, i.e. linguistic, communicative and manipulation theory and skopos theory, in a chronological order. Finally, recent developments in the field are examined.



### 2.3.1. Dividing theories of TS

A way of splitting translation theories into two heterogeneous groups functioning as umbrella terms for many different trends is to call them **linguistic translation theories** and **communicative translation theories** (Vehmas-Lehto 1999:90). **Skopos theory** and **manipulation theory** are more recent compared to these. Despite the difficulty of drawing specific lines between different approaches, a gross boundary might be that there are contributions to TS that consider translating either as a sociological phenomenon or as a practical task (Tirkkonen-Condit 1993:5). Moreover, the research done in the fields may be divided into theoretical research and research based on comparing languages (Ingo 1990:15).

In much the same way translations can be described either as **target-oriented** or as **source-oriented** (Tirkkonen-Condit 1993:6-9). The older source-oriented approach deems translations degenerate by necessity, since the literary qualities of the original are focused on. In other words this approach is prescriptive, therefore different translational choices are seen as correct or incorrect. The target-oriented approach is descriptive and makes no such value judgements. This approach does not concentrate on the texts as entities in themselves but on what they can reveal from the translation process, i.e. the choices of the translator and the constraints under which they were made (Toury 1993:17). Apparently mainly European scholars are reluctant to accept the target-oriented framework for any scholarly activity in TS, other than translation practice and teaching, because in Europe they have worked with literary traditions that have been in constant contact for a long time and have influenced each other and thus the element of interference has been neutralized (Toury 1993:18). For example, a Japanese Haiku poem with a rigid syllable division was translated into English following the target-oriented framework with the target culture poetic markers due to the huge gap between the two cultures, i.e. it became more of an "English" poem and this

enhanced acceptability resulted in growing acceptance in the target culture (Toury 1993:20-21).

### 2.3.2 Linguistic theories

The earliest linguistic translation theories were introduced in the 1950s in the Soviet Union and they compare, classify and systematize differences in grammar and lexicon between the SL and TL texts (Vehmas-Lehto 1999:36-36). The ideal was semantic equivalence, which was based on the notion that the same underlying message is expressed differently in different languages and the message should be translated using natural TL (Vehmas-Lehto 1999:36). This approach theorized what was earlier called free translation (Vehmas-Lehto 1999:36). The linguistic research was mainly comparative and as the theories concentrated on equivalence, they are said fail to grasp the dynamic, context-bound nature and have been criticized for being limited (Saksa 2004:159-160).

In the 1960s Catford developed the situative theory, which set itself apart from purely linguistic theories by bringing situational factors into the picture (Vehmas-Lehto 1999:47). Catford thought the possibilities of translation were more limited than those of other scholars (Newmark 1981:9). The theory was based on the systemic grammar developed by linguist M.A.K. Halliday and the approach is nowadays considered by many dated and of historical interest only (Snell-Hornby 1995:14-15).

### 2.3.3 Communicative theories

Eugene A. Nida, who is the father of communicative translation theories, developed the first such theory and brought the field into a whole new level (Vehmas-Lehto 1999:54). He introduced the concept of **dynamic equivalence**, meaning that TL and SL texts should produce the same kind of reaction in their respective readers (Saksa 2004:161). Nida emphasized the

response of the receptor that should be compared with that of the original receptor, always bearing in mind the question To whom? (Nida 1969: 1). In his opinion, correctness of a translation is “determined by the extent to which an average reader for which a translation is intended will be likely to understand it correctly” (Nida 1969:1). Thus, if all readers are to understand a translation, several different ones are considered “correct”, depending on the receptor group and their socioeducational status (Nida 1969: 1-2). In short, as long as the reactions of receptor groups are equivalent, the text is considered equivalent as well. Naturalness ought to be favoured over formal correspondence and functional equivalence over formal (Nida 1969: 14). Nida gives the English Bible translation as an example; the original Greek text began many sentences with “and”, which was appropriate for Semitized Koine Greek, but in the English version resulted in a style contrasting good English usage and sounded childish. Among TS scholars, Nida still remains an influential figure (Snell-Hornby 1995:14).

Nida’s theory is communicative, because translating is seen as communication, as transmission of **messages** (Vehmas-Lehto 1999:58). A message includes a signal, i.e. the form of the message, and the content that is given priority (Nida 1964:123, as quoted in Vehmas-Lehto 1999:58).

#### **2.3.4 Manipulation theory**

In the field of TS, the term “culture” is understood in “the broader anthropological sense to refer to all socially conditioned aspects of human life” (Hymes 1964, as quoted in Snell-Hornby 1995:39). The relationships between cultures influence what is translated and how (Leppihalme 2000:92). Thus, texts from cultures regarded as inferior or peripheral are rarely translated and when they are, they can be manipulated and vice versa. For example, Finland represents a small language community, where many works are translated from other languages, but in the United States the situation is the reverse. In contrast, cultures can protect themselves from books

representing radical ideas by adapting the text while translating or simply by not translating such works, e.g. in communist China (Lefevere 1992:125). Translating, however, always involves rewriting and the original literary works can to a certain extent be manipulated in order for them to fit in with the dominant ideology of the target culture (Lefevere 1992:8-9). The initiators or patrons of translations are often responsible for enforcing their own ideology (Lefevere 1992:14). In fact, “from the point of view of the target literature, all translation implies a degree of manipulation of the source text for a certain purpose” (Hermans 1985:11). The question to what extent the translator may “improve” the text, whether it be illogical or vague passages or factual errors, still remains unanswered (Koller 1997:27). On the other hand, in some cases trust invested in the translator may become more important than the quality of the translation, when over time members of a community begin to hold a certain translation as the official one and consequently newer translations of the same text may be discarded, even if they in reality were more accurate than the canonized one (Lefevere 1992:2).

The manipulation theory began to take shape in the middle of the 1970s; it is, however, rather a set of views shared by researchers than a uniform theory (Aaltonen 2002:392). The theory is considered a part of Comparative Literature, including scholars Andre Lefevere, Jose Lambert, Theo Hermans, Susan Bassnett and Gideon Toury (Snell-Hornby 1995:22). In fact, an anthology of essays called “*Manipulation of Literature. Studies in Literary Translation*” in 1985 and edited by Hermans gave the group its name “**Manipulation School**” (Snell-Hornby 1995:22). The starting-point for the theory is the translated text that is held autonomous (Aaltonen 2002:394). This view challenged the linguistic school, because the starting-point was “not intended equivalence but admitted manipulation”(Snell-Hornby 1995:22). In fact, the manipulation theory defines equivalence functionally and even “poor” translations may not be considered as such, since the manipulation theory concentrates on the circumstances, in which the translation was created (Aaltonen 2002:395). Neither ethics of translating, nor quality analysis were a

major concern of the approach (Koskinen 2002:378). Manipulation of texts has both positive and negative aspects; it can either introduce or obstruct literary innovations and the renewal of the **target culture (TC)** literature (Lefevere 1992: xi). By 1980s the, the Manipulation School and the descriptivism practised at the time shifted the centre of research more in the direction of the TL and TC from the older concentration on **source culture (SC)** (Koskinen 2002:378).

Translators of children's literature are an exception, since usually they are explicitly allowed and even expected to manipulate texts, both language and content of the book, due to different educational views and ideological differences (Puurtinen 2000:107). Puurtinen (2000) gives Pippi Longstockings of the French translation as an example, where she is projected as a well-mannered, polite girl, because French parents might have resented her misbehaving.

### 2.3.5 Skopos theory

The word **skopos** is derived from Greek, meaning 'goal' or 'aim'; skopos theory, developed by Reiss and Vermeer in the early 1980s, emphasizes the purpose of the translation and not the original (Vehmas-Lehto 1999: 92). The skopos of the translation guides the translation process and the ST contains no instructions as to the way the text should be translated, on the contrary, it is considered only an offer of information (*Informationsangebot*) (Saksa 2004:161). The ST and TT have their own skopos (Leppihalme 1993:105). In practice, translators are rarely given detailed information as to the skopos and the future recipients of the text, but must rely in a conventional interpretation that the target text (TT) readers more or less correspond the source text (ST) readers (Nord 1998:146). Since delivering a certain message is at the centre of skopos theory, it is a communicative approach to TS (Vehmas-Lehto 1999:97).

Skopos theory was one of the earliest approaches that concentrated on methods (Gerzymisch-Arbogast 1998:20). The scholars distinguished text types based on Bühler's three language functions, i.e. referential, expressive and symbolic, for which there are individual methods of translation (Gerzymisch-Arbogast 1998:20). The focus of **informative texts** is content and accordingly they should be translated in a way that clearly represents the subject matter (Reiss 1983:86). User manuals are examples of informative texts (Reiss 1986:115). **Expressive texts** concentrate on aesthetics and the language and content are interrelated, which should be borne in mind while translating (Reiss 1983:86-87). Poems are expressive, since their content does not only depend on the words but also on their combinations, associations, etc. (Reiss 1986:115). **Operative texts** are "appellative", i.e. their function is to persuade the reader to act or react in a certain way (Reiss 1983:35), and their translation should retain this persuasiveness (Reiss 1983:86). Propaganda texts are operative, as are satirical novels but the latter also include a secondary expressive function (Reiss 1986:115-116). However, the theoretical basis of skopos theory has been criticized. For example, texts may have more than one function and distinguishing the dominant one is problematic (Gerzymisch-Arbogast 1998:21). At first Reiss indeed assigned only one function to each text but later revised this aspect of her theory (Vehmas-Lehto 1999:72). In addition, in categorising texts into text types, the theory concentrates on their lexical, semantic, syntactic and stylistic features, and therefore it is cannot be deducted how these microstructural units manifest themselves in the whole text (Gerzymish-Arbogast 1998:21). In short, the division of text internal and text external factors is not clearly distinguishable in the Reiss model (Gerzymish-Arbogast 1998:22).

Equivalence does not seem a major concern for skopos theory. According to the theory, a translation need not be equivalent, as long as it is good, i.e. fulfils its function (Vehmas-Lehto 1999:92). This does not mean that the theory were normative (Saksa 2004:161-162). Translating is seen as a goal-oriented act and the successfulness of this act is determined by the realisation of its goal,

which is defined by the communicative situation (Nord 1993:9). Assessing how translations fulfil their purpose and live up to readers' expectations can measure their success and value (Koskinen 2002:380). The issue is rendered difficult by the statement that the text itself has no function, but assumes one through the act of reception (Nord 1993:9). In other words, texts themselves are not factual texts or propaganda speeches, etc. but this kind of status is attributed to them through their *skopos* in a dynamic fashion (Reiss 1984:29).

The translator is at the centre of *skopos* theory, since it considers translators experts in intercultural communication that choose the suitable strategy for each purpose (Koskinen 2002: 381). This feature has earned the theory its strongest critique, since it seems that the translator is given too much freedom, without any obligations to the original and its author (Koskinen 2002: 381). According to *skopos* theory translations are not equivalent but **adequate**, which means that in the given circumstances the translation fulfils its functionality (Saksa 2004:162). On the other hand, *skopos* theory has liberated scholars and translators from equivalence as a kind of straitjacket (Vehmas-Lehto 1999:98).

### 2.3.6 Recent developments

In the 1980s there was a shift in TS towards an interdisciplinary, culturally oriented approach (Leppihalme 1994:1). At the time most of the research was descriptive (Koskinen 2002:377). Each approach emphasizes cultural transfer instead of linguistic, orientation towards translation as communication, the function of the translations and texts as parts of the world and not isolated language specimens (Snell-Hornby 1995: 43). The new, interdisciplinary, culturally oriented approach seems to reflect a need to reject compartmentalization of the humanities and form an integrated view of the TS, based on various disciplines, such as philosophy, philology, literary studies, linguistics, information theory, sociology, pragmatics and cultural studies (Leppihalme 1994:1), even though scholars disagree, which disciplines

should be included here (Ingo 1993:95). In the 1960s linguists believed in the principle of universality and rejected the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis of the interrelation between language and culture, so the idea of the interrelation of translation and culture is only 50-odd years old (Nedergaard-Larsen 1993:208).

Despite being close to the practical world of translating, TS are mostly based on theories and models, since the translation process, what happens in the translator's head, cannot be directly measured (Vehmas-Lehto 1999:31). However, the newer psycholinguistic model attempts this, using the Think Aloud Protocol (TAP) (Saksa 2004:160). Earlier, due to the lack of a solid theoretical basis, the translation process was often considered either mechanical or mysterious and therefore not worthy of studying or impossible to study (Snell-Hornby 1995:131-132).

In the 21<sup>st</sup> century translators and TS face new challenges that can be grouped into three major classes (Schäffner 2004:19-35). Firstly, English dominates both as an SL and TL and many texts are translated from “international English”, i.e. from authors, whose mother tongue is other than English. Secondly, texts altogether may face changes, such as the changing of conventional text types and the proliferation of hybrid texts, i.e. texts that cannot be categorized into one specific text type, through intercultural contacts. Thirdly, modern technologies and machine translation are developing, which is on the one hand welcomed as an effective, time saving tool and on the other hand causes apprehension with regard to the secure professional future of translators. In spite of the progress, the present view is that multiple and contextual interpretations of texts and the need for background knowledge make it impossible for a machine to completely replace human translators (Saksa 2004: 168).

Since the mid-1990s, the controversial search for translation universals and their general rules and regularities has been at the centre of TS (Mauranen



2004:1-3). In spite of the prolific theories TS has produced, the dichotomy of word and sense, i.e. the form and meaning of a word, still exists, the traditional translation theory never succeeded in solving the problem and it still occupies TS scholars (Snell-Hornby 1995:9). Translation critique still remains all but forgotten, even though creating an objective basis for evaluation and assessment would benefit many fields, including translator training (Saksa 2004: 166). The study of interpreting and of the history of translation have grown into their own fields (Saksa 2004: 167), as well as feminist translating (Koskinen 2002:379), which sees translating as means to further the political goals of feminists and advocate female translators first and foremost as women (Koskinen 2002:383).

To sum up the various theories, as TS has developed over the years, the roles of SL, ST and SC have grown. TS has began to pay more attention to the roles of translators and readers and the importance of the author has declined. In the first stages in 1950s research emphasized the differences between ST and TT. The following major approaches were communicative. In 1960s first the communicative situation was brought into the picture and then the receptors, their reactions and culture, too, since readers' reactions are influenced by the culture they live in. The 1970s saw an increasing interest in TT and a more liberal view on translating. In the 1980s the purpose of the translation guided translating. During these decades equivalence fell into disfavour and has not regained its old status in its original form. From the 1970s onwards, the concept of quality in translating has become more ambiguous, because circumstances and functionality are now deciding factors, too. Towards the end of the millennium interdisciplinary, integrative approaches have focused more and more on the relationship between language and culture. In time TS has expanded from a narrower view on translating concentrating on language to a transcending view. Moreover, descriptivism is preferred nowadays, even though a descriptive view on translating easily develops into simplistic prescriptivism, when strategies are evaluated as effective or ineffective (Leppihalme 1994:133).

## **2.4 Defining translation**

In this study the role of the translator is emphasized. How one perceives this role affects the way the process of translating is described. For example, non-professionals, who may regard translating as a simple process of replacing words of one language with those of another, simplify the translator's role. In short, the purpose of this section is to describe this role, which does not entail a simple switch of codes, but rather an intricate exchange between two cultures.

### **2.4.1 Definitions for translating**

The cultural, literal and linguistic-historical significance of translations cannot be overestimated (Koller 1997:59). In some cultures it was a translator that invented the alphabets for the language, for example, Ulfila for the Germanic Goths, James Evans for the Cree Indians in Canada and many missionary-translators in order to spread their faith (Delisle 1995:8-19). During the Renaissance translations of the authors of Antiquity contributed to the growth of modern, European literature (Frank 1987, as quoted in Koller 1997: 59). Thus, even though the importance of translations was established and acknowledged, it seems translations, and especially their makers, are rarely given the appreciation due to them. Even the definitions for the act of translating are diverse, ranging from simplistic to the more elaborate views.

A simple definition describes translating as expressing with the TL what has already been expressed with the SL (Vehmas-Lehto 1999:12). This definition seems to ignore the role of culture. Translating can also be described as the translation of a SL text into a TL text while maintaining the similarity between the surface meaning and the grammatical structure of the SL text, when it is possible and can be done without excessively distorting the structures of the TL (Bassnett 1991:21). Thus, for this definition the grammatical structure is of consequence as well. In addition, translating can

be defined as the crossing of language and cultural barriers, since texts reflect the culture in which they are written (Leppihalme 2001:89). Koller (1997:17) employs both kinds of definitions by at first defining translating as the solving of linguistic and stylistic problems, but goes on to clarifying it as a cultural work in a wider sense; one must take both the cultural contact as well as the linguistic contact into account. The last two views emphasize the cultural aspect of translating. The earlier focus of translating used to concentrate on the form of the message but now the response of the receptor is considered to be of most importance (Nida 1981:1). In fact, Nida (1976, as quoted in Koller 1997) even suggests that different receptor groups need different translations that are customized to meet their respective needs.

The translation process comprises three stages that are **analysis**, **transfer** and **restructuring** (Nida 1969:33-34). Firstly, the surface structure, i.e. the syntactic form of the sentence, is analysed in terms of grammatical and semantical relationships of the words and combinations of words. Secondly, in the translator's mind the material is transferred from language A to language B. This stage deals with referential meaning of words. Thirdly, in order for the message to be fully acceptable in the TL, the material is restructured and connotative meanings are taken into account. The final phase may also be called synthesis (Vehmas-Lehto 1999:62). The three stages of the process are to more or less parallel to translation firstly as a science, secondly as a skill and thirdly as an art (Newmark 1981:144).

A layman tends to perceive translating as a simple switch of codes, for which good knowledge of a foreign language and a dictionary are sufficient (Vehmas-Lehto 2001: 40-41). The so-called naïve reader often equates the translated text with the original and uses it as grounds to estimate the authors' abilities as a writer (Kujamäki 2000:200) and therefore forgets the translator. However, in reality a translator must have excellent skills not only in the SL but also in the TL; a translation should never be direct, word-for-word, but natural TL, taking the conventions of the text type into consideration

(Vehmas-Lehto 2001:40-41). Thus, a literary translation is always based on an interpretation by the translator and not mechanically created (Leppihalme 2001:101) since, after all, world languages differ not according to what is possible to express with them, but rather according to the means they use to express it (Vehmas-Lehto 2001:32). The dichotomy of translating, whether or not they should be faithful to the original, has long since caused considerable debate (Saksa 2004:159).

#### 2.4.2 Translation categories

Translations can be grouped into various categories. The bases for this division are three-fold, the text itself, whether it be youth or children's literature, prose, poetry or drama, the direction of the translation and the purpose of the translation.

In the first group the text type determines the category. The concept **translation proper** means the translation of literary works, mundane matters of business, law and administration and other factual texts do not fall under this category (Snell-Hornby 1995:10-11). Translations can be literary either from the point of view of the target culture or the source culture (Toury 1993:12). In principle these are different, even though they may concur, especially if the two cultures share similar literary traditions, the target culture is in a weaker position and willingly uses the source culture a source of literary enrichment or a particular translator has gained a position that enables him/her to deviate from the literary norms of the target culture (Toury 1993:13).

Translating is also divided into **intralingual** and **interlingual** (Paloposki 2002:351). Intralingual translation refers to translation within a language, for example, an older text may be retranslated, as the meaning gets blurred due to the archaic words and changes in semantics, interlingual translation involves two languages (Paloposki 2002:351). **Inverse translation**, i.e. translating from a foreign language into another foreign language should, in principle, be

avoided, but in Finland it is a necessity due to the lack of foreigners who know Finnish (Vehmas-Lehto 1999:12).

The aim of translating is not only to acquaint other peoples with the literature of foreign countries. In fact, translations serve up to five purposes (Newmark 1991:43-45). The first purpose is to facilitate and ease understanding and peace between nations and individuals. Here pragmatics, e.g. the effect on the readers and the style of writing, rather than the referential meaning of words is emphasized. Newmark's (1981) illustrates this with the word *sack* that still retains its "sickening effect" whether it be sugar-coated as "rationalisation", "getting rid of the fat" and so forth. The second purpose is the transmittance of knowledge, especially technological, where the message needs to be expressed plainly, accurately and understandably. The third purpose is to act as a mediator between cultures. This means one must respect others but at the same time translations can reveal the absurdities of the SL by direct translation. Newmark (1981) clarifies this with an example from French, where a duel is referred to as *une affaire d'honneur*, which gives the action a falsely glorified meaning. The fourth purpose, the artistic, is to bring the world's great books from poetry to politics, for everyone to read. The fifth purpose is to help in the acquisition of foreign languages. This, however, has only a supportive role to the four basic skills, which are speaking, writing, listening and reading (Newmark 1993:59).

### 2.4.3 Ideal translation

The idea of an ideal translation has varied over time. In fact, Bassnett (1991:28) states that due to the context-bound nature of translations, it is useless to strive after a “perfect” translation. Up until the 1960s it was discussed whether or not it is even possible to translate texts and if so, should they be literally or freely translated (Vehmas-Lehto (1999:23). The problem of **translatability** questions whether what is said in one historical-natural language can be expressed in another (Petrilli 2003:28). The problem with translatability stems from the dissimilar images of the world (*Weltbilder*) that differ from language to language (Koller 1972:75). However, following Chomsky’s theory of all the world languages sharing a common deep structure, a so-called *lingua universalis*, a formal logical-semantical language, translatability becomes a primary feature of languages in general (Koller 1997:70-71).

However, three differing ideals are distinguishable (Vehmas-Lehto 1999:26-28). First the so-called arbitrary translation, according to which the translator is free to do what s/he will, and the author has no copyright, whereas the second one, the formal equivalence ideal, strives to deviate from the original as little as possible. In contrast, the third ideal of a “free” translation aims to accurately convey contents of the text and, at the same time, achieve a culturally suitable and natural text in the target language. Thus, these various ideals also demonstrate differing definitions for translating. The message of the SL text should be reproduced first in terms of meaning and second in terms of style (Nida 1969:95). As for style, should an old text be translated with a similarly archaic or modern language? Itkonen-Kaila (2000:88) answers no, since all texts were up-to-date at the time of their creation and in her opinion there is no need to talk about ancient matters with ancient language.

#### **2.4.4 Role of the translator**

The role of a translator is that of a cultural mediator (Leppihalme 2000:102). A prerequisite for any translator is to analyse the text, understand its meanings and decide, which elements are necessary to translate and this is by no means an automatic process (Vehmas-Lehto 1999). There are three reasons, why texts can rarely be directly translated (Vehmas-Lehto 1999:19). Firstly, if the translator does not understand the meaning of a given element, s/he can translate something the original author did not intend. Secondly, the author may have implicitly presented something in the text and the translator must explicate the item, since for cultural reasons readers of the translation would not understand a hidden implication. However, there can be danger of either over- or underestimating the reader; stating the obvious may result in a patronizing attitude towards readers (Koller 1997:249). Thirdly, a reader of the translation usually is in a weaker position in comparison with a reader of the original text, since the latter is likely to be familiar with the culture of the SL. The demands made for the translator remain significant and the translator is usually made no notice of, unless there are mistakes in the text (Vehmas-Lehto 2002). In many cases these mistakes are regarded as such only, because they momentarily break the illusion between the alleged sameness of the original and the translation (Kujamäki 2000:200). However, if the deviations follow a pattern, they imply a conscious strategy used by the translator and only isolated incidences might be considered mistakes (Lefevere 1992: 109).

The set of skills and characteristics required from a translator are called translator competence, defined by Vehmas-Lehto (2002:41). First and foremost a translator must have excellent knowledge of at least two languages that are called working languages. In addition s/he must have contrastive skills, i.e. knowledge and experience of structural differences between the two languages and how they are naturally used, i.e. linguistic sensitivity.

