

UNIVERSITY OF JYVÄSKYLÄ

**COGNITIVE CHANGES IN READER-EVOKED FRAMES:
Culture-specific references in Edna O'Brien's
The Country Girls and its Finnish translation**

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by

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Tämän tutkimuksen tarkoituksena oli löytää tapa tuoda esille, millaisia kognitiivisia eroja tulee kulttuurispesifisien sanojen ja niiden käännösten välille, millaiset erot ja kontekstuaaliset seikat ovat käännöksen lukijan kannalta ongelmallisia ja millaiset eivät hankaloita käännöksen lukemista. Tutkimus toi esille irlantilaisiin ruokaviittauksiin ja niiden käännöksiin liittyviä konsepteja Fillmoren (1975, 1976, 1977, 1985, 1992) framesemantiikan pohjalta tehtyjen lukijahaastattelujen avulla. Materiaali koostui Edna O'Brienin romaanin *The Country Girls* ja sen suomennoksen *Maalaistytöt* yhdeksän tekstipätkän ruokaviitteistä, irlantilaisen lukijan reaktioista alkutekstin ruokaviitteisiin ja suomalaisen lukijan reaktioista niiden käännöksiin. Analysoinnissa käytettiin Fillmoren framesemantiikan pääkonsepteja: frame, prototyyppinen frame ja laaja frame, joita tarkennettiin ja laajennettiin prototyyppiteorioiden ja Schank ja Abelsonin (1977) Scripts, goals and plans -teorian avulla. Tutkielmassa vastataan kysymyksiin: 1) Miten irlantilaisen ja suomalaisen lukijan viitteiden prosessointi ja tulkinta eroavat toisistaan ja 2) mitä eroa on suomalaisen lukijan kannalta ongelmallisissa käännöksissä ja niissä, jotka eivät ole ongelmallisia?

Lukijoiden prosessointi ja tulkinta erosivat siten, että irlantilainen lukija kuvaili aktivoimiansa irlantilaisia prototyyppisiä ja scriptejä, joita hän tarvittaessa kohdensi tekstikontekstin avulla. Suomalainen lukija puolestaan prosessoivat viittauksia huomattavasti enemmän ja lähinnä rakensi framejä suomalaisten prototyyppien, sana-assosiaation ja tekstikontekstin avulla. Hänen suomalaiset prototyyppinsä ja rakentamansa epämääräiset ja oudot framekin olivat kuitenkin yleensä ottaen relevantteja ja toimivat tekstikonteksteissaan. Yhdeksästä tekstipätkästä kolmen käännökset aiheuttivat tulkinnallisia ongelmia. Ongelmallisissa kohdissa ruokareferenssit olivat käännöksiä: kulttuurivastineita, suoria käännöksiä ja funktionaalista vastineita. Yllättävää oli, että suomalainen lukija pyrki muodostamaan kulttuurivastineista irlantilaisia ruokia ja funktionaaliset vastineet eivät aina toimineet tekstikontekstissaan. Ongelmallisissa käännöksissä alkuperäiseen sanaan liittyvän framen pääpiirteet tai yksityiskohdat olivat tärkeitä tekstifunktion kannalta ja suomalaisen lukijan aktivoima prototyyppi ei tuonut tekstifunktion kannalta tärkeitä piirteitä esille tai sitä ei voinut käyttää sellaisenaan kyseisen tekstipätkän tulkitsemiseen. Hän joutui ottamaan eri prototyypin käyttöön, muuttamaan prototyyppiä aika tavalla tai luopumaan kahden viitteen yhteyden selvittämisestä. Lukijahaastattelut ja frameanalyysi auttoivat tuomaan esille ruokaviittauksien aktivoimia framejä, niiden eroja ja ongelmakohtia konkreettisella tavalla.

Asiasanat: cognitive linguistics, cotext, context, culture-specific term, frame, goal, prototypical frame, reader reactions, script, textual function

Abbreviations

ST	source text
TT	target text
ST reader	source text reader
TT reader	target text reader
CG	<i>The Country Girls</i>
MT	<i>Maalaistytöt</i>

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1 INTRODUCTION

This study set out to find a way of showing cognitive changes of meaning between culture-specific terms and their translations, and analysing when changes of meaning make it difficult to understand translations of culture-specific terms as part of a text. What makes culture-specific terms, such as the Finnish terms *mämmi* and *viili* particularly interesting is that they do not usually have direct translation equivalents in the target language, nor the associated concepts, nor the actual artifacts in the target culture (see Kutz 1977: 256). This is why translating culture-specific terms involves trying to fill, narrow or remove the lingual and cultural gap by using three main translation procedures: transferring the culture-specific term, using a descriptive, functional, direct or cultural translation, or omitting the word altogether.