## 2.5 Problems with translations

This section views translation problems and their sources. The first subsection gives a brief overview of problem sources and ways of identifying them. Problems resulting from the different SL and the TL cultures are classified into two major classes, as either **intralinguistic** or **extralinguistic** (Nedergaard-Larsen 1993:210). Both classes contain words that are culture-bound and in themselves impossible to translate. These categories are described next. The final three subsections concentrate on extralinguistic problems, i.e. realia, which are defined and classified.

### 2.5.1 Overview of translation problems

Translation problems can be divided into three categories, listed by Lörcher (1991:202:203). Single lexemes lacking an equivalent in the TL refer to **lexical problems**. A situation, where there is no corresponding TL structure available is a **syntactic problem**. When both the lack of a lexeme and a syntactic structure contribute to the problem and/or they cannot be differentiated, the problem is **lexico-syntactic**. This is the case, for example, with metaphors and idioms. If a **lexeme**, i.e. a basic vocabulary unit, has multiple **senses**, i.e. multiple interpretations of the same lexeme, the translator must decide, which in the particular context is the correct one (Ingo 1990:151). For instance, the Finnish word *poika* (English *boy*) has several senses, e.g. baby boy, little boy or an adult son (Ingo 1990:152). Thus, one should translate sememes instead of lexemes, since translation units are semantic components or bundles of components (Ingo 1990:158).

However, the translation problem as a unit of analysis is problematic, since it has been argued that it should be left to specific kinds of universal problems and the problems of individual translators be called **attention units** (Jääskeläinen 1993:102). Attention units are the passages in the SL text, where the effortless, automatic processing is interrupted and attention is paid



to specific item or items. When solving translation problems, the translator should make a conscious decision, when to conform and when to break literary norms (Oittinen 1995:22).

Studies on translation problems have used two strategies and their combinations. Prospective studies predict translation problems based on the linguistic account of the ST, but this seems to imply that psycholinguistic processes are accountable for linguistic categories (Kring 1986:266). Retrospective studies identify problems by an error analysis of the TT, even though there may be “problems without errors and errors without problems” (Kring 1986:266-267). Kring (1986:267) suggests that the identification of translation problems should be based on features of the translation process.

### **2.5.2 Intralinguistic problems**

Problems with translations lie within language as well as outside the language (Snell-Hornby 1995). However, the distinction between the two is somewhat artificial, because when people deal with words they also deal with language (Leppihalme 2001:139).

Use of dialect, register differences, vocative forms and swear words are intralinguistic problems with translations (Leppihalme 2000:94). Nedergaard-Larsen (1993:210), however, lists vocative forms, the use of certain rhetoric, metaphors, idioms and grammatical categories that exist in either TL or SL and features of spoken language, such as dialectal or sociolectal speech variants or spoken language characterised by a certain intonation. The term heteroglossia refers to the voices of the characters, i.e. the different way each character of a literary work speaks (Leppihalme 2000:94). This array of sociolects and dialects gives additional information about the characters to a reader familiar with them. This device is used in *TuSo* as well, since in the novel the characters speak their own dialect and this adds to their profile.

Another intralinguistic problem when translating realia is that of **connotation**. A connotation refers to the communicative value words have owing to their referent, other than only their conceptual meaning (Leech 1974:14), i.e. a feeling or emotion one automatically attaches to a word. My example of this is *grandmother*, which has a connotation of respect but if one wants to convey intimacy, the word *Granny* may be used. In fact, words may have positive, negative or neutral connotations and since these vary across cultures, translators must take care to translate using a word with appropriate connotations (Larson 1984:131-132). Semantically synonymous words may carry different emotive meanings, e.g. *skinny* has a negative connotation, *slender* has a positive one and *thin* is the most neutral of the three (Larson 1984:132).

### 2.5.3 Extralinguistic problems

Words that refer to the extralinguistic world are called realia (Leppihalme 2000:93), defined in section 2.4.3. Extralinguistic translation problems result from cultural factors and not linguistic, such as word play (Kujamäki 1993:52).

Some culture-specific words or concepts may have to be explained, since otherwise the reader cannot understand or might misunderstand parts of the text (Ingo 1990:238). According to Leppihalme (2000:90), omitting the elements that anchor the text into the culture in which it is written and replacing them with generalizations would question the point of translating altogether since culture-bound features make the text genuine. In addition, Leppihalme (2000:96) refers to **the law of growing standardization**, which means that when a culture-specific or dialect word is translated as standard language (*girl* instead of *lassie*) or hyponyms are placed with hyperonyms (*flower* instead of *tulip*), the resulting text is less colourful compared to the original. These culture-specific words that add colour to the text are also called token words (Newmark 1981:82). Bassnett and Lefevere (1998 as

quoted in Leppihalme 2000:101-102) critically call this lack of vividness the Holiday Inn –syndrome, which means that every culture-bound feature is eliminated from the text. This results in the impression that there is nothing foreign and everywhere everything is similar. A solution for this syndrome can be compensation: if stylistic deterioration or loss of meaning is inevitable in some parts of the translation, one can incorporate a colourful expression or dialect variant somewhere else (Leppihalme 2000:96).

Allusions are also a type of culture-bound translation problems (Leppihalme 1994:3). They are expressions that require participation from the receiver, since the words of the allusion function as clues to an earlier use of the word, e.g. a name evokes characteristic features of a story known about him/her (Leppihalme 1994:3). My examples of biblical allusions would be the personal names Judas and Jezebel, that both convey an idea of betrayal or unfaithfulness. Allusions may develop into clichés, this might be said of my above-mentioned examples, or are no longer popularly associated with the original source (Leppihalme 1994:3).

#### **2.5.4 Defining realia**

If a cultural reality remains unchanged from culture to culture, it is called cultural universalis (Leech 1974:238), realia are the opposite. The term “realia” stems from Latin, meaning “real things” that refer to the real world “outside languages”, Finnish examples are *halla*, *kelo*, *nuijasota*, and *ruotsinlaiva* (Leppihalme 2001:139). Leppihalme (2001) notes that for Finns *kelo* is something more than “a dead tree”, as it was translated in Arto Paasilinna’s novel. The function of realia is both referential as well as indicative (Kujamäki 1993:56). The first function means that realia help construct the fictional world of the novel in question by binding it to the recipient’s experience of the world. The latter refers to the ability of realia to characterise the theme, characters and even the author of the novel.

The main characteristic of realia is that they directly refer to the socio-cultural milieu of the TL (Kutz 1981:108). This extra-linguistic element of language determines which words exist in the TL and how the TC classifies reality (Nedergaard-Larsen 1993:210). Examples of the differing classifications between cultures are, for example, the division of the times of day, measure and weight, meals, and words that refer to educational systems (Vinay and Darbelnet 1977, as quoted in Nedergaard-Larsen 1993:210). Realia carry with them identity of the people who use the expressions and to whose culture they are anchored, whether it be a country, a region or a continent (Markstein 1999:288). In fact, realia may even occur within the same language, e.g. if intralingual translation is needed for a technical text in order for native non-professionals to understand it (Nedergaard-Larsen 1993:212).

Early on these kinds of problems were accounted for gaps in languages, i.e. the SL lacks an equivalent for a TL word (Savory 1968:16). If the characteristic or quirky word depends on the speaker and not on what is spoken about, the word belongs to the group of speech variants (*Sprachvariante*), not realia, even though dialects can be sources of realia. The situation is clarified with two examples, given by Markstein (1999:189). The word *Schmarren* in Austria and the south of Germany refers to something that is worthless or not of high quality and is therefore a dialect expression. However, the compound with a slightly modified orthography of the word, *Kaiserschmarrn*, a local Austrian delicacy is a realia. As I understand it, in the latter case using this specific name for the food does not depend on the region the speaker comes from. A north German, in other words, would not necessarily call something useless *Schmarren*, but if in Austria s/he wants to order the dish, s/he'd have to call it *Kaiserschmarrn* in order to get it.

In addition, it must be noted that even though many researchers refer to problems resulting from lack of equivalence, comparably few call the phenomenon "realia". Even as a whole TS represents a fairly young academic

discipline and therefore, as Ingo (1990) points out, the terminology has not yet been completely established. Koller (1997) uses the term “gap” (German *Lücke*) and many adopt the term “culture-bound” (Reiss 1883, Lefevere 1992, Nedergaard-Larsen 1993). Ingo (1990) talks about pragmatic equivalents and Lefevere (1992) simply discusses “words and things”. In this study the term “realia” is used, following the example of Leppihalme (2000), Kutz (1981) and Nord (1993), as it is a simple, one-word term that refers to culture-bound, extralinguistic words.

### **2.5.5 Classification of realia**

Koller (1997:232-233) distinguishes four groups of realias. However, the name he uses for problems that result from the lack of equivalence is “gap” (*Lücke*). Gaps are characterized as political, institutional, socio-cultural or geographical concepts or names that are specific for certain countries. Nedergaard-Larsen (1993:210) also distinguishes four different types. She divides realia into geographical, historical, social and cultural terms but they can be divided into smaller subgroups, respectively. Table 1 below from Nedergaard-Larsen (1993:211) shows the realia types. The first column of the table includes the four main categories. The subcategories for each are represented in the middle column and in the last column the subcategories are described more specifically, even though the description is not exhaustive. For example, the geography category includes mountains and rivers, but naturally also seas, lakes, roads, etc. belong to it.

**Table 1 Extralinguistic culture-bound problem types**

Geography	geography	mountains, rivers
	meteorology	weather, climate
History	biology	flora, fauna
	buildings	monuments, castles, etc.
	events	wars, revolutions, flag days
Society	people	well-known historical persons
	industrial level (economy)	trade, industry, energy supply
	social organizations	judicial system, local and central authorities, police, prisons, etc.
	politics	state management, ministries, electoral system, political parties, politicians
Culture	social conditions	groups, subcultures, living conditions, problems
	ways of life, customs	housing, transport, food, meals, clothing, articles for everyday use, family relations
	religion	churches, rituals, morals, ministers, bishops, religious holidays, saints
	education	schools, colleges, universities, lines of education, exams
	media	TV, radio, newspapers, magazines
	culture, leisure activities	museums, works of art, literature, authors, theatres, authors, theatres, cinemas, actors, musicians, idols, restaurants, hotels, nightclubs, cafés, sports, athletes

To illustrate table 1 I give examples of Finnish realia from each category. *Halti*, *Päijänne*, *Saimaannorppa* and *sinivuokko* are geographical realia. *Sibelius-monumentti*, *Snellmanin päivä*, *kansalaisista* and *Topelius* are historical realia. *Kakola*, *KRP*, *Kokoomus*, *Matti Vanhanen*, and *mämmi* are social realia. *Kerimäen kirkko*, *Jyväskylän yliopisto*, *Keskisuomalainen*, *Alvar Aalto-museo* and *hotelli Kämp* are examples of cultural realia.

Another possibility is to group realia prototypically into cultural words (German *Kulturalien*) and natural words (German *Naturalien*) (Bödeker and Freese 1987, as quoted in Kujamäki 1993:52). The cultural realia refer to political, financial, social or cultural institutions. The natural realia, on the other hand, represent the natural environment, such as special meteorological phenomena and the flora and fauna typical of a region. Accordingly, in table 1 the categories history, society and culture are cultural words and the geography category comprises natural words.

## **2.6 Translation strategies**

This section gives a general view on translation strategies. The concept of translation strategy is defined and strategies are grouped into major classes. The considerations translators should take into account are described in the last section.

### **2.6.1. Defining translation strategy**

A translation strategy is defined as “a potentially conscious procedure for the solution of a problem which an individual is faced with when translating a text segment from one language to another” (Lörscher 1991:76). Thus, problem-orientedness, potential consciousness and goal-orientedness are the criteria for a translation strategy (Lörscher 1991:77). In the absence of translational problems, strategies are not used, but a SL text item is transformed into a TL one in an automatic, unconscious fashion (Krings 1986:268). However, Leppihalme (1994:92) criticizes the concept of non-strategic translation. According to her, the use of strategies has in these cases been automatized and the translator need not to think consciously about problem solving and therefore cannot easily comment his/her translation process. In addition, Leppihalme considers non-professional translating “as a situation where the translator has a very limited number of strategies at his/her (individual)

disposal, or makes use of a limited number of them only” (Leppihalme 1994:93), but nonetheless, it is not completely non-strategic translation.

### 2.6.2. Broad division of strategies

Translation strategies are distinguished from related concepts, such as method, plan, rule and tactics by their individuality, even though linguists have not clearly defined the concept (Lörscher 1991, as quoted in Jääskeläinen 1993:105). **The adaptive strategy** and **the transference strategy** are two umbrella strategies for translations (Koller 1997:60). The adaptive method assimilates the foreignness of texts, the transference method tries to transfer them as such and doing so, they can change and renew the linguistic and stylistic norms of the TL. These concepts are also called **domestication** and **foreignizing** (Leppihalme 2001, Puurtinen 2002, Aaltonen 2002). Domestication is favoured in Anglo-American countries, since there translated literature is marginal and has consequently not had a chance to develop norms of its own (Puurtinen 2002:90-91). In Finland due to the large percentage of translated literature, the receptor group is more used to foreign elements (Puurtinen 2002:90). Lawrence Venuti strongly supports foreignizing (Aaltonen 2002:403-404). In Venuti's opinion, translations should not be fluent but deliberately include elements that distract readers and awaken them to think about relationships between texts (Koskinen 2002:382). This way, foreignizing is supposed to waver the supremacy of Western culture and the English language (Koskinen 2002:382-383). Itkonen-Kaila (2000:83-88) also recommends that when translating travelogues from the 17<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century by foreigners travelling in Finland there is no need to replace the explanatory or descriptive passages that are self-evident for Finns, since this way the Finnish reader can experience the amazement of the foreign traveller. Nor should the archaic language be purposefully translated as old-fashioned Finnish, because at the time of creation the text was modern.



Translation strategies can be divided into **global strategies** and **local strategies** (Jääskeläinen 1993:116). Global strategies refer to the translator's general principles and modes of action. Local strategies are the translator's specific actions when solving problems and making decisions. The chosen global strategy determines the individual local strategies, for instance, if the global strategy is to avoid readers taking offence at the author's political opinions, the local strategy for each potentially offensive text segment might be to omit them or tone them down (Leppihalme 2001:140.) However, translators do not choose a strategy and stick to it throughout the translation process but choose different strategies during the process (Nedergaard-Larsen 1993:216-217).

Rather than definite groups, this categorisation may also be seen as a continuum from non-translation to complete adaptation, or from SC-oriented to TC-oriented (Nedergaard-Larsen 1993:219-220). In order to translate realia, the translator needs dictionaries that concentrate on them, electronic data retrieval skills, first-hand knowledge of the source culture and informants, who live in the country and are the right age (Leppihalme 2000:94). When translating, the translator needs to break up the realia into known and unknown components so many times that in the end there are enough known components and the reader is able to understand the concept (Kutz 1981:110). This process is divided into two stages. At first, the surface structure of the SL word is considered. This refers to the phonological content, i.e. articulation and orthography, grammatical categories, such as part of speech, gender, etc. as well as denotative meaning (Kutz 1981:114). Next the deep structure is concentrated on, as the translator forms, based on his/her empirical knowledge and intuition, a conceptual and logical explicitation of the meaning of the realia in its specific context and consequently reformulates this explicative phrase into a more economical expression (Kutz 1981:116).

### **2.6.3 Choice of strategy**

When choosing the optimal translation strategy, the translator firstly needs to generally consider the genre, loyalty either to the author's exact words or his/her intention and the knowledge the TL audience is likely to have of the SL, the SL culture and of the period (Nedergaard-Larsen 1993:221-222). Secondly, when encountering specific translation problems, the translator needs to think about the function of the element, its connotations and the audience in order to decide, if the element is crucial to the plot, if it must be made explicit either because of its associated meaning is vital for comprehension or the audience is not likely to understand the element without further explanations (Nedergaard-Larsen 1993:222-223). In order to successfully fill a gap in the vocabulary of the TL, the translation should be easily understandable, i.e. transparent as to its formation (German *Motivationstransparenz*), relatively short and follow the linguistic conventions of the TL (Kutz 1981:125), even though other views exist as well. In contrast to the last requirement, generally the preferred strategy for new terms is likely to be transcription paired with a discreet explanation and if the term becomes widespread it may be adopted in the TL, since this method shows respect for the foreign culture (Newmark 1981:83). Nonetheless, choice of strategy necessarily involves a level of subjectivity, since it is an individual translator's evaluation of the most suitable strategy to a given element (Leppihalme 1994:135).

## 2.7 Realia translation strategies

In this section the general view of translation strategies is deepened and the strategies used with realia are described in detail. The subsections contain the seven strategy types listed by Leppihalme (2001). The categories are summarized in the final subsection.

### 2.7.1 Direct transfer

Using the strategy of **direct transfer**, the translator uses the SL word either unchanged or they are adapted phonetically, graphemically and/or morphologically and this way adopted as loan words into the SL (Koller 1997: 232). This strategy may also be called either loan or transfer (Nedergaard-Larsen 1993:224). However, depending on the researcher, direct transfer may be interpreted as such only, if the word is transferred verbatim, without any changes (Nedergaard-Larsen 1993, Vinay and Darbelnet 1977), others allow adaptation to the TL (Leppihalme 2001, Koller 1997). English examples that the Finnish language translates according to this method are “stilton” (*stilton*) and “pub” (*pubi*) (Leppihalme 2001:141).

English borrows and adopts foreign elements quite freely, they can either be acclimatized (*kindergarten*) or remain foreign (*mhunga*, an African plant) (Leppihalme 2001:141). Direct transfer is often used with personal and place names in the absence of an available conventionalised TL translation, such as “Florence” for *Firenze* or *Kaarle Suuri* for “Charlemagne” (Leppihalme 2001:141).

### 2.7.2 Calque

**Calque**, otherwise known as imitation, may be direct transfer, but adapted to the TL, e.g. *sécretaire d’Etat* becomes *statssekretær* (Nedergaard-Larsen

1993:217). With this strategy the ST word is translated word-for-word literally, calques can at first be considered interference, but are usually in time adopted into the TL, such as *inkivääriolut* for the English *ginger beer* (Leppihalme 2001:141).

### 2.7.3 Cultural adaptation

**Cultural adaptation** is a strategy that makes use of so-called functional equivalents, i.e. “the unfamiliar is replaced by the familiar” (Leppihalme 2001:142). This may also be called the closest possible equivalent of the TL (Koller 1997:232). Functional equivalents refer to words of the TL that correspond to the connotations and associations of the SL word, i.e. function as cultural parallels (Nedergaard-Larsen 1993:217), for example *Buckingham Palace* might be translated *Mäntyniemi*, at least if the assumed receptor group were children.

The strategy of cultural adaptation is favoured in subtitling, children’s literature and humour, since readers must respond quickly to subtitles, children usually need more domestication in order to understand the text fully and humour often requires something familiar in order for it to be funny (Leppihalme 2001:142). If the whole text is translated using this method, alternatively called cultural context adaptation, the translator should pay special attention to text function, consistency and reader expectations (Oittinen 1995:25-26).

However, the use of cultural adaptation is argued to create a problem with credibility, e.g. when *rue Saint-Denis* becomes *Soho*, the French setting is lost (Nedergaard-Larsen 1993:231). In order to make the text seem real, e.g. the characters’ attitudes and morals must be conformed to the cultural norms of the receptor group, which requires skill and consideration from the translator (Oittinen 1995:26).

### 2.7.4 Superordinate term

The use of **superordinate terms**, i.e. higher-order units, leads to less detailed and specified information and results in a kind of flattening of the text (Leppihalme 2001:143). My own examples of this strategy are *torppa* > a small house and *nuttu* > a jacket. Nedergaard-Larsen (1993:227) calls substituting specific names for general categories explicitation, when the concept becomes clear to the reader but local colour is lost.

The flattening caused by superordinate terms may be inevitable if TC is unfamiliar with SC distinctions (Leppihalme 2001:143). Another strategy is to replace words with their **co-hyponyms** (Kujamäki 1998, as quoted in Leppihalme 2001:143), e.g. co-hyponyms of *suo* are *korpi*, *räme*, *neva* and *letto*, but this since it is rare, it is not included in the categorisation (Leppihalme 2001:143).

### 2.7.5 Explicitation

**Explicitation** makes the implicit explicit (Vehmas-Lehto 2001:221). Koller (1997:232) defines this strategy as the use of longer, explicative phrases either into the running text or as a footnote. Lefevere (1992:83) describes the technique “acculturation”. The strategy refers to some explanatory changes that make the meaning clear to the receptor (Leppihalme 2001:143). The strategy aims at removing so-called culture bumps and is thus reader-friendly (Leppihalme 1994:115). Nedergaard-Larsen (1993:227) defines explicitation in a different way by stating that it substitutes specific names with more general categories, such as translating Fleury-Mérogis, a French prison, with *prison*. In Leppihalme’s categorization this would be classed as using a superordinate term and what Leppihalme (2001) calls explicitation, Nedergaard-Larsen (1993:229) calls a paraphrase.

According to Kutz (1981:122) the form of the resulting translation when using this strategy should consist of a compact, nominal core and a flexible addition, this way the addition may eventually fall out and the core become the lexical TL equivalent with a fixed form.

The use of this strategy, however, may irritate readers, if they feel it is unnecessary and it also usually lengthens the text and may not decrease the flattening of the text (Leppihalme 2001:143). In addition, some emotional associations of the original realia are lost and the translator must interpret which ones are context important to retain in the given context (Nedergaard-Larsen 1993:218). My example of this is the Hanken School of Economics in Helsinki that might stereotypically be associated with Finnish-Swedish people, privileged life style and the so-called *pappa betalar* -mentality. The translator has to decide, which of these associations are necessary to convey to the readers of the translation and should the school be translated Hanken, a School of Economics or perhaps as some target culture equivalent, e.g. London School of Economics.

### 2.7.6 Addition

The differences between explicitation and **addition** are vague (Leppihalme 2001:143). A translator's notes, prefaces, glossaries or postscripts, in other words explanatory additions placed outside the text, belong to this group (Leppihalme 2001:144). Additions can become unnecessary over time and due to increasing globalisation and they may be seen as more intrusive than explicitation that is slipped in the text (Leppihalme 2001:144). In addition, some publishers and editors are said to dislike additions of this kind, since explanatory footnotes suggest academic writing to readers and are therefore contrary to what readers expect from a literary translation (Leppihalme 1994:143). Many scholars, too, prefer explicitation to addition (Newmark 1993:5). On the other hand, if the TC and publisher approve of the strategy, the number of footnotes can be quite high (Leppihalme 2001:144).

### **2.7.7 Omission**

**Omission** refers to a complete non-translation. Contemporary literary translators tend to consider omission the last resort and it is often considered contrary to ethical norms of literary translating (Leppihalme 1994:144). Omission may be used to avoid the need to translate a problematic realia and sometimes only some of the details are lost, when detailed specificity is not necessary, for example, names of foreign dishes may be simplified if they are not crucial to the plot, i.e. it is not a cookery book (Leppihalme 2001:145).

### **2.7.8. Summarizing realia translation strategies**

In my opinion cultural adaptation, superordinate term, explicitation and omission are local strategies, which fall under the broader global strategy of domestication. In the text they do not disrupt the reading process, since the reader encounters nothing surprising or unknown. Thus, the translator may have to make noticeable changes to the original. Direct transfer, calque and addition, on the other hand, are strategies that are a part of the global strategy of foreignizing. With these strategies the SL shines through and the translator may stay closer to the original. This grouping is naturally exaggerated, because the use of strategies is not this selective, only the dominant strategies are decisive.