Earlier studies on culture-specific terms, such as Taraman (1985) and Kujamäki (1993), have shown that the translation procedures of culture-specific terms can result in several different changes of meaning some of which may result in interpretation problems. It seems that despite changes in meaning translations of culture-specific terms can be relevant, comprehensible and help to bridge the gap between the source text and the target text culture, or they can be too foreign, misleading or even difficult to understand. For example, in Taraman's (1985: 294) study, 62,96% of the translation procedures maintained the situational understandability of the original culture-specific terms and phrases while 37,04% did not.

As the main focus of many earlier studies has been on giving the overall use of different procedures in texts and classifying the changes of meaning using ready-made difference categories (see for example Kujamäki 1993 and Taraman 1985), they do not provide many comments on the types of interpretation problems that translations of individual culture-specific terms may create. However, Matter-Siebel (1995: 129-131) points out that reference establishment can become difficult, situational coherence may suffer, and

Calzada Pérez (1995: 90) points out that the target text reader (hereafter the TT reader) may have to work out things that come automatically to the source text reader (hereafter the ST reader). Nieminen (1996: 73), on the other hand, suggests that the TT reader may be prepared for the considerable amount of foreignness that the numerous loan translations create in her data.

The problem with the methods used in earlier studies, such as ready-made difference categories based on componential analysis of meaning, chiefly quantitative methods and self-evoked meanings of words, however, is that they do not allow one to show or examine the actual concepts associated with culture-specific terms and their translations and what types of differences in meaning and contextual factors may be problematic for the TT reader. The aim of this study was to find a concrete way of showing and examining cognitive changes of meaning between culture-specific terms and their translations and discuss what types of cognitive changes and contextual factors make it hard for the TT reader to establish references to culture-specific terms. The focus was also on how much strangeness the TT reader accepted as part of reading a translation and how much more he had to process the extracts than the ST reader. This study was a tentative attempt to use a qualitative method of collecting reader reaction data and analyse it along with a source text (hereafter ST) and a target text (hereafter TT) mainly with the help of a cognitive linguistic theory called Fillmore's (1975, 1976, 1977, 1985, 1992) frame semantics specified with some ideas from prototype theories and Schank and Abelson's (1977) scripts, plans and goals theory.

The starting point was a realistic novel, Edna O'Brien's *The Country Girls*, and its Finnish translation, *Maalaistytöt*. The references to food in *Maalaistytöt* appeared to be very different from the original references to food in *The Country Girls* and even very strange and problematic in some extracts. The orientation of this study was based on the notion that the meaning of a word is composed of an association between a term and a concept and that the meaning of words is context-dependent (see for example Fillmore 1977). The first step was to find a way of showing and examining

concepts associated with references to food in *The Country Girls* and their translations in *Maalaistytöt*.

To show cognitive changes of meaning, reader reaction data was needed, as Kujamäki (1993) suggests, and an analytical framework for analysing reader reaction data. In translation studies, Fillmore's (1977) scenes-and-frames theory is generally referred to as a theory which addresses the connection between concepts and words and is a reaction against componential analysis of meaning (see for example Vannerem and Snell-Hornby 1986). Although it is not a ready-made tool for showing and analysing concepts, ideas from Fillmore's frame semantics were used to plan and carry out two reader interviews and compile the initial analytical framework. The main concepts used in the initial analytical framework were frame, prototypical frame and large frame. As the main motivation was to test the method and to provide a detailed in-depth analysis, a small amount of data was chosen. The initial data of the study consisted of 15 extracts with references to food in Edna O'Brien's *The Country Girls* and their translations in *Maalaistytöt*, an Irish ST reader's reactions to the original references to food and a Finnish reader's reactions to the translations.

The reader interviews were semi-structured. The readers were invited to discuss the concepts (or frames as they are referred to in Fillmore's frame semantics) the references to food evoked in their mind without unnecessary interruptions. When a certain aspect of the evoked frame had to be identified to be able to compare the Irish ST reader's and the Finnish TT reader's frames and determine the cognitive changes, a question or questions from a set of analytical questions were used. The interview questions were based on Fillmore's account of prototypical frames and larger frames and Nida's (1975: 169-171) and Wierzbicka's (1985) ideas on how to determine the meaning of lexical units referring to objects with the help of informants.

The initial analysis of the data using the concepts frame, prototypical frame and large frame showed that these concepts helped to analyse frame-based processing of references to food, but processing which included

problem solving and creating new frames could not be analysed. To be able to address processing of this kind, the final analytic framework combined Fillmore's (1975, 1976, 1977, 1985, 1992) frame semantics with Schank and Abelson's (1977) scripts, plans and goals theory and mainly the connection of word levels and prototypes from different prototype theories described in Ungerer and Schmid's (1996) *Cognitive Linguistics*. The analytical framework was divided into three stages, each of which included specific questions: 1) the interpretation process (prototype, script and/or plan level), 2) the result of the interpretation process (final frames created or solely described during the process) and 3) the differences detected between the processes and the results including word-level differences, possible effect of the translation procedure and problems in interpretation. Nine extracts out of the initial 15 extracts were selected for the final analysis. The extracts which showed the most changes, and different types of changes and procedures, and all the ones which manifested interpretation problems were chosen.