## **3 PREVIOUS STUDIES ON REALIA**

This chapter views previous studies on translation problems, strategies and realia. Studies of individual books and the translation strategies adopted for realias are numerous. However, there are fewer studies comparing more than a book and one of its translations. Firstly, translation problems in general are dealt in section 3.1. Secondly, four previous studies on realia are summarized in section 3.2.

### **3.1 Translation problems**

In this section three studies conducted on problems with translations are described. The first study examines problem-solving strategies of translators. The second study takes also into account, how the problems that resulted in translation errors affect the overall novel.

#### **3.1.1 Problem-solving strategies**

Krings (1986:263-274) studied the translation process of students translating into their mother tongue, the problems they encounter and the translation strategies they resort to. The study was conducted with eight native German speakers studying to become secondary school teachers of French (1986:264). Half of the subjects translated a German text into French and the other half a French text into German. The texts posed an additional difficulty since on top of grammatical, semantic and stylistic translation problems they also contained puns, metaphors and other instances of literary finesse. The French text was an article from the satirical journal *Le Canard Enchaîné* and the German text a humorous article from the newspaper *Rheinische Post* (1986:264). The research method was Think Aloud Protocol (1986:265). This means that the students repeated their thoughts aloud while translating and their comments were recorded.



The strategies Krings identified were grouped under five headings: strategies of comprehension, equivalent retrieval, equivalent monitoring, decision-making and reduction (1986:268). Retrieval strategies involve realia. Krings noted that in the absence of *the* equivalent, translation becomes a search for *an* equivalent, naming this ‘potential equivalent retrieval strategy’ (1986:271). The students alternated their retrieval and monitoring strategies. After finding a possible equivalent by using interlingual word association, synonyms, paraphrases, superordinate terms, dictionaries, other foreign languages etc. they turned to monitoring. Here the students compared the source language and target language items and attempted to find differences between them in meaning, connotation, style or use (1986:271).

### 3.1.2 Stylistic effect of realia translation

Lea Martin (1966:1-47) conducted a stylistic and linguistic study in 1966 on *Kreuze in Karelien (KK)*, the German translation of *Tuntematon Sotilas* published in 1955. She studied the translation errors and ambiguous or vague parts of the text and the dialects spoken as well as the seemingly arbitrary omissions and additions. She traced the errors to the Swedish translation of *Tuntematon Sotilas* that was, along with the original, used as an aid when translating the book into German. The word *stretcher*, for example, was translated as *die Kragen*, which means *collar*, instead of the correct *die Tragbahre*. Since the two translators, Bolay and Schroers, had limited knowledge of Finnish and Swedish, especially the dialect presented a problem. Martin states that the dialects were translated using a kind of obscene soldier jargon or street jargon (German *Gassenjargon*) and therefore Linna’s characteristic and original style and the atmosphere of the book are completely lost. Linna’s “company of individuals” has changed for the worse. On the other hand, Bolay himself rationalized his decision about the dialect choices by stating that if the patois were translated into German dialects of Franks, Saxons or Bavarians, the Finnish atmosphere and milieu would have been obliterated (Varpio 1979:33).

## 3.2. Studies on realia

This section describes four studies conducted on realia. The first study, a licentiate thesis, concentrates on the translatability of realia. The second study, a dissertation, examines the effect of the chosen realia translation strategy. The third study, a pro gradu thesis, attempts to identify translation strategies used in three Finnish novels and their Swedish and English translations. The fourth study studied realia translations in subtitling.

### 3.2.1 Translatability of realia

In an introductory article Kujamäki (1993:51-69) summarizes his licentiate thesis, where he studied Hannu Salama's novels and short stories that have been translated into German. These included *Mittsommertanz*, *Moderne Erzähler der Welt – 44. Finnland*, *Ihmisen ääni*, *Siinä näkijä missä tekijä* and *Drei Generationen*. Salama's works were chosen, because they are according to Kujamäki inherently Finnish in their local flavour. The study aimed at making generalisations about the translatability of realia. However, Kujamäki warns that literary texts should not be seen only as culturally or biographically educational books, since if the reader or critic concentrates only on their authenticity and correctness, the aesthetic value of the novel is diminished (Kujamäki 1993:53).

The study was corpus-based. The aim was not to evaluate the correctness of the individual translation strategies but to examine why the given strategy was chosen and how the meaning of the original realia has changed in the translation (Kujamäki 1993:56). The starting point was the individuality of the TT and the question was how the reader reacts to foreign elements in the TT. The foreignness of translated literature is enhanced by the combination of a foreign scene and familiar language and the purpose of the dissertation is to examine, how realia translations overcome the foreignness of the novels.

### 3.2.2 Influence of realia translation

In his dissertation Kujamäki continued his studies of realia. (Kujamäki 1998, as quoted in Kujamäki 2000:203-226). He studied the book *Seitsemän veljestä* by Aleksis Kivi and its various German translations, examining them in a wider cultural context, comparing them with the interpretations of Kivi made by various critics and sketched profiles for the different versions on the basis of their realia translations.

Gustav Schmidt's translation was published in 1901. It contained extensive footnotes, clarifying the phenomena of the book and even the biblical names of the brothers. The translation was faithful to the style of the original but, according to Kujamäki, became obsolete in a short time.

In 1915 Haidi Hahm-Blåfeld published his translation, *Die sieben Brüder*. This version was heavily abridged and the local flavour and realia of the original were lost. As a result the book was readable to the German public and also received positive critique.

Rita Öhquist translated two versions of *Seitsemän veljestä*. In 1942 her translation strategy was to use explicitations and some direct transfer, such as *das Puukko, die Sauna, Metsola* but nevertheless especially many of the place names and proper nouns were omitted. One sixth of all realia were left out. However, Öhquist's other translation of the same novel in 1962 included all the omitted features, metaphors were translated word-for-word and direct transfer was used consistently. The earlier *die Rauchstube* had changed into *die Pirtti*.

Edzard Schaper's translation came out in 1950 and was faithful to the original wherever it was possible without compromising the naturalness of the TL. By the number of printings, it was the most widely read translation of *Seitsemän*

*veljestä*, which Kujamäki suspects might be attributed to the fame and prestige associated with Schaper's name. Schaper used few loan words, an exception is the nomenclature from *Kalevala*, such as *Metsola*, *Ahtola*, etc that was borrowed and also explained in a footnote. Schapers's translation, however, was mainly translated on the basis of the 1919 Swedish translation and not the original.

Josef Guggenmos's translation in 1961 was aimed at youth. All the poems and long descriptions of nature were omitted, as well as most of the dialogue. The action sequences were given central position and the temporal and local peculiarities were filtered.

Erhard Fritz Schiefer's translation dates to the year 1989 and his theoretical framework was skopos theory. The translation was modernized and the dialogue was translated as urban German of the 1980s. The critique found this disturbing, since the brothers carry knapsacks of birch-bark but use modern language, which resulted in incoherence of the text. Many of the culture-specific passages were explained. For example, when the brothers go to the sauna at Christmas, Schiefer adds a comment that tells it is customary in Finland to do so.

Kujamäki states that the differences between the translations were dependent on the atmosphere of their times, the cultural-political circumstances and the publisher's own agenda. For example, Hahm-Blåfeld's translation in the early 1900s was such as to emphasize the racial and cultural supremacy of the Nordic people and was therefore in line with the political situation in Germany.

### 3.2.3. Realia translation strategies

In their Pro Gradu Thesis *Zur Übersetzung kulturspezifische Begriffe Am Beispiel von Arto Paasilinnas Romanen Hirtettyjen kettujen metsä, Suloinen myrkyneittäjä and Ulvova mylläri und deren Übersetzungen ins Deutsche und Schwedische* (2001) Raittila and Syyrilä studied Arto Paasilinna's novels *Ulvova Mylläri* (1981), *Hirtettyjen kettujen metsä* (1983) *Suloinen myrkyneittäjä* (1988) and their Swedish and German translations. The idea was to identify the culture-specific words, the translation strategies used and to explain the semantics of the found realia. The study was qualitative and the correctness or quality of the translations was not investigated.

Raittila and Syyrilä (2001) grouped the possible strategies under three headings. The first, semantical methods were further differentiated into hypo- and hyperonyms, words with related meaning and modulation. The second group of transference consisted of direct transfer, calque and a mixture of these two, which is in German called *Lehnübertragung*. An example of it is the word *löylyhuone* that is translated into German as *Schwitzraum*. The last part is translated directly as *Raum*, (English *room*) and *löyly*, the heat caused by water thrown on the sauna oven in the sauna, is translated more freely as *Schwitz* (English *sweat*) that explains what is done in this room (Raittila et al. 2001:51). The third group of adaptation included adaptation, explicitation and omission. The hypothesis of the study was that the German translation would include more hyperonyms and explicitations because of the greater geographical and cultural distance between Finland and Germany compared to Finland and Sweden. The findings supported the hypothesis, since in the Swedish translation the most widely used strategy was loan word, and in contrast in the German it was adaptation, in the case of which a lot of the culture-specific information gets lost (2001:122). For example, many of the Finnish trees are translated with a superordinate term in the German translation, the Swedish translator preferred direct translation and Swedish

words that were semantically close to the Finnish original (2001:117). In some cases proper nouns were translated into German using transference, therefore bringing some local flavour to the text (2001:118). It was noted that in these instances the text might be unintelligible to a German with little experience of Finland.

### **3.2.4 Realia in subtitling**

Birgit Nedergaard-Larsen (1993:207-242) studied the subtitling of French films into Danish and Swedish with regard to extralinguistic culture-bound problems. The purpose of the study was to present a typological outline of cross-cultural translation problems, concentrating on both general problems and those specific to subtitling. The strategy division of Vinay and Darbelnet (1977) was employed that divides the strategies into loan words, imitation, literal translation, change in grammar, variation, idiomatic equivalence and cultural adaptation. Omission does not appear in the classic categorization of Vinay and Darbelnet.

The findings of the study suggest that, compared to other modes of translation and in contrast to a general belief, the translation problems are not necessarily greater in subtitling. In subtitling there seemed to be a tendency to retain the local colour of the original and remain faithful to it, if this did not lead to comprehension problems (Nedergaard-Larsen 1993:238). This finding is contrary to the earlier statement that since subtitling requires quick thinking, the content of the message needs to be culturally adapted (Leppihalme: 2001). In addition, Nedergaard-Larsen states that generally speaking culture-bound elements in French films are transferable to Scandinavian audiences in a comprehensible manner.

Realia seem to be a considerable problem for translators, since based on the research lexical problems are the largest source of problems. On the one hand,

estimating the authenticity of realia translations challenges the aesthetic value of the text. In addition, since recent theoretical approaches emphasize the target language and target text independently, realia studies might seem outdated, because they focus on the source text and culture. On the other hand, the theory seems to precede practice, since translations tend to retain the local colour of the original whenever it does not compromise comprehension, at least in subtitling. Based on the translations of *Seitsemän veljestä*, the translations vary from overly faithful, which are short lived, to faithful and to unfaithful translations. While translating foreign elements interference from one's mother tongue and other foreign language is used as an aid and a potential source for an equivalent in the absence of *the* equivalent. This may not be a positive strategy, because research suggests it is also a source of errors and misunderstandings in translations.

*Tuntematon sotilas* is interesting research material, since its translations stretch from 1955 to 1989, during which time theories on translating have developed immensely. In addition, German culture is reasonably close to Finnish and since the novel is about the First World War, the soldiers talk repeatedly about Germans and their role in the war. In contrast, I suspect general American readership knows little of Finnish history and the part Finland played in the war. Thus, I expected the translations might differ extensively from one another. Even though I compare the translations with the original and form my assessment of the translation strategy on how they differ from it, I make no estimations on correctness.

## 4 THE PRESENT STUDY

In the following chapter the research material and its author are described and the research questions that this study attempts to answer are listed along with the methodological framework.

### 4.1 Data

The material to be studied for this study is the Finnish original *Tuntematon Sotilas*, (TuSo) published in 1954 and its English and German translations. The English translation *The Unknown Soldier* (US) was translated by an unknown American translator and published in 1989 and the German translation, *Kreuze in Karelien* (KK), translated by Heinz Karl Bolay and Ralf Schroers was published in 1955. By 2005, TuSo has been published 60 times and translated into 21 languages worldwide. Two films, an opera and countless adaptations for theatre have been made based on it (Helen 2005:12). In the following sections first the plot is summarized and reasons given for the choice of novel as research data and secondly the author is described briefly.

### 4.2 Research questions

This section describes the research questions of this study. The questions are clarified, taking into account earlier studies on the same topic. In addition, this section views the hypothesis based on earlier studies on realia.

The research questions for this study are:

1. What types of realia are identified in TuSo?
2. What kinds of translation strategies for realia are used in KK and US, respectively?

Firstly, the realia found in TuSo are grouped into categories as geographical, historical, social or cultural terms. The German and English translation strategies are then assessed based on the category and the consistency of the



strategy use. This research question arose from my own interest in the matter, because I was unable to find a similar study.

Secondly, the translation strategies are identified in each translation and grouped into eight categories and the use of strategies is analysed. My aim is to find patterns from the English and German translations that might reveal the translator's global strategy. Earlier studies suggest that the greater the geographical or cultural distance between the source and target countries, the more the translation tends to differ from the original (See Leppihalme 2000). Accordingly, my hypothesis is that US may differ more from TuSo than KK. I expect US to include more general terms and require more explanations than KK, due to the geographical distance between Finland and the United States and the temporal distance as well, since KK is published in 1955, only a year after TuSo and US in 1989. In addition, the subject matter of TuSo is World War II, in which Finland and Germany were on the same side.

### **4.3 Research design**

This section describes the research design of the study. The method of analysis is presented in section 4.1. Methodology and the theoretical framework of the study are defined in section 4.2.

#### **4.3.1 Research data**

The data collected consists of all the Finnish realia in TuSo and their German and English translations. The meanings of the Finnish realia are given in table from (See Appendix 1) as well. The translation strategies used with each realia are identified and numbered from one to nine. The numerical data is analysed and clarified with examples and charts. In other words, this study is quantitative.

Even though the strategy classification of Vinay and Darbelnet (1977) is almost a classic, it fails to solve all types of cross-cultural translation problems (Nedergaard-Larsen 1993:217). For this reason, in this study the classification by Leppihalme (2001) with seven groups is utilized, i.e. direct transfer, calque, cultural adaptation, superordinate term, explicitation, addition and omission. For her classification she adapted the classification described in Bödeker and Freese (1987), Florin (1993), Nedergaard-Larsen (1993) and Kujamäki (1998). In addition to the seven categories, I have added two. The eighth category, translation error, includes possible translation errors, even though they may be difficult to determine. The ninth category, non-applicable realia, includes words that are not applicable either to the German or English translation, because they are realia only in the other language but not in both. Words belonging to this category will not be taken into account in the analysis. Also if longer paragraphs are omitted in the translation, the realia included in these passages are grouped into the ninth category.

#### **4.3.2 Methodology**

The study is retrospective and empirical, since the study attempts to induce regularities and consistent patterns of behaviour from the translation strategies based on individual cases (Valli 2001:10). The theoretical framework of the study is manipulation theory (See section 2.3.4.), because it considers translating as rewriting and takes the dominant ideology and norms of the TC into account. Since the theory acknowledges that texts are manipulated for a certain purpose, it suits the aim of this study to examine why particular strategies were chosen, i.e. how the choices influence the reception of the book. Manipulation theory concentrates on the circumstances and purpose of translating that are the basis for the quality of translations and accordingly this study does not prescriptively assess the quality of KK or US.

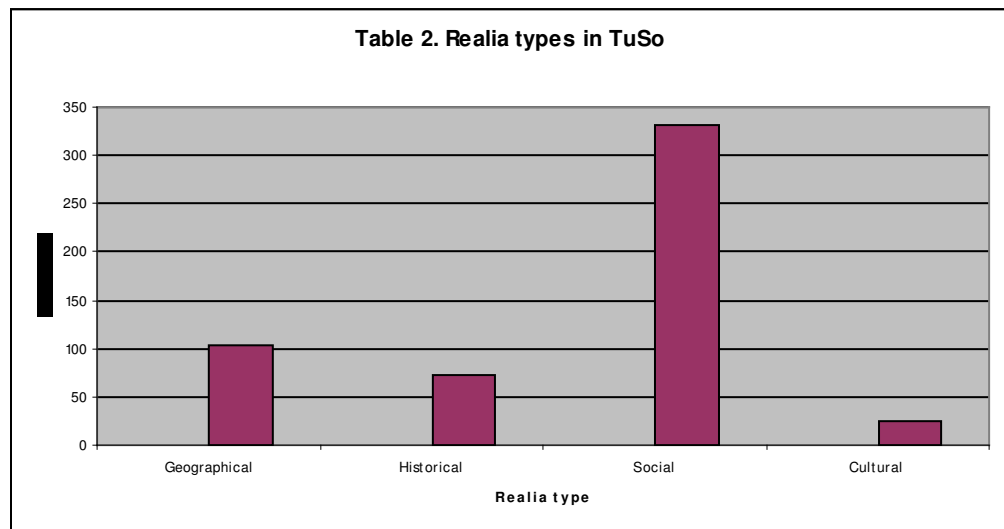
## 5 DATA ANALYSIS

The data collected is analysed in this chapter. The realia types are discussed in section 5.1. The realia and their translation strategies are discussed in section 5.2. Firstly, KK is examined in section 5.2.1 and US in section 5.2.2. In the examples the Finnish sentence including realia is given first, followed by the translation. In the example sentences realia are printed in boldface. The meanings of the realia are from *Nykysuomen sanakirja* (2002) (NS) and the Internet encyclopaedia *Wikipedia* (<http://fi.wikipedia.org>) and I have translated them into English. All the meanings of the realia are listed in table 11 (See Appendix 1), which includes all the realia in TuSo, realia type, the KK and US translation and translation strategies. The meanings of the German words are found from *Wahrig Deutsches Wörterbuch* (1997) (WDW) and the English words from *Collins English dictionary* (2003) (CED).

### 5.1 Realia types in TuSo

I identified a total of **532 realia** in TuSo. All the realia are listed in Appendix 1 in table form. Following Nedergaard-Larsen's (1993) classification of realia types they are divided into geographical, historical, social and cultural realia. Firstly, geographical realia include geographical, meteorological and biological terms. Secondly, historical realia refer to buildings, events and historical persons. Thirdly, social realia are words related to economy, social organizations, politics, social conditions and customs. Fourthly, the category of cultural realia is constituted by words and phrases relating to religion, education, media and culture (for further details see section 2.4.4).

The ratio between the realia types is further illustrated in table 2 below. The majority of the realia in TuSo are social. Altogether 62 percent of the culture-specific terms are social realia, 20 percent geographical, 14 percent historical and 3 percent cultural.

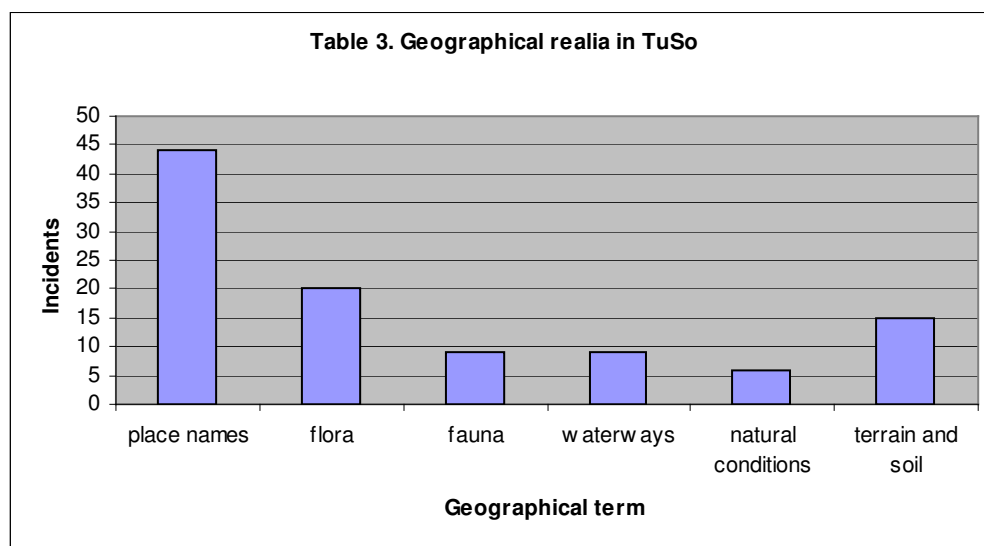


In the sections below the respective realia types are examined in separate sections. The number of occurrences of each realia type is given first, followed by examples from TuSo.

### 5.1.1 Geographical realia in TuSo

The original classification into geographical realia included only the subgroups of geography, meteorology and biology. Since these groups would have included very heterogeneous vocabulary, I added some new subgroups to make the classification more accurate. Thus, I classed the geographical realia into six subgroups of place names, flora, fauna, water systems, natural conditions, and terrain and soil.

In TuSo there are **103 geographical realia**. Thus, 20 percent of all the realia are geographical terms. Of these 44 refer to place names, 20 to Finnish flora, nine to Finnish fauna and nine to Finnish waterways. To the original grouping I added the category of natural conditions in Finland, which includes six phrases, and the category of terrain and soil that includes 15 phrases. The ratio of the geographical terms is visualized in Table 3.



The first subgroup includes place names from East Karelia and Finland. Examples of them are *Joensuu* (TuSo, p. 5) and *Inari* (TuSo, p. 414). I grouped larger areas, e.g. *Itä-Karjala*, as well as smaller places, such as the village *Korvenkylä*, into this category.

In the second subgroup of Finnish flora I classed words that refer to Finnish plants and trees. Examples of these are *mustikanvarvut* (TuSo, p. 74), a plant with dark blue, edible berries (NS L-N 2002:564) and *suopursunvarsi* (TuSo, p. 59), which is a poisonous plant with white flowers and a pungent smell (NS S-TR 2002: 345).

The third subgroup includes realia referring to Finnish fauna, i.e. names for animals, fish and insects. Examples of them are *hyttynen* (TuSo, p. 39), a blood-sucking insect (NS A-I 2002:564) and *silakka* (TuSo, p. 43), which is a small fish living in the Baltic Sea (NS S-TR 2002: 172).

The fourth subgroup of Finnish waterways includes names of lakes, rivers and rapids. Examples of them are *Pyhäjärvi* (TuSo, p. 367), *Aurajoki* (TuSo, p. 33) and *Tammerkoski* (TuSo, p. 245).

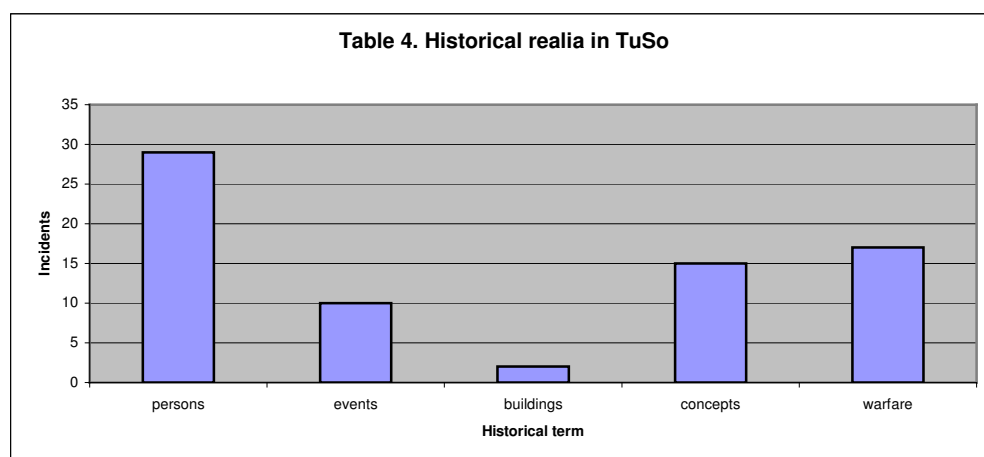
Finnish natural conditions constitute the fifth subgroup. Examples are *kesäyö* (TS, p. 297), a summer night in the north, which is light and serene (NS L-N 2002: 329), *hallanvaara* (TuSo, p. 344), local frost during a warm season that may have devastating effect on crops (NS A-I 2002: 337) and *kelirikko* (TuSo, p. 398), which refers to the difficulty of moving with vehicles during springtime because of condition of the roads (NS J-K 2002: 296).

Examples from the sixth group of terrain and soil are *suo* (TuSo, p. 172), a wet area covered with peat with few or no trees (NS S-TR 2002: 330) and *letto* (TuSo, p. 172), which is an open, wet, shaking swamp, where mostly grass and moss grows (NS L-N 2002: 125).

### 5.1.2 Historical realia in TuSo

Historical realia were classed into persons, events and buildings in Nedergaard-Larsen's (1993) original classification. Since some of the words that in my opinion belonged to this group, did not fit into any of the existing categories, I added two more. Thus, in this study historical realia are divided into persons, events, buildings as well as historical concepts and warfare.

TuSo includes **73 historical realia**, which is 14 percent of the total. Of these 29 refer to historical persons or groups, ten to historical events and two to buildings. Of the remaining phrases 15 were classed as historical concepts and 17 as phrases referring to historical warfare. The subgroups of historical realia are visualized in Table 4.



The first subgroup includes references to historical persons and groups. Examples of them are *Suomen Marsalkka Carl Gustaf Emil Mannerheim* (TuSo, p. 346), a field marshal, who was the Commander of the Finnish Armed Forces and later the President of Finland from 1944 to 1946 ([http://fi.wikipedia.org/wiki/Carl\\_Gustaf\\_Emil\\_Mannerheim](http://fi.wikipedia.org/wiki/Carl_Gustaf_Emil_Mannerheim), 11.7.2006) and *punakaarti* (TuSo, p. 246), a military left-wing organization, founded in Finland during the 1905 strike and again in 1917 (NS O-R 2002: 465).

Events in Finnish history form the second subgroup. Examples of historical incidents are *pula-aika* (TuSo, p. 181), i.e. depression after the Finnish Civil War (NS O-R 2002: 458) and *Suomen sota* (TuSo, p. 443), the war between Sweden and Russia in 1808-1809, after which Finland was ceded to Russia ([http://fi.wikipedia.org/wiki/Suomen\\_sota](http://fi.wikipedia.org/wiki/Suomen_sota), 26.7.2006). All the historical events alluded to in TuSo are related to Finland's wars.

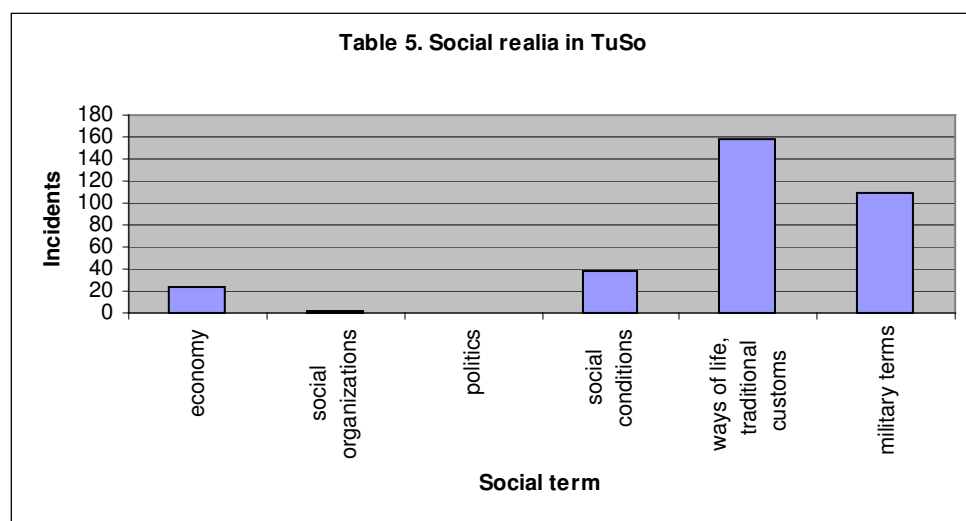
Names of buildings constitute the third subgroup and they are referred to twice in TuSo. *Hangon kylpylä* (TuSo, p. 11), i.e. the Hanko Spa, and *työväentalo* (TuSo, p. 181), a house owned by the Workers' Association, where parties and meetings are held (NS TS-Ö 2002: 133) are the only ones mentioned.

The fourth subgroup is added to the original classification and it consists of historical concepts. An example of them is *keltainen vaara* (TuSo, p. 347), which refers to the economical and national threat supposedly posed to the Western world by the Mongolian races (NS J-K 2002: 302).

Terms of historical warfare are classed into the fifth subgroup. *Emma* (TuSo, p. 386) is an example of this group. It is a nickname for the Russian Dektjarev DP27 machine gun ([http://fi.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Dektjarev\\_DP27&action=edit](http://fi.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Dektjarev_DP27&action=edit), 18.7.2006).

### 5.1.3 Social realia in TuSo

Of all the data social realia were the most numerous, since there were **333 social realia** in total. Thus, they form 62 percent from all the realia in TuSo. I found 24 phrases that refer to economy. Finnish social organizations were mentioned once. Social conditions are referred to 39 times. The majority of social realia, altogether 158 words, refer to ways of life and customs in Finland. Since military terms are frequent in TuSo, I added a new category for them, which includes 109 words. Table 5 illustrates the subgroups of social realia.





The first subgroup includes phrases related to Finnish economy. Examples of this category are *muonarenkiperhe* (TuSo, p. 210), i.e. a family, the father of which works as a farm hand living in the land owner's building and receiving part of his daily wages as corn, milk or similar (NS O-R 2002: 544) and *torppari* (TuSo, p. 278), a person who has rented part of a larger estate for farming purposes (NS S-TR 2002: 741).

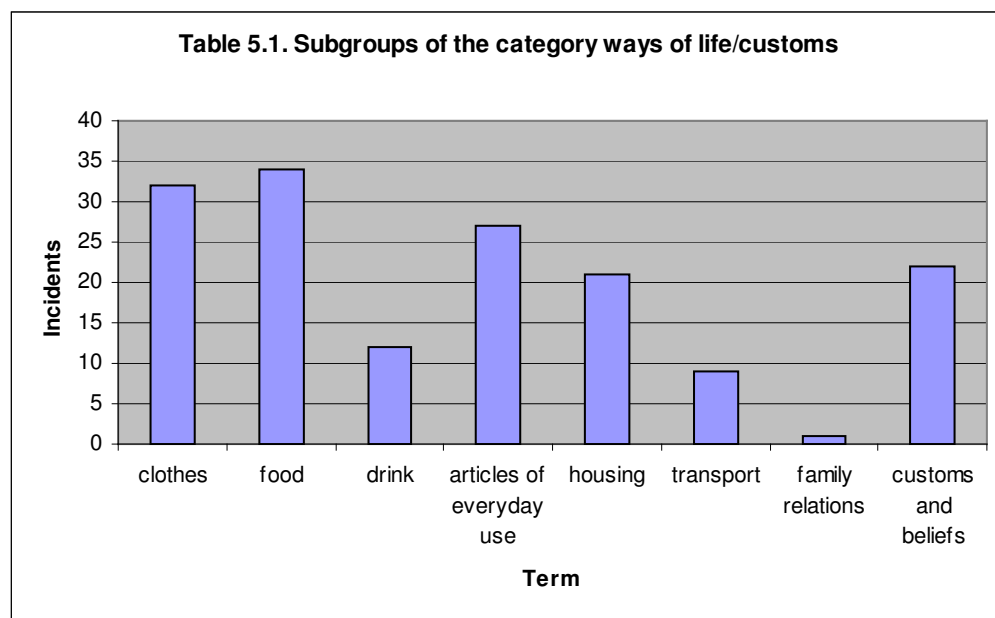
The second subgroup of social organizations includes only one word. It is *Valtioneuvosto* (TuSo, p. 401), which in Scandinavia is the highest governing body of the country (NS TS-Ö 2002: 334).

Politicians and political parties were mentioned in the original classification as a group of their own but they were not mentioned in TuSo. *Mannerheim* (TuSo, p. 346) and *Risto Ryti* (TuSo, p. 401) were politicians and presidents, but in this study they are classed as historical persons.

The fourth subgroup called social conditions includes social groups, subcultures, living conditions and problems in Finland. An example from this category is *hämäläinen* (TuSo, p. 9), a person from the county of Häme, who are traditionally considered slow and sullen (NS A-I 2002: 581). The majority of this subgroup are words similar to the example, i.e. words that refer to a person's domicile. Most of the other groups mentioned in TuSo do not exist anymore and were therefore classed as historical realia, such as *punakaarti* (TuSo, p. 246) and *suojeluskunta* (TuSo, p. 361).

The fifth subgroup includes phrases that characterise ways of life and customs in Finland. Since this is definitely the largest group of social realia, eight smaller homogeneous subcategories of words are identified that are listed in the original classification by Nedergaard-Larsen (1993) as well. The subcategories are Finnish clothes, foods, drinks, articles of everyday use,

housing, transport, family relations and traditional customs and beliefs. These subgroups of ways of life are visualized in table 5.1.



*Clothes.* Of the social realia 32 words refer to clothes, such as *kintaat* (TuSo, p. 18), which are woollen, knitted and baggy gloves (NS J-K 2002: 382) and *lapikkaat* (TuSo, p. 170), which are boots with a tip that points up (NS L-N 2002: 52)

*Food.* Finnish dishes are mentioned 34 times, such as *joulukala* (TuSo, p. 43), fish eaten during Christmas, which often is dried stock fish (NS J-K 2002: 44) and *riisipuuro* (TuSo, p.288), porridge made of rice (NS O-R 2002: 714).

*Drinks.* The drinks mentioned by name in TuSo, altogether twelve, are mostly alcoholic. Exceptions are *korvike* (TuSo, p. 24), an artificial substance used instead of the original or better substance (NS J-K 2002: 503), in this case coffee, *sakariinimehu*, juice sweetened by sulphobenzoic acid (NS S-TR 2002: 22) and *piimä* (TuSo, p. 363), i.e. milk curdled with an acidic substance (NS O-R 2002: 314) Alcoholic beverages mentioned in TuSo are *kilju* (TuSo, p. 272 and 427), strong, intoxicating homemade beer (NS J-K 2002: 372), *jaloviina* (TuSo, p. 274), alcohol made from cognac and spirits (NS J-K 2002:

16) and *viina* (TuSo, p. 225), distilled alcohol, especially the cheaper brands (*NS TR-Ö* 2002: 511).

*Articles of everyday use.* Altogether 27 words refer to articles of everyday use. Examples of them are *Petromax* (TuSo, p.208) and *heinäseipäät* (TuSo, p. 90). The first is a kerosene lamp (*NS O-R* 2002: 294) and the latter are sharp poles for the drying of hay with one or more horizontal pegs (*NS A-I* 2002:405).

*Housing.* This category consists of 21 words on housing and living in Finland. Examples of them are *mökki* (TuSo, p. 53), a small, humble dwelling-house made of logs or board (*NS L-N* 2002: 608), *porstua* (TuSo,p. 245), which is a porch of a farm house (*NS O-R* 2002: 412), and *pitäjä* (TuSo, p. 44), an area larger than a village (*NS O-R* 2002: 361).

*Transport.* This category includes nine transportation vehicles and types of roads. Examples of this group are *reki* (TuSo, p 398), a vehicle that glides on two runners (*NS O-R* 2002:683) and *karjapolku* (TuSo, p. 385), which is an old, winding road developed from cow-made paths (*NS J-K* 2002: 218).

*Family relations.* Only one word belongs to this category and it is *isäntäpoika* (Tuso, p. 16). The word refers to the oldest son of the house, who is working as a farmer on his homestead (*NS A-I* 2002: 683).

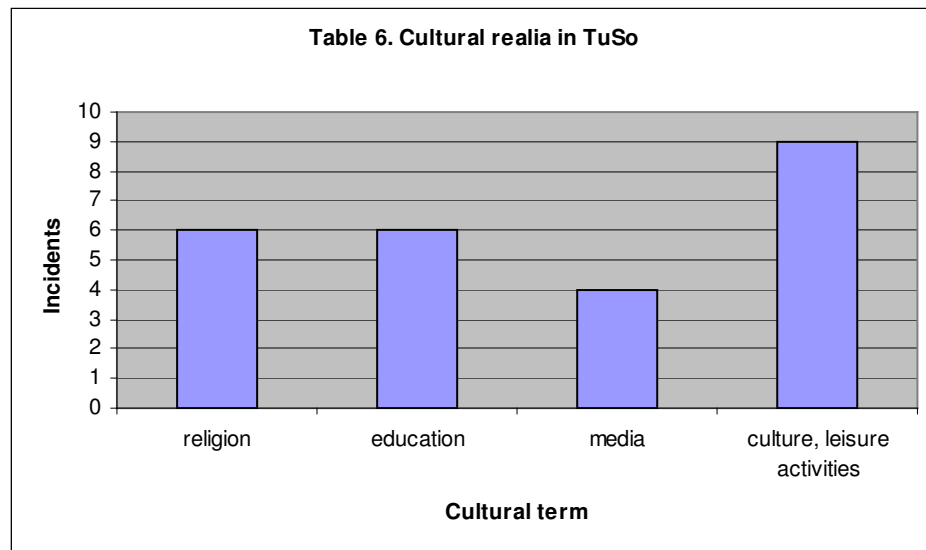
*Customs and beliefs.* This category includes 22 words that refer to traditional Finnish customs and beliefs. The category is quite heterogeneous. Examples are *tanhuta* (TuSo, p. 125), which is a verb meaning “to dance Finnish folk dances” (*NS S-TR* 2002: 549) and *joulupukki* (TuSo, p. 228), i.e. Father Christmas, who gives out presents at Christmas and lives in Lappland (*NS J-K* 2002: 45). The German *Weihnachtsmann*, on the other hand, is either a figure of Saint Nicholas or the farm laborer Ruprecht that according to an old national custom brings children apples, nuts, sweets or small presents on Saint Nicholas’ Day or on Christmas Eve (WDW 1997: 1355). The English version is the legendary patron saint of children commonly identified with Saint Nicholas, who brings presents to children on Christmas Eve or, in some European countries on Saint Nicholas’ Day (CED 2003: 1433). Even though

Father Christmas is known in many countries, because of the different shades he is classed as a realia.

All phrases of the sixth subgroup refer to the Finnish military, such as *Karjalan Armeija* (TuSo, p. 159). It was a Finnish army unit in the Continuation War founded in 1941 and consisted of two army corpses and a separate special unit ([http://fi.wikipedia.org/wiki/Karjalan\\_armeija](http://fi.wikipedia.org/wiki/Karjalan_armeija), 11.7.2006).

### 5.1.4 Cultural realia in TuSo

This category is the smallest, since only **25 cultural realia** were identified. They form three percent of the total. Religion and education are referred to in six realia, respectively. Media is referred to four times and culture or leisure activities nine times. No new subgroups were added to this category. The amount of cultural terms is visualized in Table 6.



Examples of the first subgroup are *rippikoulu* (TuSo,p. 254), a course held by a parish, where a priest teaches Christianity to youth and prepares them for their confirmation (*NS O-R 2002: 737*) and *rovasti* (TuSo, p. 278), a clergyman appointed by the cathedral chapter (*NS O-R 2002:766*).

Examples of the second group are *kansakoulu* (TuSo, p. 6), a municipal school providing basic education for children (NS J-K 2002: 187) and *Maasotakoulu* (TuSo, p. 9), which was the name of the National Defence College in Santahamina from 1935 to 1953 (NS L-N 2002:352).

Examples of the third group of media are the newspapers *Turun Sanomat* (TuSo, p. 31), which is a newspaper and *Karjalan Viesti* (TuSo, p. 311),

The subgroup of culture includes realia that refer to old songs and novels, which are alluded to, such as *Elämää juoksuhaudoissa* (TuSo, p. 314), originally a traditional folk song that became a popular wartime song (Suomalaisen musiikin tiedotuskeskus, <http://www.fimic.fi/fimic/fimic.nsf/mainframe?readform&6C797BF1A107E45FC2256879002DFA60>, 20.7.2006).

## 5.2. Realia translation strategies

In this section KK and US are examined separately from the point of view of their realia translation strategies. Proper names were left out of this study, since they were directly transferred with the only exception of Rokka's wife *Lyyti* (TuSo, p. 427) that is adapted as *Lydia* in KK but remains unchanged in US. The different solutions of KK and US to translation problems caused by realia are illustrated by example 1 below.

- (1) Toisen **joukkueen** johtaja oli nuori **varusmiesväenrikki**, **länsisuomalaisen kauppalan yhteiskoulusta ylioppilaaksi** päässyt poika, joka yritti verhoutua jonkinlaiseen tärkeyteen koettaessaan täyttää **talvisodan** luoman **reserviväenrikkimyytin** puitteet (TuSo, p. 9).

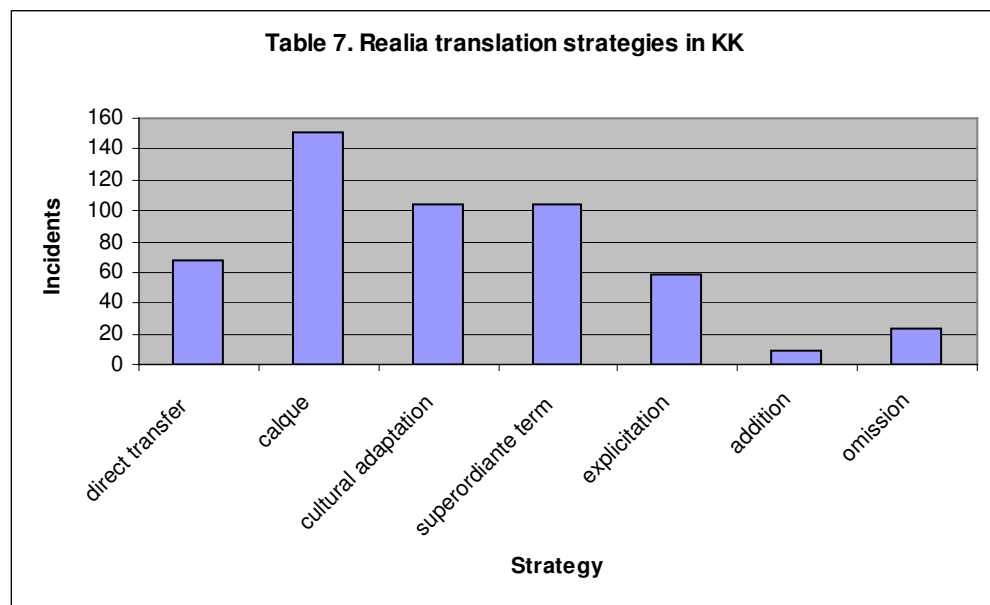
Chef des zweiten **Zuges** war ein junger, **wehrpflichtiger Leutnant**, der erst vor kurzem in **einer Kleinstadt** sein **Abitur** gemacht hatte. Er überanstrengte sich

etwas bei dem Versuch, **den Mythos eines Reservleutnants im Winterkrieg** zu spielen, eine Rolle, die spielen zu müssen er sich einbildete (KK, p. 8).<sup>1</sup>

The second **platoon** was commanded by a very young **second lieutenant**, a boy just **graduated** from a **small-town school** in **West Finland** who desperately tried to measure up **to what had been expected of a second lieutenant** in **the Winter War** by assuming an air of arrogant self-importance (US, p. 4).

### 5.2.1 Realia translation strategies in KK

The following sections concentrate on the realia translation strategies in KK (See Appendix 1). The section includes direct transfer, calque, cultural adaptation, superordinate term, explicitation, addition, omission and translation errors. In KK no words were classified into the group of non-applicable realia. Table 7 below illustrates the translation strategies in KK. It shows that calque is the most frequently used strategy, superordinate term and cultural adaptation come next, followed by direct transfer and explicitation. Omission and addition come last.



<sup>1</sup> The leader of the second platoon was a drafted, young second lieutenant, who had recently passed his school-leaving examination. He tried a bit too hard, trying to play the mythical part of a second lieutenant in the Winter War, a part he thought he was supposed to play.

Table 8 below sums up all the realia types and translation strategies in KK. The table shows that, for example, of the geographical realia 36 are translated directly, which is 34 percent of the total 105 geographical realia identified in TuSo. The translation strategy most commonly used with each realia type appears in boldface. The largest percentage of geographical realia is translated directly and over half of the historical realia are translated with calque. Culturally adapted phrases form the largest group of the social realia and cultural realia are most commonly translated with calque. Thus, calque is the strategy that is used most often in KK.

**Table 8. Realia type and translation strategy in KK**

	geo.	%	hist.	%	soc.	%	cult.	%	Total
direct transfer	<b>36</b>	34 %	11	15 %	18	5 %	2	8 %	<b>67</b>
calque	18	17 %	<b>39</b>	55 %	85	26 %	<b>9</b>	36 %	<b>151</b>
cultural adaptation	6	6 %	3	4 %	<b>92</b>	28 %	3	12 %	<b>104</b>
superordinate term	24	23 %	9	13 %	67	20 %	4	16 %	<b>104</b>
explicitation	8	8 %	6	8 %	42	13 %	2	8 %	<b>58</b>
addition	0	0 %	2	3 %	5	2 %	2	8 %	<b>9</b>
omission	4	4 %	1	1 %	16	5 %	3	12 %	<b>24</b>
translation error	7	7 %	0	0 %	8	2 %	0	0 %	<b>15</b>
non-applicable	0	0 %	0	0 %	0	0 %	0	0 %	<b>0</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>103</b>	<b>98 %</b>	<b>71</b>	<b>100 %</b>	<b>333</b>	<b>100 %</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>100 %</b>	<b>532</b>

### 5.2.1.1 Direct transfer

In KK direct transfer (for a definition, see section 2.6.1) is used 67 times. Of the total 534 realia this amounts to 13 percent.

The majority of the borrowed realia, altogether 36, are geographical, such as *Loimola*, *Taipale* and with a slightly altered orthography *Tammer-Koski*. Place names were mostly translated directly in KK but the strategy use was not consistent. Exceptions translated with hyperonyms are *Aurajoki* (TuSo, p. 33), translated as *Fluss* (English *river*), which is a superordinate term and *Vienanlahti* (TuSo, p. 25) translated as *weites Meer* (English *the wide sea*), which is an example of explicitation. In addition some words are translated using the Russian term and *Syväri* and *Ääninen* become *Swir* and *Onega*. In KK, Swedish geographical terms are also used, such as *Österbotten* and *Tavastland* for the provinces *Pohjanmaa* and *Häme*. While translating KK, the Swedish translation was used as an aid (See section 3.1.3), which is likely to influence this. The Russian and Swedish place names are classed as direct



transfer, since they are borrowed from a foreign language, even though it is not Finnish.

Of the borrowed realia 18 were social, such as *sauna*, a building where one sweats in the heat and steam caused by water thrown on the sauna oven and washes oneself (*NS S-TR* 2002: 16) and *kilju*, strong, intoxicating homemade beer (*NS J-K* 2002: 372).

(2) Siäl makka Suame uus kaupunki...kyl siäl vissi **saunoi** on (TuSo, p. 223).