This tentative attempt to show concepts behind translations of culture-specific terms and possible problems with translations of culture-specific terms helped to reveal differences in processing references to food and their translations and cognitive changes, and show actual examples of some problematic types of changes and contextual factors. Since the choice of translation procedures is a complicated, context-dependent decision-making process (see Levý 1967: 1172) and one could not interview the translator on the chosen translation procedures, this study does not provide prescriptive comments on the use of translation procedures. It describes the types of changes different procedures yield in different contexts, such as the effect of changes in word levels in certain contexts and the connection between different word levels and particular types of frames.

This study is organised in the following manner. Chapter 2 describes the nature of culture-specific terms, the main types of translation procedures of culture-specific terms, factors affecting the choice of translation procedures and changes detected in translations of culture-specific terms, some of which

may be problematic. It also gives reasons for the need for a cognitive way of approaching changes and possible interpretation problems. Chapter 3 describes the ST and TT, the requirements of collecting reader data, the initial analytical framework, the method of collecting reader data and the initial analysis of reader data. Chapter 4 explains how some aspects of Fillmore's (1975, 1976, 1977, 1985, 1992) frame semantics were combined, replaced and extended with the connection between different types of prototypes and word levels and Schank and Abelson's (1977) scripts, automatic connections, obstacles and goals in the final analytic framework. It also provides the main concepts and research questions of the analytic framework and gives an outline of how to read the analysis. Chapter 5 presents the analysis of the nine extracts of references to food and the reader reaction data. Chapter 6 discusses the differences in processes, frames and word levels, and identifies translation procedures and changes. Chapter 7 takes a more general look at the main findings of the study, evaluates the data, method and analytical framework, and proposes a practical application of the analytic framework as well as provides some ideas for further studies.

2 CULTURE-SPECIFIC TERMS AND THEIR TRANSLATIONS

This chapter discusses what culture-specific terms are, the main types of translation procedures of culture specific terms and what factors may have an effect on the choice of translation procedures. It also discusses the meaning changes different studies have detected in translations of culture-specific terms and some changes which may make translations of culture-specific terms hard to interpret.

2.1 The nature of culture-specific terms

This section discusses what culture-specific terms are and explains why this study uses the term culture-specific term instead of a number of other terms. It also discusses the classification of culture-specific terms and argues that culture-specific terms are both lexical and cognitive gaps.

The vocabularies of languages not only present the most salient links between culture and language but also the most difficult translation problems and the most salient culture-specific translation problem, culture-specific terms which do not have equivalents in other languages. Sapir (1949: 24) described the close connection between vocabulary and culture and the wide differences between the vocabularies of languages in the following way:

Vocabulary is a very sensitive index of the culture of a people and changes of the meaning, loss of old words, the creation and borrowing of new ones are all dependent on the history of culture itself. Languages differ widely in the nature of their vocabularies. Distinctions which seem inevitable to us may be ignored in languages which reflect an entirely different type of culture, while these in turn insist on distinctions which are all but intelligible to us.

The distinctions Sapir refers to derive from the fact that languages have specified, classified and categorised the most relevant and salient aspects of cultures (see for example Leino 1989: 35). Every language has different ways of grouping things, differing semantic ranges (e.g. overlapping, wider/narrower semantic ranges, different collocations) and terms which other

languages do not include (Newmark 1988: 34). It is therefore not surprising that Newmark (1988: 34) suggests that the biggest problems translators have to tackle with are lexical ones and not grammatical.

The clearest culture-specific translation problem are lexical gaps, such as *mämmi*, the Finnish Easter pudding. They are “untranslatable” elements, as Leemets (1992: 473) calls them, in that they do not have direct translation equivalents in other languages. Lexical gaps are evidence of the weak form of Sapir and Whorf hypothesis which suggests that translation is difficult if not impossible at times because different languages reflect different cultures and predispose us to certain habitual perceptions and ways of thinking (see for example Leino 1989: 32). Lexical gaps can, however, be partly filled or narrowed with the help of different translation procedures. This is most probably mainly due to the flexible nature of language and the universal aspects of human cognition described for example by Jakobson (1971: 264-265).