Dort liegt Finnlands neueste Stadt! Wird ja wohl ´ne **Sauna** haben! (KK, p. 192).<sup>2</sup>

The borrowed realia included 11 historical realia, such as *hakkapeliitta* that refers to Finnish cavalymen during the reign of Gustav Adolf II (*NS A-I* 2002: 33), which is translated in a slightly modified form as *Hakapeliter*. Proper names are transferred directly to KK, including those that refer to historical persons. An example is the famous bear-hunter *Martti Kitunen* (TuSo, p. 285), who lived in the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> century ([http://fi.wikipedia.org/Martti\\_Kitunen](http://fi.wikipedia.org/Martti_Kitunen), 21.6.2006). Others include *Iso-Antti* (TuSo, p. 286) a leader of a group of troublemakers and disturbers of peace, called “puukkojunkkarit”, who died in 1911 ([http://fi.wikipedia.org/wiki/Isontalon\\_Antti](http://fi.wikipedia.org/wiki/Isontalon_Antti), 21.6.2006) and *Risto Ryti* (TuSo, p. 401), the President of Finland from 1940 to 1944 ([http://fi.wikipedia.org/wiki/Risto\\_Ryti](http://fi.wikipedia.org/wiki/Risto_Ryti), 21.6.2006). These personal references appear without explanations in KK. Cultural realia are borrowed in only two occasions.

The realia are occasionally adapted to fit German orthography. *Hämeenlinna* becomes *Hameenlinna*, but, for example, *Härmä* and *Rääpyvä* retain their original appearance as *Härmä* and *Rääpyä* (sic). When translating directly, the dialect of TuSo is lost, for example, *von Tööpel* (TuSo, p. 86) that refers to a

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2 There lies the newest town of Finland! There’s sure to be saunas there!

Swedish general Georg Carl von Döbeln that fought in the 1818-19 war and was a character in Runeberg's *Vänrikki Stoolin tarinat* ([http://fi.wikipedia.org/wiki/V%C3%A4nrikki Stoolin tarinat](http://fi.wikipedia.org/wiki/V%C3%A4nrikki_Stoolin_tarinat), 11.7.2006), becomes *von Döbeln*.

*Lotta Svärd* was a woman's organization from 1919 to 1944 that worked alongside *Suojeluskunta*, i.e. the White Guard, and whose members were called *lotta* (*NS L-N* 2002: 220). In TuSo the word appears in different combinations as *lotta* (TuSo, p. 24), *sankarilottamyitti* (TuSo, p. 96) and *rintamalotta* (TuSo, p. 403). In KK *lotta* is in all cases transferred directly and there are no explanations as to the meaning of the concept, such as in example 3.

- (3) Ympäristön **lotat** pitivät iltaisin kanttiinia eräässä tyhjässä parakissa (TuSo, p. 24).

In einer leeren Barackes hatten **die Lottas** des Dorfes eine Kantine eingerichtet, die abends aufmachte (KK, p. 23).<sup>3</sup>

*Sisu* is a Finnish characteristic that refers to the courage, determination and relentless effort that enables a person to surpass the limits of his/her normal performance (*NS S-TR* 2002:201). In TuSo the word appears three times. In example 4 below KK has adapted the noun to fit it into German spelling and written it with a capital letter: in example 5, *suomalainen sisu* is also translated directly as *Finnlands Sisu*. In example 6, however, *sisu* is translated as *Kraft*, which means strength and which I have classed as a superordinate term.

- (4) Michille hän puheli suopean hyväntahtoisesti. "Noille perisuomalaisile **sisupusseille**" (TuSo, p. 97).

..und gegenüber den Soldaten gab er sich jovial, recht ein Bündel von originalfinnischen **Sisu** \* ("Sisu": nicht übersetzbarer Ausdruck für eine typisch

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<sup>3</sup> In the empty barracks the lottas of the village had set up a canteen that opened in the evenings.

finnische Charaktereigenschaft, eine Willenskraft, die in zäher Ausdauer, aber auch mit plötzlicher äusserster Kraftanspannung ihr Ziel zu erreichen sind) (KK, p. 85).<sup>4</sup>

- (5) Meidän korpisoturimme näyttävät, mitä saa aikaan **suomalainen sisu** (TuSo, p. 129).

Unsere tapferen Wildmarkkrieger zeigen, was **Finnlands Sisu** leisten kann (KK, p. 111).<sup>5</sup>

- (6) Viimeisillän ponnistelevan miehen **sisu** oli katkeamaisillaan, mutta epätoivo kaivoi voiman viimeisetkin rippeet apuun, ja matka jatkui taas (TuSo, p. 174).

Er war völlig am Ende seiner **Kraft** und wollte aufgeben, aber seine Verzweiflung mobilisierte letzte Reserven, und wieder schleppte er sich weiter (KK, p. 151).<sup>6</sup>

Thus, geographical terms and references to historical persons are translated consistently with direct transfer in KK but for the others it is difficult to find a pattern, because the strategy varies with the same words, too.

### 5.2.1.2 Calque

In KK calque (for a definition, see section 2.6.2) is used 151 times, which is 28 percent of all the realia. In KK calque is the strategy that is used most frequently. The majority of the phrases translated with this strategy are social terms, since there are 85 of them, but all the realia types are represented. For example, *lapualaiset upseerit*, a historical realia, are officers of a radical, right wing political movement from 1929- 1932 (*NS L-N* 2002: 58). KK has translated the phrase as *Lapua-Offiziere* (English *Lapua officers*), which offers little information for a person unfamiliar with the concept:

- (7) >>Suomen pojat. Tappakaa **lapualaiset upseerinne** ja tulkaa tänne<< (TuSo, p. 305).

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4 ...and towards the soldiers, who were full of original Finnish sisu, he behaved jovially. \*(Sisu: an untranslatable expression that refers to a typically Finnish characteristic, that manifests itself in will power, perseverance and extreme exertion when it is needed most.

5 Our courageous soldiers in the wilderness will show, what Finnish sisu is made of.

6 He was at the end of his tether and wanted to give up, but his desperation gave him strength and he continued to trudge along.

Finnische Soldaten! Haut eure **Lapua-Offiziere** zusammen und kommt herüber zu uns! (KK, p. 263).<sup>7</sup>

Of the social terms translated with calque 44 percent are military terms, examples of which are *lumipuku* and *kasapanos*. *Lumipuku*, a white protective garment that a soldier wears during winter (NS L-N 2002: 242), is in KK translated as *Schneehemd* (English “snow shirt”).

- (8) Lahtisen kengät olivat jäässä. Samaten rahisi **lumipuku**, kun hän taivutti ruumistaan (TuSo, p. 255).

Lahtinens Schuhe waren steif gefroren. Wenn er sich bewegte, raschelte das **Schneehemd** (KK, p. 219).<sup>8</sup>

*Kasapanos* is an anti-tank explosive that was developed by Captain Kaarlo Tuurna in 1936 (<http://fi.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kasapanos>, 11.7.2006). In KK this is translated as *geballter Ladung* (English *concentrated load*).

- (9) Minä tiedän konstin. Jos pääsisi yksi mies lähelle **kasapanoksen** kanssa (TuSo, p. 81).

Wenn man einen Mann mit **geballter Ladung** dicht herankäme (KK, p.71).<sup>9</sup>

### 5.2.1.3 Cultural adaptation

In KK cultural adaptation (for a definition, see section 2.6.3) is used 104 times. This means 20 percent of all realia.

Of the culturally adapted terms 52 are realia concerning the military, such as *nostomies* (TuSo, p. 355), *haupitsipatteristo* (TuSo, p. 165) and *panssarintorjuntakivääriryhmä* (Tuso, p. 195). They are translated as *Landsturmlaute*, *Haubitzenabteilung* and *Pak-Gruppe*. Since there are 109 military terms in TuSo (see section 5.1.3), 48 percent of them are culturally adapted in KK.

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7 Finnish soldiers! Collect your Lapua officers together and come here to us!

8 Lahtinen’s shoes were frozen stiff. When he moved, the “snow shirt” rustled.

9 If only we could get someone with “a concentrated load” get near it!

Another distinguishable group is Finnish food that is adapted into dishes known in Germany, consisting of 13 realia. Since in TuSo there are 34 Finnish dishes mentioned (see section 5.1.3), they are in 38 percent of the cases culturally adapted in KK. For example, when the soldiers dream of baking pancakes, the Finnish *marjahillo* (English *berry jam*), meaning jam cooked from berries and plenty of sugar (*NS A-I* 2002: 473) is changed into a concept that Germans are apparently more familiar with.

(10) Niin, ja **marjahilloa** (TuSo, p. 95).

Klar. Mit **Apfelmus** drauf (KK, p. 83).

As example (10) shows, the soldiers in KK eat *Apfelmus* (English *apple sauce*), is sweet sauce made of boiled apples (WDW 1997: 203).

#### 5.2.1.4 Superordinate term

In KK superordinate term (for a definition, see section 2.6.4) is used 104 times. Of all realia this is 20 percent. For a example, *Aunuksen retki*, the Olonets expedition, refers to the attempt of Finnish volunteers to conquer and join parts of East Karelia to Finland in 1919 during the Russian revolution ([http://fi.wikipedia.org/wiki/Aunuksen\\_retki](http://fi.wikipedia.org/wiki/Aunuksen_retki), 11.7.2006.)

(11) Hän oli joutunut eroamaan armeijasta luutnanttina **Aunuksen retken** jälkeen (TuSo, p. 22)

Nach **dem Ostkarelienzug von 1919** hatte er als Leutnant seinen Abschied nehmen müssen (KK, p. 20).<sup>10</sup>

In KK the phrase is translated as *Ostkarelienzug*. (English *East-Karelia campaign*). This means warlike operations (WDW 1997: 470) in East Karelia, which is a more general term compared to the original. Similarly, e.g.

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<sup>10</sup> After the East Karelia campaign in 1919 he had been forced to leave the army as a lieutenant.

*suopursunvarsi* (Tuso, p. 59) and *turve* (TuSo, p. 117) are in KK both translated simply as *die Erde* (English *ground*).

### 5.2.1.5 *Explication*

In KK explication (for a definition, see section 2.6.5) is used 58 times, which amounts to 11 percent of the total. Finnish military terms form the largest group of phrases translated with this strategy, even though all realia types are represented quite evenly in this category. Approximately 1/10 of the realia of each realia type is translated with this strategy (See table 9). An example of explication is *Emma*, (TuSo, p. 386), which is a nickname for the Russian Dektjarev DP27 machine gun ([http://fi.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Dektjarev\\_DP27&action=edit](http://fi.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Dektjarev_DP27&action=edit), 18.7.2006).

- (12) ”**Emma**” nakutti yhä hänen jäljillään, mutta hän itse oli suojaassa juurakon takana (TuSo, p. 386).

Immer noch harkte **das russische MG – die sogenannte Emma** – seine Spur ab, derweilen er schon längst in seiner Deckung hinter dem Stubben lag (KK, p. 332).<sup>11</sup>

In KK *Emma* is explained as a Russian machine gun.

### 5.2.1.6 *Addition*

In KK addition (for a definition, see section 2.6.6) is used nine times. This forms two percent of all realia and is therefore the smallest category.

For instance, *Itkuvirsi* (TuSo, p. 128), an improvised folk poem sung at weddings and funerals (*NS A-I* 2002: 686) is defined in a footnote as an old Karelian habit of appointing women (German *Klageweiber*) to sing and cry by the grave (KK, p. 111). *Ukko-Pekka* (TuSo, p. 312), a nickname for the Finnish infantry gun M39, (<http://fi.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ukko-Pekka>,

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<sup>11</sup> Still the Russian machine gun – the so-called Emma – was shooting in his trail, even though he had taken cover behind the tree stumps a while ago.

11.7.2006) is explained in a footnote as a Finnish infantry gun (KK, p. 270). References to the song *Isoo-Antti and Rannanjärvi* are also borrowed and explained in a footnote:

(13) **Vaasan veri** ei vapise eikä **Kauhavan rauta** ruostu (Tuso, p. 175).

In vorderster Linie zu kämpfen war **Wasa-Brauch\*** und **der Kauhava-Stahl\*\*** rostet nie [\* Wasa-Brauch: Wasa (finnisch: Vaasa), Hauptstadt der Provinz Süd-Pohjanmaa (Süd Österbotten), deren Männer als besondere Draufgänger sind \*\*Kauhava-Stahl: In Kauhava (Ort in Süd-Pohjanmaa) werden die besten finnischen Dolchmesser ("puukko") hergestellt] (KK, p. 152).<sup>12</sup>

Thus, KK takes the allusions literally and describes people from southern Ostrobothnia as fearless daredevils with their so-called Wasa-customs (German *Wasa-Brauch*) and the steel from Kauhava (German *Kauhava-Stahl*) as referring to the special knives manufactured there.

I have classified translation couplets into this category as well. Translation couplets consist of "a transcription of an institutional term followed by its translation in brackets" (Newmark 1981:76). In the research material of this study there is only one translation couplet and it is in KK, when *perkele* (TuSo, p. 285) is translated as *Perkele (Teufel)*. On page 47 in TuSo, however, when the same swear word appears first, it is culturally adapted as *Arschlöcher* (KK, p. 42). Thus, the choice of strategy even with this individual realia seems arbitrary.

The examples illustrate the heterogeneousness of this category, since they represent different subcategories of realia types. Only geographical realia were not once translated using addition. Nevertheless, since addition was so

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<sup>12</sup> Fighting in the front, where the customs of Wasa remain and the steel of Kauhava never rusts [\*Wasa-customs: Wasa, capital of the province Etelä-Pohjanmaa, where men are seen as fearless daredevils \*\* Kauhava-steel: the best Finnish knives ("puukko") are manufactured in Kauhava, a region in Etelä-Pohjanmaa.

rarely used, any conclusions as to a possible conscious method behind the use of this strategy are difficult to draw.

#### **5.2.1.7 Omission**

In KK omission (for a definition, see section 2.6.7) is used 24 times. This is 4,5 percent of all the realia. The realia in this group are heterogeneous and there does not seem to be a pattern to the use of omission, e.g. all realia types are represented in this category but the sixteen omitted social realia are the largest group. Of the geographical realia four are omitted, of the cultural realia three are left out and only one historical realia.

Examples of omitted realia are *löyly* (TuSo p. 92), hot steam or heat caused by water thrown to the sauna oven in the sauna (*NS L-N 2002:327*) and *rippikoulu* (TuSo, p. 254), a course held by the parish, where a priest teaches Christianity to youth and prepares them for their confirmation (*NS O-R 2002: 766*).

#### **5.2.1.8 Translation errors**

In KK 15 realia are classified as translation errors (for a definition, see section 2.2.4). This is three percent of the total. Examples are *tyykipaita* (TuSo, p. 6), a colloquial word referring to a shirt made of industrially manufactured fabric (*NS TS-O 2002: 113*) that becomes *ungebügelte Hemdenkrage* (English *unironed shirt collar*) and *ruojut* (TuSo, p. 26), which are short-legged boots (*NS O-R 2002: 784*) that are translated as *Schweisssocken* (English “sweat-socks”). In some cases the meaning of the translation is more restricted in contrast to the original. Examples are *männikkö* (TuSo, p. 118), translated as *Gebüsch*, which means shrubbery of some kind instead of a pine forest and *ahkio* (TuSo, p. 253). *Ahkio* is a boat-shaped sled used in winter and pulled by people or reindeer (*NS A-I 2002: 14*). In KK it is translated as *Munitionsschlitten* (English *sled for ammunition*), *den Ahkio* (KK, p. 217) even though strictly speaking it is not designed for ammunition only and is



therefore classed as a translation error. Moreover, *käki* (Tuso, p. 289), a bird known for its cuckooing and the habit of laying its eggs in other birds' nests (NS J-K 2002: 687), is translated as *Wipfel*, which literally means “tree tops“. Nonetheless, the German *der Kuckuck* is the correct equivalent.

### 5.2.2. Realia translation strategies in US

This section describes the realia translation strategies in US, included are direct transfer, calque, cultural adaptation, superordinate term, explicitation, omission, translation errors and non-applicable realia (See Appendix 1). In US addition was not used. Table 9 visualizes the strategies used in US.

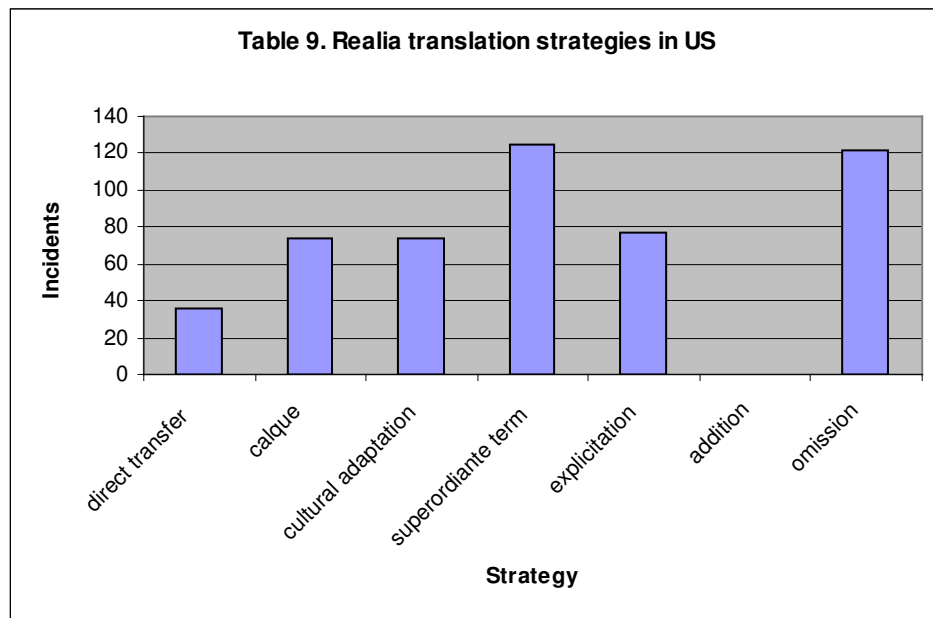


Table 10 below sums up all the realia types and translation strategies in US. The translation strategy most commonly used with each realia type appears in boldface. A quarter of the geographical realia and social realia are translated using a superordinate term. Historical and cultural realia are in most cases omitted.

**Table 10. Realia type and translation strategy in US**

	geo.	%	hist.	%	soc.	%	cult.	%	Total
direct transfer	23	22 %	6	8 %	7	2 %	0	0 %	<b>36</b>
calque	12	11 %	16	23 %	43	13 %	3	12 %	<b>74</b>
cultural adaptation	3	3 %	1	1 %	67	20 %	3	12 %	<b>74</b>
superordinate term	<b>26</b>	25 %	10	14 %	<b>82</b>	25 %	7	28 %	<b>125</b>
explicitation	15	14 %	12	17 %	49	15 %	1	4 %	<b>77</b>
addition	0	0 %	0	0 %	0	0 %	0	0 %	<b>0</b>
omission	14	13 %	<b>22</b>	31 %	78	23 %	<b>8</b>	32 %	<b>122</b>
translation error	2	2 %	4	6 %	1	0 %	0	0 %	<b>7</b>
non-applicable	8	8 %	0	0 %	6	2 %	3	12 %	<b>17</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>103</b>	<b>98 %</b>	<b>71</b>	<b>100 %</b>	<b>333</b>	<b>100 %</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>100 %</b>	<b>532</b>

### 5.2.2.1 Direct transfer

In US direct transfer (for a definition, see section 2.6.1) is used 36 times, which is 7 percent of all the realia in TuSo. The use of the strategy is fairly straightforward. It was mostly used with place names and they were adapted in order to fit them with TL norms. Consequently *Häme* becomes *Hame* and *Äänislinna* becomes *Aanislinna*. Other realia transferred directly other than place names were, e.g. *tuhna*, a derogatory nickname of Finns used by Russians (*NS TS-Ö* 2002: 1), *maataska*, referring to Russian women (*NS L-N* 2002: 355) and *sauna*, a building where one sweats in the heat and steam caused by water that is thrown on the sauna oven and washes oneself (*NS S-TR*: 73).

### 5.2.2.2 Calque

In US calque (for a definition, see section 2.6.2) appears 74 times. This amounts to 14 percent of all the realia.

The majority of the realia in this category are Finnish clothes, food or articles of everyday use, such as in example (14) below.

(14) Karvalakkeineen, turkkireuhkoinen, villapaitoineen ja **huovikkaineen** (TuSo, p. 5).

In warm spring weather the veterans departed, wearing their fur caps, tattered sheepskin coats, knitted jerseys and **felt boots** (US, p. 1).

*Huovikkaat* are footwear made of felt (*NS A-I* 2002: 541). In English the realia has been translated with the phrase “felt boots”. Felt in English means matted fabric of wool, hair, etc. made by working the fibres together under pressure or by heat or chemical action (CED 2003: 599).

(15) Kyllä ne tiedetään. **Suur-Suomee** sitä tehdään (TuSo, p. 129).

I know them. We're out here to build a **Greater Finland** (US, p. 82).

Here *Suur-Suomi* refers to the ideology popular during the 1818 war to expand Finland's borders to include all the areas of peoples related to Finns, i.e. East-Karelia, Estonia, the Kola Peninsula, Ingria as well as areas from northern Norway and north-western Sweden (<http://fi.wikipedia.org/wiki/Suur-Suomi>, 11.7.2006).

### 5.2.2.3 Cultural adaptation

In US cultural adaptation (for a definition, see section 2.6.3) is used 74 times. This is 14 percent of all the realia.

The majority of the words in this group are related to persons, such as in example 16 below.

(16) Toisen joukkueen johtaja oli nuori varusmiesväänrikki, länsisuomalaisen kauppalan yhteiskoulusta **ylioppilaaksi** päässyt poika (p.9).

The second platoon was commanded by a very young second lieutenant, a boy who had just **graduated** from small town in West Finland (p. 4).

In Finland, *ylioppilas* refers to a person, who has completed the matriculation examination (*NS TS-Ö* 2002: 716). The translation “graduated” means a person who has completed studies in high school and received a diploma or a first degree from a university or college (CED 2003: 707). Due to the different school systems the terms are different. Another example is *päiväläispoika*. It is translated as *common laborer*, which refers to a person engaged in physical

work especially of an unskilled kind (CED 2003: 909). Since the US term does not include the aspect of the person specifically working on daily wages, like the Finnish term (*NS O-R* 2002: 550), it is classed as cultural adaptation.

#### 5.2.2.4 Superordinate terms

In US a superordinate term (for a definition, see section 2.6.4) is used **125 times**. This is 23 percent of all the realia. Thus, in US the use of superordinate terms was the most frequently used translation strategy.

Firstly, most of the words translated with this strategy refer to clothes, food or articles of everyday life, e.g. *Fiskarsin aura* (TuSo, p. 240), a plough manufactured by Fiskars, is simplified as a *plough*. Secondly, another larger category is geographical words, such as *Pohjanlahti* (TuSo, p. 269), which is the northern part of the Baltic Sea (<http://fi.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pohjanlahti>, 8.8.2006), translated as *the sea*. Thirdly, there are personal words translated with this strategy, such as *päiväläinen* (TuSo, p. 6), a person working on daily wages, e.g. a farm hand (*NS O-R* 2002: 550) translated as *a labourer*. Fourthly, buildings and institutions are translated with this strategy, illustrated in example 17.

- (17) Me emme ole tahtoneet yhtikä muut kun rauhas rakennella kaikki saunoi ja **pirtei** täsä maas...(TuSo, p. 280).

All we Finns wanted was to build our **houses** and saunas here in peace... (US, p. 191).

*Pirtti* is a one-room dwelling house that is usually made of logs (*NS O-R* 2002:346). *House* is a more general term, referring to a building used as a home, a dwelling (*CED* 2003: 791). Another example is *yhteiskoulu* (Tuso, p. 9), which is a school, where both sexes are taught together (*NS TS-Ö* 2002: 671). In US it is translated as *school*, which can mean any educational institution or building (*CED* 2003:1447) and therefore is a hyperonym.

### 5.2.2.5 *Explicitation*

In US explicitation (for a definition, see section 2.6.5) is used 77 times. This is 15 percent of all the realia.

In the English translation explicitation with place names is used 10 times. For example *Laatokka* (TuSo, p. 119) becomes *Lake Ladoga* and *Inari* (TuSo, p. 414) is translated as *hell*. Other examples of the use of explicitation are *lapualaiset upseerit* (TuSo, p. 305), *ahkio* (TuSo, p. 171) and *lotta* (TuSo, p. 24, 96, 125, 403).

- (18) Suomen pojat. Tappakaa **lapualaiset upseerinne** ja tulkaa tänne (TuSo, p. 305).

Men of Finland! Kill your **Fascist officers** and come over here (US, p. 211).

With the officers are meant the officers of a radical right-wing political movement from 1929 to 1932, which originated in Lapua (*NS L-N* 2002: 58), which is a very specific term. The translated *fascist officers*, on the other hand, refer to officers who are either adherents or practitioners of fascism or have right-wing authoritarian views (*CED* 2003: 539).

- (19) Lahtinen Määttä ja Salo vetivät **ahkiota** syvässä lumessa (TuSo, p. 253).

Lahtinen, Maatta and Salo hauled a **Lapp sled** bearing a machine gun through the deep snow while Sihvonen floundered behind it with the check line. (US, p. 171).

*Ahkio* is a specific type of a boat-shaped sled pulled by people or reindeer that is used in winter (*NS A-I* 2002: 14). A sled, on the other hand, refers to a vehicle mounted on runners, drawn by horses or dogs and used for transporting people or goods especially over snow (*CED* 2002: 539). The US term has been explained by specifying it as Lappish.

The realia *lotta* appears several times in TuSo. US employs explicitation when the word appears for the first time by specifying it as *the women's auxiliary* (US, p. 13) and later on, *lotta* suffices.

#### 5.2.2.6 Omission

In US 122 realia are omitted (for a definition, see section 2.6.7). This is 23 percent of all the realia. Of the historical and cultural realia one third are omitted. For instance, in US there is no trace of *sisu*, it has been omitted in all cases. Moreover, the allusions to the songs *Isoo-Antti ja Rannanjärvi (Vaasan veri ei vapise eikä Kauhavan rauta ruostu)* and *Karjalaisten laulu (idän halla ja pohjan pakkaset)* are omitted.

#### 5.2.2.7 Translation errors

US includes 3 realia that are classed as translation errors (for a definition, see section 2.2.4). This amounts to 0,6 percent of all the realia. Firstly, the place name *Lemetti* (TuSo, p.311) is inexplicably shortened and translated as *Lemi*. Secondly, *hallanvaara* (TuSo, p. 344) that refers to local frost during a warm season that has a devastating effect on crops (*NS A-I 2002: 337*) becomes *a bit of frost*. Thirdly, *koivuriuku*, a slim, lopped pole of birch (*NS O-R 2002: 751*) that is in TuSo used to carry a wounded soldier into the field dressing station instead of a stretcher, is translated as *sapling*, i.e. a young tree (CED 2003: 1434). On the one hand, these translations distort the semantic meaning of the original but on the other hand, they might be classed as superordinate terms, if the realia is considered of little importance to the understanding of the given passage or the development of the plot. Nevertheless, I decided to examine these realia as a separate class, because in my opinion the meaning of the original is considerably altered in translation.

### 5.2.2.8 *Non-applicable realia*

The realia in this group do not apply to this study and are excluded from the analysis. US includes 21 realia that either exist both in Finnish and English or are omitted along with longer passages from US. Of the total the non-applicable realia form 4 percent. Examples of the first group are the bird known for its habit for laying eggs in other birds' nests (*NS J-K* 2003: 687), i.e. *käki* (TuSo, p. 289) and *keltainen vaara* (TuSo, p. 347), which refers to the economical and national threat supposedly posed to the Western world by the Mongolian races (*NS J-K* 2002: 302). For these words *cuckoo* and *the Yellow Peril* are legitimate equivalents. Since in KK these are translated erroneously, they are included in this study.

The English translation has omitted entire passages. These longer passages include nineteen realia that are not included in the analysis. Firstly, pages 26-33 from TuSo are omitted, which include the benediction before leaving for the front and the discussion of the soldiers debating the evolution of the human race versus the Christian creation. Secondly, page 278 is omitted, where the background of Koskela as a member of a "red" family in the Finnish Civil War in 1818 is explained. Thirdly, pages 366-367 are omitted, where the soldiers ponder over the end of the war when it already seems certain that Finland will lose the war. As previously stated (See Introduction), US concentrates on action instead of the characters. Thus, in my opinion these passages may have been omitted, because they are neither eventful nor essential for the development of the plot, i.e. the passages are not omitted due to the realia.

## 6 CONCLUSION

In this section the findings of this study are discussed in relation to earlier realia studies. In addition, the reliability and validity of the study is examined and suggestions for further research in the field are given.

The findings of this study show that there are noticeable differences between the translation strategies of KK and US. KK is more specific, since *M/36 kenttälakki* is *Feldmütze M/36* and *lotat* are *die Lottas*. Finnish culture is continually present in KK. US is more international and also more vague, since *kelo* is translated as *woods* and *hakkaa päälle* as *let's go*.

The findings suggest that the global strategy of realia translation in KK is foreignizing. In KK the majority of the geographical realia are translated with direct transfer. The majority of historical and cultural realia are translated with calque and the majority of social realia are culturally adapted. To sum up, calque was used most frequently as a translation strategy and very little is omitted. Thus, KK follows TuSo very closely and therefore the translation is SL-oriented. In fact, when KK was published in 1955, TS had only begun to develop and the majority of the theories at the time were linguistic and concentrated on the SL.

In contrast, the global strategy of realia translation in US seems to be domestication. The majority of geographical and social realia are translated with a superordinate term and a considerable number of realia is omitted, including one third of the historical and cultural realia. The most common strategy in US is the use of a superordinate term, which makes the text more general. Addition, which may be considered intrusive, was not used at all. Because of the heavy adaptation of TuSo in US, it appears to be a TL-oriented translation. In fact, over the years TS has begun to turn its focus to the TL and US was translated in 1986.



According to the study by Kujamäki (2000), translations that are too faithful to the original may be short-lived, because of diminished readability (See 3.2.2). The realia translation of KK is more faithful to the original than that of US, but according to the study by Martin (1966) it included many errors and ambiguous parts (See 3.1.2). Thus, the global strategy and exactness of realia translation reveals nothing of the overall use of translation strategies in KK. The study by Raittila (2001) found that the Swedish translations of the novels by Arto Paasilinna followed the originals more closely and the German translation included more hyperonyms and explicitation, because of the smaller cultural distance between Finland and Sweden (See 3.2.3). Nevertheless, based on the findings of this study, the distance between Finnish and German culture seems to be smaller than that of Finland and the United States. The study by Nedergaard-Larsen (1993) suggested that realia in subtitling are retained, when this does not lead to comprehension problems (See 3.2.4). In KK, however it is used e.g. with the expression *Vaasan veri and Kauhavan rauta* (See 5.1.2.6). In spite of explaining it in a footnote, the allusion is lost to a German unfamiliar with the song *Isoo-Antti ja Rannanjärvi*. Thus, in KK following TuSo too closely has resulted in occasional comprehension problems.

Reliability refers to the capability of repeating the study and attaining the same results, i.e. reliability is improved the less chance affects the results (Valli 2001:92). However, classifying realia is somewhat subjective and not all might categorize them as I have. This is difficult especially when the boundaries between classes are not clear, such as in the case of explicitation and addition. In this study only the realia that were explained in a footnote are classed into the group of realia translated with the addition strategy. The reliability of the classification could have been improved by having two people class the realia and comparing the results. When gathering data, I noticed that the same Finnish realia were in some cases translated differently if they appeared more than once in the text. All these incidents are incorporated in the study. In addition, especially the English version seemed

heavily abridged, which presented a problem. If a complete paragraph or more that included realia were omitted, should the translation strategy be considered omission as well? I decided against this, since the passages were not essential for the development of the plot and therefore the incentive for omitting the text segment may lie elsewhere, e.g. in keeping “the action” going. In addition, possible translation errors are analysed separately, since they do not fit in any of the above categories. However, these considerations may challenge the reliability of the study. Validity, on the other hand, estimates how well the study measures what it is supposed to measure (Valli 2001:108). In this study the focus is limited, as only specific individual linguistic items are investigated. The study concentrates solely on realia. The validity is further improved by omitting the non-applicable realia from the study, since they might distort the results.

The table by Nedergaard-Larsen (1993:211) was used as a basis for the classification of realia into realia types. However, as Nedergaard-Larsen herself points out, the classification is far from exhaustive, which made it difficult to group the terms. For instance the realia *halkomotti* (TuSo, p. 350) was a problematic term. It means a square-meter of wood that is measured out by stacking meter-long logs into a crate that is one-meter wide and high (*NS L-N* 2002-: 521). I decided to class the term as a social realia and into the subcategory of economy, since it is the traditional way of measuring wood in Finland when it is sold. Since the grouping presented some difficulties and not all realia fitted into the original classification, new subgroups had to be developed. For example, historical concepts were classed as historical realia, even though they did not originally have a specific subgroup of their own. However, since the classification is necessarily subjective, my classification may be criticized. In fact, I was unable to find any studies on realia types apart from the table of realia types developed by Nedergaard-Larsen (1993) and a brief summary of them by Leppihalme (2001). The deficiencies in the reference books to classify realia types exhaustively caused difficulties in realia identification.

A study by Lörsher (1991) found that when students translated texts without dictionaries, of all the problems they encountered approximately 70 percent were lexical, 22 percent were lexico-syntactic and 8 percent purely syntactic. Realia are a type of lexical problems and the number of such problems shows that their translation is difficult. Many of the realia in this study were not listed in any Finnish-English dictionary available in libraries, such as *tyykipaita* (TuSo, p. 6), *jalkarätti* (TuSo, p. 10), *korpisoturi* (TuSo, p. 106) or *vapaudenristi* (TuSo, p. 138). In my opinion future realia studies are necessary in order to create realia dictionaries that ease the work of translators and improve the quality of translations. In addition quality assessment of realia translation would enable translators to justify their use of global translation strategies.

## 7 APPENDIX

### Translation strategy

1. Direct transfer
2. Calque
3. Cultural adaptation
4. Superordinate term
5. Explicitation
6. Addition
7. Omission
8. Translation error
9. non-applicable realia

### Realia type

1. Geographical
2. Historical
3. Social
4. Cultural

Page	Finnish	Type	Meaning	German	Strat.	English	Strat.
5	valtion metsä	1	Forest owned by the government	finnische Staatswald	5	state forest	2
5	hietakangas	1	dry forest, where pine trees and heathers grow	Sandfläche	2	a sandy heath	2
5	Joensuu	1	Town in the province of East Finland	Der Stadt Joensuu	5	the town of Joensuu	5
5	eversti	3	highest ranking officer in command of an ordinary regiment	Oberst	3	colonel	3
5	esikuntapäällikkö	3	Chief of Staff	der Stabschef	3	Chief of Staff	3
5	armeijakunta	3	an army unit larger than a division but smaller than an army	Armeekorps	3	Army Corps	3
5	Suomen talvisota	2	The war in 1939-40 between Finland and The Soviet Union	Der finnische Winterkrieg	2	Finland's Winter War	2
5	jalkaväkipataljoona	3	Branch of service of the infantry that mainly moves on foot.	Infanteriebataillon	3	infantry battalion	3
5	karvalakki	3	a hat made of fur	Fellmützen	2	fur cap	2
5	turkkireuhka	3	a coat made of fur	die zerschlissene Pelze	5	tattered sheepskin coat	5
5	huovikkaat	3	footwear made of felt	Filzstiefel	2	felt boots	2
5	suomalainen humala	3	Finnish way of drinking heavily	echt finnischen Sauferei	5	Finnish fashion, they got drunk	5
5	toukotyöt	3	Sowing and other related farming in spring	Frühlingssaar	4	spring planting	5

Page	Finnish	Type	Meaning	German	Strat.	English	Strat.
6	katumuskyminen	3	a tax, 1/10 of the income from fishing, agriculture and hunting			7 time to think of repentance	5
6	Suomi-Aiti	3	Finland as the mother to its people	Finnland		4 Mother Finland	2
6	talonpoika	3	Man who receives his principal income by independently farming land that he owns or is otherwise in charge of.	Bauerburschen		2 young farmers	5
6	päiväläinen	3	a person working on daily wages, esp. a farm hand.	Tagelöhner		2 laborers	4
6	tyykipaita	3	spoken, fabric manufactured in a mill	ungebügelte Hemdenkrage		8	7
6	>ulsa<	3	a loose-fitting overcoat without lining, made of woollen material	Mantel		4 topcoat	4
6	halkometsän tili	3	paycheck received from chopping wood.	Holzauerlohtüte		2 last pay envelope as a lumberjack	5
6	Aatu	2	Adolf Hitler	Adolf (Hitler)		6	7
6	tupa	3	quartering in the barracks	der Bude		4	7
6	kansakoulu	4	municipal school that provides basic education for children.	Volksschule		2 school	4
6	rautakanki	3	a steel pole	Brecheisen		3	7
6	herrat	3	civilized male member of the upper class, also in a derogatory sense.	bessere Herren		5 gentlemen	4
7	konekiväärikomppania	3	an infantry or flak company consisting of 2-4 machine-gun units and 6-16 machine-guns	Maschinengewehrkompanie		2 machine-gun company	2
7	ryhmänjohtaja	3	mil., leader of a group.	Unteroffiziere		4 section leaders	2
7	aliupseeri	3	a foreman ranking lower than an officer	Unteroffiziere		3 NCO	3
7	varusmiesalikersantti	3	a foreman ranking lower than an officer and serves as a conscript and not as a reservist			7 sergeant	4
7	joukkueenjohtaja	3	mil. leader of a group	Zugführer		2 platoon commander	4
7	upseeri	3	an officer ranking from second lieutenant to a marshal	Offizier		3 officer	3
8	komppanianpäällikkö	3	Leader of the smallest administrative unit of infantry and certain other branches of service.	Kompaniechef		3 Company Commander	3
8	jääkärikapteeni	3	captain of the special infantry unit, the Jaegers	Jägerhauptmann		2 Jaeger Captain	2

Page	Finnish	Type	Meaning	German	Strat.	English	Strat.
8	komppania	3	The smallest administrative unit of infantry and certain other branches of service.	Kompanie	3	company	3
8	luutnantti	3	officer below the rank of a second lieutenant	Oberleutnant	3	lieutenant	3
8	helsinkiiläisluutnantti	3	officer below the rank of a second lieutenant who comes from the capital of Finland	hauptstädtische Herkunft	5	Helsinki lieutenant	2
9	Maasotakoulu	4	Name of the National Defence college in Santahamina from 1935 to 1953.	die Kriegsschule	4	The Land Warfare School	2
9	varusmiesväänrikki	3	highest ranking officer in the Finnish Army and Air Force.	wehrpflichtiger Leutnant	3	second lieutenant	3
9	länsisuomalainen	3	a person from the west of Finland		7	West Finland	2
9	kauppala	3	Municipal community that is judicially a part of the countryside and administratively a town.	einer Kleinstadt	4	small town	4
9	yhteiskoulu	4	a school, where both sexes are taught together.		7	school	4
9	ylöoppilas	4	a person, who has completed the matriculation examination	hatte sein Abitur gemacht	3	graduated	3
9	reserviväänrikkimyytti	2	Until 1941:Second lieutenat who has received training only as a serviceman; the myth of his superior skills as a soldier	der Mythos eines Reserveleutnants	2	expected from a 2nd lieutenant in the WW	5
9	hämäläinen	3	a person from the county of Häme, traditionally slow, sullen.	tavastländisch	1	Hame	1
9	pienviljelijä	3	a farmer with a small farm	Kleinbauer	3	a small farmer	2
9	kersanti	3	officer ranking lower than an officer	Unteroffizier	4	sergeant	3
9	upseerikoulu	4	a school where where officers are trained	Kriegsschule	4	officers' school	2
9	suljettu harjoitus	3	drilling in the army	rituelle Schleiferei	5	endless drilling	5
10	pataljoona	3	a unit smaller than a regiment but larger than a company	Bataillon	3	battalion	3
10	jalkaräätit	3	a piece of cloth that is wrapped around the foot	Fusslappen	2	Socks	4
10	mantteli	3	spoken: overcoat of a soldier	Mantel	3	overcoat	4
10	huusholli	3	spoken, household, housekeeping	Siebensachen	3		7
10	varsinaisuomalainen	3	person from the southwest region of Finland	eingentliches Finnland *	6		7
10	varuskunta	3	Troops situated in an inhabited district	Garnison	3	garrison	3

Page	Finnish	Type	Meaning	German	Strat.	English	Strat.
11	pussihousut	3	trousers with baggy hems	Stiefelhosen	3	lounging pajamas	5
11	pohjoishämäläinen	3	a person from north Häme	Norden von Tavastland	1	fellow from North Häme	1
11	saksmanni	3	derogatory; a German	Fritzen	4	Germans	4
11	Hangon kylpylä	2	a spa in the town of Hangö	die Badegäste in Hangö	4	Hanko	1
11	vuokramies	3	a lodger, here: Russians in previous Finnish soil	Untermieter	2	Russkies	4
11	Viipuri	1	a town in the area ceded to the Soviet Union after the Winter War	Wyborg	1	Viipuri	1
12	talousaliupseeri	3	an officer of low rank in charge of food rations etc	Kammerunteroffizier	4	quartermaster	3
12	asealiupseeri	3	an officer of low rank in charge of artillery	Kammerunteroffizier	4		7
13	keskipohjalainen	3	a person from Middle Ostrobothnia	aus Mittlerösterbottnien	1		7
13	muuttokahvit	3	coffee and snacks offered to those who help you move	Umzugskaffee	2	coffee	4
13	autonapumies	3	truck driver's helper	Beifahrer auf einem Lastzug	5	truck driver's helper	5
14	jermuilu	3	mil. slang, insubordinate behaviour	unbedeutende Meckereien	5	petty insubordination	5
15	Laihia	1	municipality in Ostrobothnia, known for stinginess	stammte nicht umsonst aus Laihia	5	parsimonious	5
16	herran kampeet	3	civilized male member of the upper class, also in a derogatory sense; his clothes	wie ein feiner Herr gekleidet	5	new uniform	5
16	kiiltosaappaat	3	patent leather boots	gewienerten hohen Stiefeln	5		7
16	suurtalo	3	an estate, the part of which is rented to others	Grossbauer	3	big farm	5
16	isäntäpoika	3	the oldest son of a house doing the farmer's work	Sohn	4	heir	5
17	korppu	3	dried loaf of bread, browned in the oven	Zwieback	3		7
17	töpinän seurapiiri	3	military slang, accommodation etc of a company or similar	übel bekannte Etappenclique	5	usual mess hall's gang	5
18	kintaat	3	woollen, knitted, baggy gloves	Wollhandschuhe	4	gloves	4
18	lumput	3	second-hand clothes used in making paper and a special kind of wool	Schweisslumpen	2	rags	4
19	hietakangas	1	a forest where pine trees and junipers grow	Brandheide	8		7
19	länget	3	padded part of a harness made of wood placed on		7		7

Page	Finnish	Type	Meaning	German	Strat.	English	Strat.
			the neck of a horse to help it pull a load				
20	paperiverhot	3	curtains made of paper	Papiergardinen	2	paper blinds	2
20	>jatsarit<	3	boots with a soft leg	ein Paar Reitstiefel	5		7
20	siviilisaapashousut	3	baggy trousers worn with boots	zivile Reithosen	2		7
20	North State	3	cigarette brand	>North State<	1		7
20	rajavääpeli	3	a boarder guard sergeant major	Grenzjäger	2	Frontier Guard	4
20	komppanianvääpeli	3	sergeant major of an infantry unit	Hauptfeldwebel	3	Sergeant Major	3
20	M/36 kenttälakki	3	a Finnish soldier's cap	Feldmütze M/36	2		7
20	sarkahousut	3	trousers knitted from carded wool	die billigsten Wollstoffhosen	5	long trousers	4
20	>maiinnousukengät<	3	a specific type of shoes	hochschäftige Stiefel *	6	high laced shoes	5
20	villasukat	3	knitted woollen socks	Wollstrümpfe	2	woollen socks	2
21	divisioona	3	a unit smaller than army corps, usually comprising of 3 infantry regiments	Division	3	division	3
21	kahvipannu	3	a spouted coffee pot	Kaffeekanne	2	coffee pot	4
21	Muurmannin tie	3	a railway to a town in the Kola peninsula	der Murmansk-Bahn	2	the Murmansk railway	5
21	vuokralaiset	2	a person who has rented his land; here the Russians who live in areas that formerly belonged to Finland	Pächter auf unserem Terrain	5		7
22	Aunuksen retki	2	the attempt of Finnish volunteers to conquer and join parts of East Karelia to Finland in 1919 during the Russian Civil War	der Ostkarelienfeldzug	2	the Olonets expedition	5
23	majuri	3	a high-ranking officer	Major	3	major	3
23	everstiluutnantti	3	an officer ranking higher than a major but lower than a colonel	Oberstleutnant	3	lieutenant colonel	3
23	kenttäkeittiöt	3	a kitchen used by the military in the front, pulled by a horse or a car	Feldküchen	3		7
24	lotat	2	members of the Lotta Svärd (a women's organization from 1919 to 1944 that worked alongside the White Guard).	die Lottas	1	Lotta Svärd, the women's auxiliary	5
24	rinkelit	3	a wheat pastry shaped as a hoop	Brezeln	3		7
24	kanttiini	3	a shop in the area of operation of an army unit,	Kantine	3	canteen	3



Page	Finnish	Type	Meaning	German	Strat.	English	Strat.
			where soldiers can buy coffee, refreshments, tobacco, stationery etc				
24	korvike	3	an artificial substance used instead of the original or better substance, in this case coffee	Ersatzkaffee	2	coffee mixed with a substitute	5
24	vesirinkilät	3	a small, dry twist bun baked from salty wheat-flour dough	steinharte Wasserbrezeln	5	thick crackers hard as rock	5
24	siniristilippu	2	The Finnish flag with a blue cross	das Banner Finnlands	5	Finnish flag	5
24	>myötätunnot<	3	a type of trousers	die Mitleidshosen, wie man sie nannte	5	gaiters	4
24	armeijan sarka	3	fabric knitted from carded wool	grobe Filzhosen	5	grey army issue	4
24	kesäpusero	3	a piece of clothing covering the upper body worn in the summer	Sommerfeldbluse	2	a summer blouse	2
25	karjalainen	3	a Karelian, traditionally lively	karelische	1	Karelian	1
26	Suomen raskas	3	the heavy artillery of Finnish infantry	finnischer Heer	4		7
26	veripää	3	a recruit	junger Spund	5		7
26	monni	3	mil. slang: a recruit	Gelbschnabel	4		7
26	ruojut	3	boots with a short leg	Schweisssocken	8		7
26	iltahartaus	4	a religious occasion in a smaller scale than a service	Abendandachten	2	Benediction	4
31	Turun Sanomat	4	a newspaper	die Zeitungen	4		9
31	kansakoulu	4	a municipal school, where all children receive the necessary basic education	Volksschule	2		9
31	ahven	1	Perca fluviatilis, one of Finland's most common fish	Plötzen	8		9
32	ryssät	1	derogatory, a Russian	Russen	4		9
32	kusiaiset	1	spoken: ants	Pissameisen	2		9
32	täit	1	a small parasite that sucks blood, esp. head lice	Filzläuse	5		9
33	Aurajoki	1	a river in Turku	Fluss	4		9
34	Ääninen	1	a lake in Karelia, a.k.a. Äänisjärvi	Onega	1	Lake Onega	5
34	Syväri	1	river in the southern border of East Karelia	Swir	1	Svir	1
37	savolainen	3	a person from the county of Savo, traditionally talkative		7		7

Page	Finnish	Type	Meaning	German	Strat.	English	Strat.
37	masi	3	a conscript who has almost finished his military service	ein alter Hase	4		7
38	käärtyie	3	a poor road where one drives e.g. with a cart	Feldweg	4	wagon track	2
38	kenttäpakkii	3	cooking vessel used in the front	Kochgeschirr	4	kettle	4
38	kelo	1	Dried out, barkless grey pine		7	woods	4
38	metsätie	3	a shady, grassy road in a bad condition	Waldweg	2	forest road	2
39	taistelulähettiliupseeri	3	an officer of low rank working who delivers messages to and from the front	der Unteroffizier vom Kompanietrupp	4	battle runner	2
39	hyttyset	1	Culex pipiens, a blood-sucking insect	Schmeissfliegen	8	mosquitoes	4
40	suo	1	a wet area covered with peat with few or no trees	Sumpfgelände	4	swamp	4
41	Kuopio	1	a town in the province of East Finland	Kuopio	1		7
42	ratsurit	3	gunners driving a pair of horses pulling guns	die Reiter	4	drivers	4
42	tykkimies	3	soldiers in charge of ammunition etc.	die Kanoniere	3	gunner	3
42	saapashousut	3	baggy trousers worn with boots	die Stiefelhosen	3	breeches	3
42	kuusikko	1	a fir tree forest	Fichtenwald	2	the spruce	4
43	isiemme suuret teot	2	refers to the great deeds of our forefathers in previous Finnish wars	der Heldenmut unserer Väter	2	Our forefathers...great deeds	2
43	silakat	1	a small fish living in the Baltic Sea	Sprotten	4		7
43	joulukalat	3	fish eaten during Christmas time, often dried stockfish	Flundern	8		7
43	naapuri	3	a person living close by but not in the same household; here: the Russians	lwan	3	Russkies	3
43	Pialustok	1	dialect, a town in north-east Poland	Bialystok	1	Bialystok	1
43	Pohjanmaan pojat	3	men from Ostrobothnia	die Österbottnier	1	our boys up north	4
44	korpi	1	a dark, untouched forest of spruce	der Wald	4	The forest	4
44	pitäjä	3	an area larger than a village	Heimatsdorf	4	parish	3
46	näkkileipä	3	originally Swedish hard rye bread	Knäckebröt	3		7
46	konekivääri	3	a heavy fully automatic gun	die Gewehre	4	guns	4
46	tähystäjä	3	a scout	die Späher	3	spotter	3
46	patruunankantajat	3	mil. a soldier who carries ammunition for the machine gun	die Munitionsträger	2	ammunition carriers	2

Page	Finnish	Type	Meaning	German	Strat.	English	Strat.
46	kiväärinjohtaja	3	mil. leader of the machine gun unit	die Gruppenführer	4	squad leaders	4
47	konepistoolimiehet	3	operators of a heavy, fully automatic gun	MG-Schützen	3	men armed with tommy guns	3
47	perkeleet	3	incarnation of evil, a swear word	Arschlöcher	3		7
48	muonatupakat	3	a soldier's daily ration of tobacco	die Marketenderei	8	tobacco rations	2
50	mättäät	1	small knolls formed by a thick growth of moss.	das Unterholz	4	grass	4
51	kainuulainen	3	a person from Kainuu		7	northeast	5
52	keittiön ajomies	3	a man driving the field kitchen pulled by horses	der Koch	4	driver of the field kitchen	2
53	mökki	3	a small, humble dwelling-house made of logs or board	Blockhütte	3	house	4
54	vaivaismänyt	1	stunted pine tree	Krüppelkiefern	2	stunted pines	5
56	suorasuuntaustykki	3	anti-tank rifle	Geschütz	4		7
57	panssaritorjuntatykki	3	mil. anti-tank gun	der Pak	3	anti-tank gun	3
58	hakkaa päälle	2	a battle cry of the "hakkapeliitta", allusion to the song "Sotamarssi"	Drauf und dran	3	let's go	3
58	pohjan poika	2	men of the north; allusion to the song "Sotamarssi"	Männer des Nordens	2	men of the north	2
58	lääkintämiehet	3	mil. a soldier, who is responsible for First Aid and organizing transportation for wounded soldiers	Sanitäter	3	stretcher bearers	3
58	Jsp	3	mil. a place where the wounded and sick soldiers are treated	Verbandsplatz	4	field dressing station	3
59	suopursunvarsi	1	Ledum palustre, a poisonous plant with white flowers and a pungent smell	die Erde	4	ground	4
60	kivääri	3	a handgun with a long barrel that shoots bullets		7	rifle	3
61	pst.kivääri	3	an anti-tank rifle	die Panzerbüchse	8	anti-tank rifle	2
62	Suur-Suomi	2	an ideology of expanding Finland's borders to include all the peoples related to Finns		7		7
63	koivuriuku	3	a slim, lopped pole of birch	Birkentrage	8	sapling	8
63	mökistä kotoisin	3	a person coming from a small, humble dwelling-house made of logs or board	Tagelöhnerssohn	5	not well off	5
64	bunkerilinja	3	a line of shelters for protection and shooting		7	fortifications	4
64	perunasoppa	3	potato soup, usually with meat		7	food	4
65	upseerivyö	3	a belt worn by Finnish officers	das Koppel	4	officer's belt	2

Page	Finnish	Type	Meaning	German	Strat.	English	Strat.
65	Mouson Laventeli	3	perfume	Mouson Lavendel	1	bottle of toilet water	5
66	katajapensaikko	1	a juniper shrub	Gebüsch	4		9
67	käsikranaatti	3	mil. a grenade that is thrown	Handgranate	3		9
67	Karjalan kahleet	2	refers to the broken chains in the Karelian coat of arms designed by Gallen-Kallela	kareliens Ketten	2		7
70	perkeleen kuovi	3	an insult	Der stetzt.als Pfauenfeder in den Hintern	3	strange one	4
71	livekala	3	dried stockfish		7		7
71	lääkintäalikkessu	3	mil. a foreman ranking lower than an officer with medical training	der Sanitätsunteroffizier	2	medical NCO	3
73	kolmiomittaastorni	3	observation tower built in a triangulation reference point	Vermessungsturm	4	observation tower	4
73	rautaisannos	3	nutritious provisions that last 1-3 days and can be eaten only with the officer's agreement	eiserne Ration	2	pork fat	5
73	sianlihasäilyke	3	tinned pork	zermetschte Fleisch	4	emergency-ration tin	4
73	bunkkeri	3	an underground construction for shooting	Bunker	3	bunkers	3
73	Krh	3	a gun from the heavy artillery of the infantry	Granatwerfer	3	trench mortars	3
74	konekiväärikorsu	3	a shelter almost or entirely underground for a machine gun	MG	4	machine-gun position	4
74	tulenjohtaja	3	leader of the military unit that controls firing	der Artilleriebeobachter	2	an artillery observer	5
74	mustikanvarvut	1	Vaccinium myrtillus, a plant with dark blue edible berries	Heidekraut	3	blueberry bushes	2
74	kanuunat	3	a gun with a long barrel in comparison to the calibre	die Flachbahngeschütze	5	field guns	4
74	haupitsit	3	a gun with a shorter barrel than a cannon	Haubitzen	3	howitzers	3
74	raskaat patterit	3	heavy artillery	schwere Batterie	2	heavies	4
76	saippuanpala	3	miinoja	Seifenstücke	2	that stuff	4
76	rotuli	3	explosives from trinitratetoluene	Trotyl	2	TNT	3
76	trottylinkappaleet	3	explosives from trinitratetoluene	Klumpen von Trotyl	2	TNT charges	3
76	pioneerit	3	mil. a soldier trained for technical assignments, such as building or blowing up bridges and roads	Pioniere	3	engineers	3
79	komentaja	3	leader of an army unit larger than the basic unit	Kommandeur	3		7

Page	Finnish	Type	Meaning	German	Strat.	English	Strat.
80	ampumahauta	3	a pit in the ground for the protection of soldiers	Schützengräben	3	trench	3
81	kasapanos	3	anti-tank explosives developed by Captain Kaarlo Tuurna in 1936	geballter Ladung	2	explosives	4
82	hirsikerta	3	layer of lopped tree trunks with a diameter of at least 15 centimeters	Baumstämmen	2	layer of logs	5
84	jääkärijoukkue	3	a special infantry unit trained for special assignments	de Jägerzug	2	Jaeger Platoon	2
84	Lemetti	1	a place name	Lemetti	1		7
84	kokarti	3	a sign of one's position attached to a cap	Sowjetsterne	5		7
84	nakaani	3	refers to a gun named Nagant	Kragenspiegel	4		7
86	Lapua	1	a town in Southern Ostrobothnia	Lappos Feld	1		7
86	von Tööpel	2	Swedish general Georg Carl von Döbeln, who fought in the 1808-1809 war	von Döbeln	1		7
87	kylä	3	a group of farm houses situated close to each other that form a regional entity	Dorf	3	village	3
88	Valse Triste	4	a waltz by Jean Sibelius, the name is French, meaning "a sad waltz"	Valse Triste	1		7
89	kuusituumaiset	3	a gun with a six-inch diameter	Sechszöller	2	six-inch shells	5
89	kranaatinheitin	3	a gun from the heavy artillery of the infantry	Granatwerfer	3	a trench mortar	3
90	pajukko	1	a thick growth of willow	Weidengestrüpp	2	overgrown willow bushes	5
90	heinäseipäät	3	sharp poles for the drying of hay with one or more horizontal pegs	Heustangen	2		7
92	löyly	3	hot steam or heat caused by water thrown to the sauna oven in the sauna		7		7
94	hernesoppa	3	a soup made mostly of peas	Erbsensuppe	2	food	4
94	keittiömies	3	a soldier who does the cooking in the front	Küchenbulle	2	cook	4
94	papusoppa	3	soup made mostly of beans		7		7
95	lepikko	1	forest of alder	Gebüsch	4	a dense grove of alder	5
95	nisujauhot	3	wheat flour for baking buns	Weizenmehl	4		7
95	marjahillo	3	tinned jam cooked from berries and plenty of sugar	Apfelmus	3		7

Page	Finnish	Type	Meaning	German	Strat.	English	Strat.
95	mahorkkasätkä	3	cigarette of cheap, Russian tobacco	Zigaretten aus dem Machorka	2	tobacco	4
96	kylämaisema	3	a scenery of a group of farm houses situated close to each other that form a regional entity	verwilderte Landschaft	5		7
96	adjutantti	3	mil. an officer assigned as an assistant to a commander	Adjutanten	3	adjutant	3
96	sankarilottamyytti	2	myth of the heroic actions of the members of the Lotta Svärd (a women's organization from 1919 to 1944 that worked alongside the White Guard) working in the front.	Mythus der Helden-Lotta des Winterkriegs	2		7
96	maalaispuhelin- keskuksenhoitaja	3	a place where all the telephones of the istrict are connected to and that connects all the calls in the area	Provinztelefonistin	3		7
97	pajukeppi	3	a stick made of willow	geschälte Weidenrute	2	willow switch	2
97	kylätie	3	a road between far-off villages and the main road, the maintenance of which is the responsibility of the road users	Dorfstrasse	2	road	4
97	perisuomalaiset sisupussit	3	the typical courage and determination of Finns, relentless effort that enables a person to surpass the limits of a normal performance	ein Bündel von originalfinnischen "Sisu" *	6		7
98	kessu	3	home-grown tobacco	Eigenbau	4		7
98	kenttäpatja mallia 18	2	derogatory, a member of the Lotta Svärd (a women's organization from 1919 to 1944 that worked alongside the White Guard)	Feldmatratze M/18	2		7
99	Suomen Armeija	3	The Finnishational Defence Force	der finnische Armee	2	the army	4
99	Suomen karhu	3	the Finnish bear; bear as the Finnish national animal	der Finnen-Bär	2	the Finnish bear	2
104	sananjalat	1	Eupteris aquilina, a poisonous fern that grows in Middle and South Finland	Farn	4	ferns	4
106	korpisoturi	2	Finniah soldiers who fight in the wilderness	Wildmarkkrieger	2	a man	4
107	valistusupseeri	3	mil. officer in charge of the education etc of a unit	die Bildungsoffiziere	2	Educational Officer	2

Page	Finnish	Type	Meaning	German	Strat.	English	Strat.
107	Vänrikki Stoolin tarinat	4	a book of poems by J.L. Runeberg published in 1948 and 1869. The poems tell about the 1808-1809 war.	Fähnrich Stals Erzählungen	2		7
108	Suomi-konepistooli	2	a machine-gun used by the Finnish army	die Suomi-Moi	2		7
108	eränkävijäkorpisoturi	2	Finnish soldiers who fight in the wilderness	finnische Wildmarkkrieger	2		7
108	sianlihasäilyke	3	tinned goods of pork	das Corned Beef	3		7
109	puskaryssä	2		Buschrussen	2		7
111	munakäsikranaatti	3	an egg-shaped hand grenade	Eierhandgranate	2	hand grenade	4
112	talvisodan pakkaset	2		im Frost des Winterkrieges	2	the snow in the Winter War	4
115	Jp	3	A battalion of the special infantry, the Jaegers	Jägerbataillon	2	Jaeger Battalion	2
115	jääkärijoukkojen luutnantti	3	lieutenant of the special infantry, the Jaegers	Jägerleutnant	2	Jaeger lieutenant	2
115	Äänisjärvi	1	a lake in Karelia, a.k.a. Ääninen	Onega	1	Lake Onega	5
115	Loimola	1	a village in Karelia in the area ceded to the Soviet Union	Loimola	1	a place called Loimola	5
116	vanikansiivu	3	hard rye bread	Kommiss-Scheiben	4	hardtack	3
116	näkkileivänpalanen	3	hard rye bread	ein Stück Knäckebröt	3	a piece of hardtack	3
117	turve	1	porous, light soil, formed from the decaying remains of swamp plants	die Erde	4		7
118	männikkö	1	a forest of pines	Gebüsch	8	forest	4
118	Itä-Karjala	1	Eastern parts of Karelia	Russisch-Karelien	4	Karelia	4
118	Sturm-joukot	3	Allusion to the German paramilitary SA(Sturmabteilung)-troops of the Nazis	Sturmtruppen	2	The Storm Troops	2
118	Marsalkka	2	marshal, a title given to a general by the President; the only Finnish field marshal is C.G.E. Mannerheim	der Marschal	4	the Marshal	4
118	Korholan tytöt	4	a song about girls	die Mädchen von Kohorla	1	filthy songs	5
119	souvari	3	a worker who does temporary, physical jobs	Landarbeiter	4	unskilled laborer	5
119	Laatokka	1	a large Karelian lake, the north part of which used to belong to Finland	Ladoga-See	5	Lake Ladoga	5
120	sellupuuro	3	porridge made of whole wheat grains	Zellulosegrütze	2	grits	3
121	puimakoneenremmi	3	a farm machine that separates grain and seeds and	Dreschmaschinenriemen	3	threshing-machine belting	3

Page	Finnish	Type	Meaning	German	Strat.	English	Strat.
			cleans them				
121	Inkeri	1	an area stretching from the old Finnish border to Estonia	Ingermanländer	1	Ingria	1
121	Rääpyvä	1	a parish in North Ingria	Rääpyä	1	a place called Raapyva	5
122	inkeriläinen	3	an Ingrian person	Ingermannländer	1	the Ingrians	1
122	tsuhna	3	a derogatory nickname for Finns used by Russians	Tschuchna	1	Tshuhna	1
125	elöjuhla	3	a celebration after harvest	Erntefest	2	harvest festival	5
125	tanhuta	3	dance Finnish folk dances	Tanzereien	4		7
125	kirkonkylä	3	a village surrounding the parish church in a municipality in the country	daheim	4		7
125	lottatäti	2	a member of the Lotta Svärd (a women's organization from 1919 to 1944 that worked alongside the White Guard), who does not work in the front	Lottas in den Kirchspielen	5		7
125	kenttähuora	2	derogatory, a member of the Lotta Svärd (a women's organization from 1919 to 1944 that worked alongside the White Guard)	Feldsnutten	2	whore	4
125	Laatokan-Karjala	1	the part of Karelia surrounding the Ladoga sea	Ladoga-Karelien	2	Ladoga-Karelia	2
126	räiskäleet	3	large pancakes made on a frying pan	Pfannkuchen	3	pancakes	3
126	viinapullo	3	a bottle of distilled alcohol	Schnapsflasche	4	a bottle of vodka	4
127	sälli	3	derogatory, a man	Pennbruder	4	tramp	4
127	TK-kirjallisuus	3	literature meant to keep up the morale of the population and soldiers	das Gesundel der Kriegsberichterstatten	5		7
128	korpitie	3	a long, narrow road in the middle of a forest	Wildmarkweg	2	forest track	4
128	Karjalan laulumaat	2	refers to ancient Karelian songs that were collected and formed e.g. Kanteletar	Kareliens singende Felder	2	this part of Karelia is supposed to be a land of song	5
128	itkuvirsi	3	an improvised folk poem that is sang in weddings and funerals	Heulchoräle *	6	sad songs	5
129	hevosmiesten tietotoimisto	3	news form an unreliable source	Latrinen vom Reitstall	2	Latrine News Agency	3
129	Suur-Suomi	2	an ideology of expanding Finland's borders to include all the peoples related to Finns	Gross-Finnland	2	Greater Finland	2



Page	Finnish	Type	Meaning	German	Strat.	English	Strat.
129	suomalainen sisu	3	the courage and determination of Finns, relentless effort that enables a person to surpass the limits of a normal performance	Finnlands Sisu	1		7
130	jermumentaliteetti	3	mentality of insubordination in the army	plumpe Landstreichemanieren	5	any such attitude	4
132	keksilöitä	3	light, dry, manufactured biscuits	Keks	4	crackers	4
132	marmelaati	3	jelly-like tinned marmelade made from fruit or berries	Marmelade	3	jam	4
132	EKM	3	Provisions Field Magazine	Verpflegungszentrale	2		7
133	täyspakkaus	3	a soldier's field pack that weighs 40 kilograms when full	voller Marschaurüstung	5	full field pack	5
136	lt	3	Air Defence	die Flak	3	flak	3
138	tammenlehvä	2	a clip resembling an oak leaf attached to a medal	mit Eichenlaub und allem Klimbim	2	oak leaves	2
138	vapaudenristi	2	a decoration	Feirheitskreuz	2	crosses	4
145	vapaudenmitali	2	a decoration	Freiheitsmedaill	2	medals	4
145	neljännen luokan vapaudenristi	2	a fourth class decoration	Freiheitskreuz vierter Klasse	2	a Fourth Class Liberty Cross	2
145	toisen luokan vapaudenmitali	2	a second class decoration	Freiheitsmedaill zweiter Klasse	2	Second Class Liberty Medal	2
147	kannakselaismurre	3	dialect in the Isthmus in Karelia	Dialekt verriet ...einen von der Karelischen Landenge	5	Karelian dialect	4
150	Taipale	1	a known combat zone of the Winter War in the Karelian isthmus	Taipale	1	Taipale	1
150	Kannas	1	isthmus in the west of Russia that divides the Ladoga sea and the Gulf of Finland that was a part of Finland before the wars	Landenge	4	Isthmus	4
154	Kelja	1	dwelling-house of a orthodox munk	Kelja	1		7
155	iv	3	infantry	Schützen	4		7
159	Karjalan Armeija	3	a Finnish army unit in the Continuation War, founded in 1941 and consisting of two army corpses and a separate special unit	die karelische Armee	2	Army of Karelia	2

Page	Finnish	Type	Meaning	German	Strat.	English	Strat.
159	Sotamiehen Taskukirja	4	list of officers	Soldatenhandbuch	2	picture	4
164	kaalisoppa	3	soup made of cabbage	Kohlsuppe	2	cabbage soup	2
164	kolhoosipoika	3	a male from a communist collective of farmer families in Soviet Russia	Kolchosenwichte	3	these Russkies	4
165	haupitsipatteristo	3	a gun with a barrel length between a cannon and a mortar	Haubitzenabteilung	3	howitzer battery	3
165	kipinämikko	3	soldier guarding for sparks from the stove at night	Feuerwache	5	guard	4
165	kelomänty	1	Dried out, barkless grey pine	dürres Reisig	3		7
167	sopatonkka	3	a large soup kettle	Suppenkessel	4	Big soup kettle	5
168	savolainen	3	a person from Savo, trad. talkative	Sawolaxer	1		7
168	Suame hirvittävä leijona	3	the lion in the Finnish coat of arms	schreckenerregenden Löwen Finnlands	2	Finland's fearsome lions	2
170	kaurapuuro	3	porridge made of oats	Hafergrütze	2	oatmeal porridge	2
170	lapikkaat	3	boots, with a tip that points up	Skistiefel	8	beautiful new high boots	5
172	saksmannit	3	derogatory, Germans	die Fritzen	4	goddamn Germans	5
172	puro	1	a brook with a narrow riverbed, small amount of water and fast current	Bäche	3	brooks	3
172	letto	1	an open, wet, shaking swamp, where mostly grass and moss grow	Morast	4	bogholes	4
172	suo	1	a wet area covered with peat with few or no trees		7	swampy ground	4
172	krh-miehet	3	the soldiers operating heavy artillery of the infantry	Granatwerfer	3	trench-mortar squad	3
172	pst-miehet	3	anti-tank soldiers	Pak-Bedienung	3	anti-tank men	3
174	sisu	3	courage, determination, relentless effort that enables a person to surpass the limits of a normal performance	Kraft	4		7
175	vapaaherra	3	nobility lower than a viscount, in Finland the term of address has been baron	Fürst	3	big cheese	5
175	Vaasan veri	4	from the lyrics of the song Isoo-Antti and Rannanjärvi	Wasa-Brauch*	6		7
175	Kauhavan rauta	4	from the lyrics of the song Isoo-Antti and Rannanjärvi	Kauhava-Stahl *	6		7

Page	Finnish	Type	Meaning	German	Strat.	English	Strat.
178	ju.komppania	3	infantry company	Schützenkompanie	3	the infantry companies	3
178	suoniitty	1	swamp where grass grows	Sumpfwiese	2	meadow	4
179	lato	3	a shed or a shelter for hay and corn	Heuschöber	8	barn	4
181	pula-aika	2	depression after the Finnish civil war	die Krisenjahre	4	the great Depression	5
181	työväentalo	2	house owned by the Workers' Association, where parties and meetings are held	Gewerkschaftshaus	3	the Workers' Building	2
181	hernesoppa	3	a soup dish mainly consisting of peas	Die Erbsensuppe	2	the soup	4
181	Tampere	1	a city in the province of West Finland	Tampere	1	Tampere	1
192	pyhäkoulu	4	an occasion held on Sundays, where the principles of Christianity are taught to children in a simple way suitable for children	Konfirmandenunterricht	3	Sunday School	3
195	panssarintorjuntakivääri-ryhmä	3	a military unit for the destruction of tanks and other armoured vehicles	Pak-Gruppe	3	anti-tank rifle squad	3
195	Klim	2	Kliment Voroshilov, a Russian tank	Klim	1		7
196	lähitorjuntamiehet	3	soldiers of the close air defence unit	Nahkampfgruppe	2	engineers	4
197	katajapensasrykelmä	1	a growth of junipers	Wacholdergestrüpp	2	a cluster of juniper bushes	2
198	vesivelli	3	water-based porridge or other watery food	Wassersuppe	2		7
202	veeärrä	2	vapaudenristi	das Freiheitskreuz	2	Liberty Cross	2
204	Petsamon nikkeli	2	nickel from an area in the north-east from Finland that was a part of Finland from 1929 to 1944.	Petsamo-Nickel	2		7
206	Vennäi akat	3	derogatory; Russian, older women	Russenweiber	2	the women in Russia	4
206	Mannerheiminristi	2	due to its rarity the most esteemed decoration in Finland, awarded for special bravery shown in the war	Mannerheim-Kreuz	2	Mannerheim Cross	2
206	Jsp	3	station near the front, where wounded and ill soldiers are treated	Verbandplatz	3	the field dressing station	3
207	havukatos	3	a shelter covered with spruce branches	Reisigdach	3		7
207	kuivamuona	3	dry rations of soliders	Trockenverpflegung	2	dry rations	2
208	Petromax	3	kerosene lamp	Petroleumlampe	5	a powerful gasoline lamp	5
209	musta kumitakki	3	a black water-proof jacket	schwarze Regenmantel	4	black rubber raincoat	2

Page	Finnish	Type	Meaning	German	Strat.	English	Strat.
209	kamiina	3	a small , separate heating device of metal			7 the stove	4
210	flanellipaita	3	a shirt made of a soft, nappy fabric of wool or cotton	Flanellhemd		2	7
210	päiväläispoika	3	a boy working on daily wages, esp. a farm hand.	Tagelöhner		4 common laborer	4
210	muonarenkiperhe	3	a farm hand living in the land owner's building, who gets part of his wages as corn, milk etc	Landarbeiter		4	7
212	starikka	3	"old man" in a Karelian dialect	Greis		4 an old man	5
214	muinaissuomalainen	3	an original Finn	Museumstück		5	7
214	alkusuomalainen	3	an original Finn	Urfinne		2	7
215	Priäzä	1	a place name	Präzä		1 Priaza	1
218	Petroskoi	1	a city in Karelia by the lake Onega	Petroskoi		1 Petrozavodsk	1
218	Matroosa	1	a place name	Matrosa		1 Matroosa	1
218	Polovina	1	a place name	Polovina		1 Polovina	1
218	Vilka	1	a place name	Vilka		1 Vilka	1
218	Pos rudan	1	a place name	Pos Rudan		1	7
229	Suollusmäki	1	a place name	Suollusmäki		1	7
221	vesaikko	1	young growth of saplings of deciduous trees	Jungwald		4 scraggly bush	5
221	tunnustelija	3	mil. a soldier placed in front of an advancing unit in order to avoid surprises	Spähtruppe		4 scouting job	5
222	vinski poika	3	a Finn	die finnische Landser		3	7
222	Käkisalmi	1	a town in the Karelian isthmus by the Ladoga sea	Käkisalmi		1 Käkisalmi	1
223	sauna	3	a building where you sweat in the heat and steam caused by water thrown on the sauna oven and wash yourself	Sauna		1 sauna	1
223	Suoju	1	a village in Karelia	Suoju		1 Suoju	1
224	siniristilippu	2	The Finnish flag with a blue cross	das blaue Kreuz auf weissem Grund		5 the blue cross	2
225	viinaa	3	distilled alcohol, esp. the cheaper brands	Schnaps		4 vodka	4
225	hakkapeliitta	2	a Finnish cavalry man during the reign of Gustav Adolf II	Hakapeliter		1	7
225	Vienanlahti	1	Dwina Bay of the White Sea	weites Meer		4 the White Sea	4
226	Hermannin nuorisoseura	3	jokingly of a Youth organization	Mutter Grün		3 Young People's Association	3

Page	Finnish	Type	Meaning	German	Strat.	English	Strat.
226	pirtu	3	home-made spirits	Schnaps	4	vodka	4
228	joulupukki	3	a man with a long beard, dressed in a fur coat, who gives out presents at Christmas and lives in Lapland	Weihnachtsmann	3	Father Christmas	3
230	Äänislinna	1	the name of Petrozawodsk from 1941 to 1944		7	Aanislinna	1
231	Kuopion potkukelkkapataljoona	3	A joking name for a battalion	Kuopio-Rollschuhbataillon	2	The Latrine Orderlies Battalion	3
232	vepsäläiset	3	a people related to Finns, Karelians and Estonian, who live in Karelia	die Wepsen	1		7
232	luterilainen	4	protestant religion founded by Martin Luther	lutheranische	3	Lutheran	3
234	puhdistusosasto	3	a unit taking care of desinfection in order to fight diseases	Jugendkomsomolsk	3	a volunteer group	4
233	suikkalakki	3	a cap without a peak		7	stocking cap	5
234	nuorisomoleski	3	young person, who belongs in the Komsomol, the youth wing of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union		7	one of those young collectivists	5
240	Fiskarsin aura	3	a plough manufactured by Fiskars, a Finnish company founded in 1649	Pflug	4	plough	4
242	sisäpalveluohjesääntö	3	code of conduct in the barracks	Vorschriften für den Innendienst	5	barracks regulations	5
245	Timosenko	2	Russian Minister of Defense	Timoschenko	1	Timoshenko	1
245	Donin Rostovi	1	a region in south-west Russian by the river Don	Rostov am Don	1	Rostov-on-Don	1
245	Tammerkoski	1	rapids in Tampere	der Tammer-Koski	1	Tampere rapids	5
246	perkele	3	incarnation of evil, a swear word	Perkele	1	hell	3
246	porstua	3	a porch of a farm-house	Flur	4		7
246	punakaarti	2	hist. Red Guard, military left-wing organization, founded in Finland during the 1905 strike and again in 1917	Rotgardisten	4	the Red Guard	4
252	Kaljukkukula	1	name of a hill	die "Glatze"	2	Bald Hill	2
253	ahkio	3	a boat-shaped sled pulled by people or reindeer used in winter	Munitionsschlitten, den "Ahkio"	5	a Lapp sled	5

Page	Finnish	Type	Meaning	German	Strat.	English	Strat.
253	kunnanpöso	3	a rich man in a leading position in a municipality	der Dorfbonze	2	the profiteers	3
254	rippikoulu	4	a course held by the parish, where a priest teaches Christianity to youth and prepares them for their confirmation		7		7
255	lumipuku	3	white protective garment used when there is snow	Schneehemd	2	snow cloak	5
256	kinnas	3	woollen, knitted, baggy gloves	Handschuh	4		7
257	hella	3	a stove with a plate for cooking vessels	der Küchenherd	4	kitchen range	4
259	pakkaspäivä	1	sunny day in the middle of winter	frostig	4	a frosty day	4
265	huovikkaat	3	boots made of felt	Filzstiefel	2	felt boots	2
266	näre	1	a young fir tree	die Fichte	4	little pine	4
269	Pohjanlahti	1	northern part of the Baltic sea between Finland and Sweden	Bottnische Meer	4	the sea	4
270	metsäniitty	1	a meadow in the woods that grows grass and hay	die Waldwiese	2	forest meadow	2
272	kapulatie	3	a road built of trees laid crosswise	Knüppeldamm	3	a road	4
272	kilju	3	strong, intoxicating home-made beer.	echt finnische kilju, einen Schnaps	1	beer	3
273	Jsp	3	mil. a place where the wounded and sick soldiers are treated	Verbandsplatz	3	casualty clearing station	3
273	vp	3	free from duty due to illness	sich krank schreiben lassen	5	apply for leave	5
274	Krim	2	Krim Voroshilov, a Russian tank	Krim	1		7
274	Harkovi	2	Russian C-250 Charkow L-250 aeroplane	Charkow	1		7
274	Marsalkka	2	C.E.G. Mannerheim, the only Finnish field marshal	der Marschall	4	Marshal Mannerheim	5
274	leikattu konjakki	3	another name for alcohol made of cognac and spirits, Finnish "jaloviina"	Kognak-Vershchnitt	2	issue of what was known as army cognac	5
274	jaloviina	3	alcohol made from cognac and spirits	Edelbranntwein	3	brandy	3
275	Mannerheiminviinat	2	alcohol offered in honour of the Marshal's birthday	Mannerheim-Schnaps	2		7
277	jätkä	3	a temporary worker, derogatory:slacker		7	a man	4
278	torppari	3	a person who has rented a part of a larger estate for farming purposes	Häusler	3		9

Page	Finnish	Type	Meaning	German	Strat.	English	Strat.
278	punainen	2	a member of the Red Guard	rot	4		9
278	rovasti	4	a clergyman who has been given this title by the cathedral chapter		7		9
278	torppa	3	a part of a larger estate, rented for farming purposes	Kate	3		9
278	punikki	2	derogatory, a member of the Red Guard	Rotgardisten	4		9
279	lotta Lunkreeni	4	a song of a certain lotta	das Lied von Lotta Lundgreen	5	Lotta Lundgren	1
280	pirtti	3	a dwelling-house made of logs with one room only	Hütten	3	house	4
280	mersu	3	aeroplane Messerschmitt Bf 109	Flugzeug	4	bomber	4
281	aarnivalkea	1	a mythical fire burning on a treasure pit	Irrlichter	3	lights of will-o'-the-wisps	3
281	Lapin noitajutut	2	tales of Lappish shamans	Zauberschwindel aus Lappland	4	Lapland tales of magic	4
281	revontulet	1	optical phenomena in the polar regions	Nordlicht	3	Northern Lights	3
282	komentokorsu	3	the unit leader's dwelling in the front	Gefechtsstand	4	CP	4
283	Helsinki	1	Finland's capital	Helsinki	1	Helsinki	1
283	Burschi	3	a military servant, an officer's messenger	Ordonnanz	3	orderly	3
283	Marskin miekka	2	refers to the Marshal's order of the day called "miekantuppipäiväkäskey" in 1941, where he stated that he would not put his sword in the sheath before Finland and East-Karelia are free	der Degen des Marschalls	2	the Marshal's sword	2
284	taistelulähettialupseeri	3	leader of the messenger unit	Kompanietruppführer	3	orderly	4
284	divisioonan esikunta	3	the closest assistants to the commander	Divisionstab	3	Divisional Headquarters	3
285	ryssä	3	here: the Russian language	russisch	4	Russian	4
285	maatуска	3	derogatory, Russian woman	Matuschka	1	maatуска	1
285	karhunampuja Kitunen Martti	2	famous hunter who shot 192-198 adult bears who lived from 1748 to 1833	Bärentöter Martti Kitunen	1	bear-hunter Matti Kitunen	1
286	Iso-Antti	2	1831-1911, a farmer and a leader of a group of trouble-makers and disturbers of peace called puukkojunkkarit	Iso-Antti	1		7
286	Härmä	1	an area in Ostrobothnia, where Iso-Antti lived	Härmä	1		7
288	riisipuuro	3	rice-made porridge	Reisbrei	2		7

Page	Finnish	Type	Meaning	German	Strat.	English	Strat.
289	käki	1	Cuculus canorus, a bird known for its cuckooing and habit of laying eggs in other birds' nests	Wipfel	8	cuckoo	9
290	ruotsalainen vanikka	3	hard Swedish rye bread	schwedisches Knäckebröt	3		7
291	suolainen silakka	3	salty herring	Salzfisch	4	pickled herrings	3
294	korsu	3	a construction for sheltering the soldiers or artillery, usually built in the ground	Bunker	3		7
294	ampumahauta	3	a pit in the front for shooting and protection	Schützengraben	3		7
296	Miljoona	1	a name of a hill	Millionen	2	Million	2
296	Pikkumiljoona	1	a name of a hill	Klein-Million	2	Little Million	2
296	Pirunkukkula	1	name of a hill	Teufelshügel	2	Devil's Peak	2
297	tsasouna	4	Orthodox chapel	Kapelle	4	the prayer house	4
297	kipinävario	3	guard for possible sparks	Nächtliche Feuerwache	5		7
297	kesäyö	1	summer night in the North; light and serene	Mitternacht	8	summer night	4
298	ajokoiria	1	a dog used in chasing game	Jagdhunden	2	hound	4
300	kimalainen	1	Bombus, a black insect with yellow stripes	Hammel	8	a bee	4
300	kuustuhatta rahaa	3	a five-mark coin	Sechstausend Mark	2	six thousand marks	2
300	Signaali	4	a magazine	"Signal"	2	a magazine	4
301	kuntoisuusluokka	3	classification for the abilities of soldiers	Diensttauglichkeit	2	category	4
301	täydennysmies	3	replenishment of soldiers to the front	Ersatz	4		7
301	HTK	3	Personnel Replenishment Center	Ersatzheer	2		7
302	Lauttakylä	1	a village in the province of West Finland	Lauttakylä	1	Lauttakylä	1
302	Hämeenlinna	1	capital of the province of South Finland	Hämeenlinna	1	Hameenlinna	1
302	metsätalous	3	utilization of forest for economical purposes	Forstwirtschaft	2	forest management	2
304	käymälä	3	ulkohuone	Scheisshaus	5	latrine	4
305	lapualaiset upseerit	2	officers of a radical right-wing, political movement from 1929-1932	Lapua-Offiziere	2	Fascist officers	5
305	Hitlerin mustat rosvot	2	German SS-soldiers	schwarzen Mörder Hitlers	2	Hitler's dogs	5
308	Suomen Yleisradio	4	a Finnish national broadcasting company that works under the supervision of the national parliament	finnischen Rundfunk	5		7
308	katajikko	1	a place where junipers grow	Wacholderbüsche	2		7



Page	Finnish	Type	Meaning	German	Strat.	English	Strat.
309	Mannerheimristin ritari	2	a soldier awarded with the medal called Mannerheim's Cross	Mannerheim-Ritter	2	a Knight of the Mannerheim Cross	2
310	vanjanraato	3	derogatory, a dead Russian	Russenleichen	5		7
311	Lemetti	1	a place name	Lemetti	1	Lemi	8
311	Klim Vorosilov	2	Klimenti Voroshilov, a tank	Klim Voroschilov	1	Klim Voroshilov	1
311	Karjalan Viesti	4	newspaper	"Karelischen Boten"	2	the newspaper	4
312	Ukko-Pekka	2	nickname for the rifle M39	Ukko-Pekka*	6	a rifle	4
312	Jehkimä	1	a place name		7	Ivan	5
312	korpisoturi	2	a Finnish soldier fighting in the wilderness	Wildmarkkrieger	2		7
312	Bulajeva	1	a town in north-east Poland	Bulajeva	1	Bulayevo	1
313	TK	3	a unit of psychological warfare meant to keep up the morale of the population and soldiers	Kriegsberichterstatter	3	war corresponders	3
314	Elämää juoksuhaudoissa	4	Originally a traditional folk tune that became a popular wartime song.	das beliebte Schlager "Kriegerleben"	5	"Life in the Trenches"	2
314	vaakunaleijona	2	the lion in the Finnish coat of arms	Wappenlöwen	2	Finnish lion	4
314	viisimarkkanen	3	a coin worth of five Finnish marks	das Fünfmärkstück	2	a five-mark piece	2
316	muonahevonon	1	a horse carrying food and other supplies to the front	das Verpflegungspferd	2	the ration cart	5
316	Itävaara	1	a place name	Itävaara	1	Itävaara	1
316	Korvenkylä	1	a place name	Korvenkylä	1	Korvenkylä	1
321	visainen	3	wood from a short birch with an uneven trunk	Maserbirkenholz	5	birch	4
325	marjaheinä	3	berries stringed in hay	Beerenhalm	2		7
326	suota kuokkimaan	3	hoing a swamp in order to dry it	Grabenarbeiten ins Moor	2	ditch digging in a swamp	2
332	Karjalan karhu	2	Karelian bear; bear as the Finnish national animal	Kareliens Bär	2	Karelian bear	2
335	rintama-arkkitehtuuri	2	a craze in the front to decorate trenches and dugouts	Frontarchitektur	2	architectural craze	5
337	Tikkakosken mannekiini	2	refers to a a factory where ammunition was manufactured	Mannequin für die Gewehr-Fabrik	5	sell bullets	5
344	hallanvaara	1	local frost during a warm season, esp. its possibly devastating effect on crops	Frostgefahr	2	a bit of frost	8
344	idän halla	4	lyrics from the song "Karjalaisten laulu"	Frost von Osten	2		7
344	pohjan pakkaset	4	lyrics from the song "Karjalaisten laulu"	Kälte von Westen	2		7

Page	Finnish	Type	Meaning	German	Strat.	English	Strat.
344	toppatakki	3	a padded coat for winter	wattierte Jacken	2	padded coat	2
345	Karjalan mänty	2	Karelian pine	karelische Kiefer	2	Karelian pine	2
346	Suomen Marsalkka Carl Gustaf Emil Mannerheim	2	Marshal Carl Gustaf Emil Mannerheim	Marschall von Finnland, Carl Gustf Emil Mannerheim	2	Marshal Carl Gustaf Emil Mannerheim	2
346	käpyjen keräily	3	a way of earning money by collecting cones for planting spruces	Sammeln von Tannenzapfen	2	the collection of conifer-tree cones	2
347	kolhoosi	3	a communist collective formed by several farming families in the Soviet Union	Kolchosen	4	the collectives	4
347	keltainen vaara	2	the economical, and national threat supposedly posed to the Western world by the mongolian races	gelbe Gefahr	2	The Yellow Peril	9
348	sakariinimehu	3	juice sweetened with sulphabenzoic acid	sacharingrünen Saft	5		7
350	halkomotti	3	square meter of wood; meter-long logs stacked in a crate with one-meter width and height	Baum	4	wood	4
352	puskaryssä	3	derogatory term for a Russian	Buschrusse	2	misbegotten Russian	4
352	käpykaarti	3	derogatory, a deserter	der sog. Waldgarde	5	the Pine-Cone Guards	2
353	Stormovik	2	Ilyushin Il-2 Stormovik, a Russian aeroplane	russische Jagdbomber	5	Stormoviks	1
355	nostomies	3	a reservist	Landsturmlaute	3	Landsturm men	3
359	potero	3	a pit in the ground for the protection of a soldier or artillery	Erdlöcher	4	hole	4
360	herrojen sälyt	3	goods and other knickknacks.	Klamotten der Herrschaften	5	officer's trash	5
361	suojeluskunta	2	the White Guard, a Finnish voluntary paramilitary militia from 1917 to 1944.	Schutzkorpsübung	2		7
363	vesivelli	3	Gruel or other watery dish.	Wassersuppe	2		7
363	piimä	3	curdled milk	Brei	3		7
366	Tormoviikit	2	dialect expression for Ilyushin Il-2 Stormovik, a Russian aeroplane	Jabos	3		9
366	kirkiisi	3	Kirgisian, Turkish-tatarian nomadic people living on steppes.	Kirgisen	1		9
367	Korppu	3	a piece of dried wheat-flour bread that has been browned in the oven	Zwiebäck	3		9

Page	Finnish	Type	Meaning	German	Strat.	English	Strat.
367	Korvike	3	an artificial substance used instead of the original or better substance, in this case coffee	Muckefuck	3		9
367	Pyhäjärvi	1	a lake in Tampere	Pyhäjärvi-See	5		9
373	sammalmätäs	1	small knoll formed by a thick growth of moss.	Moospolster	2	a bed of moss	2
375	suo-alue	1	a wet area covered with peat with few or no trees	ausgedehntes Sumpfbgebiet	5	swamp	4
378	lavassakasvatettu tomaatti	3	tomatoes grown on a wooden platform	Treibhaustomate	3	food	4
381	lampikannas	1	a strip of land surrounded by water from two sides.	Binneseelandzuge	3	lakes	4
384	karjapolku	3	old, winding roads developed from paths made by cows.	Viehsteige	2		7
385	Perkele	3	incarnation of evil	Perkele (Teufel)	6		7
386	lepänvarpukasa	1	a pile of twigs from an Alnus, a deciduous tree	Scheiterhaufens von trockenem Wacholder	5	the pile of dry alder twigs	2
386	Emma	2	nickname for the Russian Dektjarjev-machine gun	das russische MG - die sog. Emma	5		7
386	limppu	3	Thick, round sourdough bread	ein ganzes Brot	5	a loaf of bread	4
387	pernavoinuija	3	Hammer, with which boiled potaotes are mashed.	Stücker	4	potato mashers	4
398	apuisar	3	Assistant nurse in a Red Cross hospital	Hilfsschwester	2	nurses' aid	4
398	reki	3	a vehicle that glides on two runners.	Schlitten	3		7
398	kelirikko	1	difficulty of moving with vehicles due to the weather in spring	kahle Erde	4		7
400	kesäjuhlaurheilija	3		Sportveranstaltungen keines Sommerfestes gefehlt	5	an outstanding athlete	5
400	marjamatkailu	3	berry-picking	Heidelbeerpflücken	3	berrying jaunt	2
401	Risto Ryti	2	the President of Finland from 1940 to 1944	Risto Ryti	1		7
401	Valtioneuvoston orkesteri	3	in Scandinavia the highest governing body of the country " orchestrating" the war	Staatsorchester	2		7
401	jenkka	3	a dance that reminds polka	Polka	3		7
402	lepänoksa	1	Alnus, a deciduous tree	Busch	4	branches	4

Page	Finnish	Type	Meaning	German	Strat.	English	Strat.
403	rintamalotta	2	member of the Lotta Svärd (a women's organization from 1919 to 1944 that worked alongside the White Guard) working in the front.	Frontlotta	2	a Lotta in the front lines	5
403	vosu	3	whore, floozy	Hure	4	whore	4
408	Summa	1	a known combat zone of Winter War in Karelia	die Summa	1	Summa	1
408	Taipale	1	a known combat zone of Winter War in Karelia	Taipale	1	Taipale	1
409	limppu	3	Thick, round sourdough bread	Brot	4		7
412	kasapanokset	3	a fairly large explosive used as hand grenades	geballe Ladungen	2	HE charges	3
414	Inari	1	a municipality in the province of Lapland in the north	Lapland	4	hell	5
415	Venääläiset	3		Russen	4	you Red bastards	5
417	U-linja	2	defence line in Karelia shaped like the letter U	U-Linie	2	the frontier defense line	5
418	töpinä	3	mil. slang; accommodation of a company or similar	Tross	3	the kitchen staff	5
418	Vuoksi	1	a river running from Saimaa to the Ladoga	Vuoksen	1		7
426	uimamaisteri	3	title received by a person who has fulfilled certain minimum requirements in swimming-school	Schwimmeistertitel	2		7
427	evakko	3	person who has been transported to another area from his home due to a war, esp. Karelian evacuees.	Räumung	4	evacuated	4
427	kiljupanos	3	strong, intoxicating home-made beer.	Kilju	1	real beer	4
432	nostomiestäydennys	3	a man who belongs in the military	die Landwehrmänner	3	the drafted old men sent as replacements	5
440	hehtaaripyssy	3	a large cannon	Stalinorgel	3		7
443	Suomen Sota	2	War in 1808-1809 between Sweden and Russia, where Finland was ceded to Russia	das Krieg	4	Finland's war	2
443	korvikepakki	3	an artificial substance used instead of the original or better substance, in this case coffee, that is cooked in the front.	die Kochgeschirr mit Kaffee	5	mess tin	4
444	puolukanvarvut	1	Vaccinium vitis idaea, a white-flowered plant with red edible berries	Büscheln von Preiselbeeren	4	lingonberry plants	4
444	männikkökangas	1	dry forest, where pine trees grow	der Waldung	4	pine forest	4

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