The term *lexical gaps*, used for example by Koller (1972: 151), is only one of the terms used to refer to words without equivalents in another language or other languages. The most commonly used terms in the English language texts on translation are *culture-specific term* (e.g. Williams 1990, Matter-Siebel 1995: 109), *cultural term* or *word* (e.g. Newmark 1981: 81-83, 1988: 95-100) and *culture-bound word* (e.g. Lefevere 1992: 82). Among those translation theorists who mainly write in German, the terms *Realia* (pl. *Realien*) (e.g. Taraman 1985: 301, Matter-Siebel 1995: 111,133), *Realienbezeichnung* (Bödeker and Freese 1987, Kujamäki 1993), *Kulturspezifika* (e.g. Matter-Siebel 1995: 133 and Schmitt 1989: 53) and *Unika* (e.g. Hönig and Kußmaul 1982: 53, Reiß 1971: 77) predominate. Only the use of the term *Realia* has been criticised since *Realien*, i.e. actual culture-specific objects, are never translated, but the signs (*Realienbezeichnungen*) which are symbols for them can be translated (see Kutz 1977: 254 and Bödeker and Freese 1987: 138). This study will use the term *culture-specific term* because it emphasises the specificity to a cultural community more than

the more vague cultural word or term. A culture-bound term would have been just as illustrative, but since using only one term may help to avoid confusion, culture-specific term was chosen.

The culture-specificity of a term depends on contextual factors present during the process of translation. The most important factors that determine whether a term is culture-specific or not are the languages involved (Rantanen 1989: 75-76) and the cultural distance (spatial and temporal) between the intended addressees of the ST and the TT (Nieminen 1996: 23, quoting Kelletat 1989). For example, even the term *gate* is a culture-specific term when one tries to translate the reference to “the closed gates of a city” in the Bible into a remote aboriginal language, the speakers of which are not familiar with walled cities (see Nida 1964: 92).

Culture-specific terms originate from different ways of life, traditions, beliefs and historical developments (see Leemets 1992: 475). They are terms which refer to objects and concepts related to for example ecological, material, social, religious and political features of a culture (see for example Nida 1964: 91-96 and Newmark 1988: 95-99). Just as there are many ways of classifying different aspects of culture (see for example Samovar and Porter 1991: 52-53), there are many ways of classifying culture-specific terms. For the purposes of this study, it is enough to say that all classifications of culture-specific terms, such as Nida’s (1964: 91) widely-quoted and used cultural categories and Newmark’s (1988: 95-99) classification of cultural words, include the categories ecology, material culture and social culture. In addition to these three categories, different classifications highlight different aspects of culture, such as religion or politics, by giving them a category of their own. Some classifications of culture-specific terms, such as that of Kujamäki’s (1993) also include proper names. Below are some of Nida’s (1964: 91-96) and Newmark’s (1988: 95-99) examples of culture-specific terms belonging to the categories ecology, material culture and social culture:

1) ecology (Nida 1964, Newmark 1988: 95)

- flora, fauna, winds, plains, hills: ‘honeysuckle’, ‘downs’, ‘sicorro’, ‘tundra’, ‘pampas’, *tabuleiros* (low plateau), ‘plateau’, *selva* (tropical rain forest), ‘savanna’, ‘paddy field’ (Newmark 1988: 95)
- verano* (Mexican hot season in March, April and May), “vine” (Nida 1964: 91)
- 2) material culture (Nida 1964, Newmark 1988: 95)
 - food: ‘Zabaglione’, ‘Sake’, *Kaiserschmarren*
 - clothes: ‘anorak’, kanga (Africa), *sarong* (South Seas), *dhoti* (India)
 - houses and towns: *kampong*, *bourg*, *bourgande*, ‘chalet’, ‘low-rise’, ‘tower’
 - means of transport: ‘bike’, ‘rickshaw’, ‘Moulton’, *cabriolet*, ‘tilbury’, *calèche* (Newmark 1988: 95.)
 - “gate”, “ox-goad” (Nida 1964: 92)
- 3) social culture (Nida 1964, Newmark 1988: 95)
 - ajah, amah, cottottiere, biwa, sihtar, raga, ‘reggae’, “rock” (Newmark 1988: 95)

Culture-specific terms are thus terms which refer to objects and concepts related to different aspects of culture and their culture-specificity depends on the languages involved and cultural distance between the ST and TT readers. At first glance, it may easily seem that translating culture-specific terms is first and foremost a linguistic problem, that is, deciding on what translation procedure to use to translate a source language term for which there is no literal translation in the target language. What is important, however, is that in addition to the lexical gap in the target language, the missing of the associated concepts and the actual artefacts also make the translation of these terms difficult (see Kutz 1977: 255-256). The main problem with translating culture-specific terms is that the things culture-specific terms refer to are aspects of the ST culture which are familiar to the ST reader and not known to the TT reader (Reiß 1971: 78). Culture-specific terms are lexical and cognitive gaps. The focus of interest of this study are cognitive changes of meaning between culture-specific terms and their translations and when the changes create interpretation problems for a TT reader. The next sections discuss the meaning, context and problems of studying translations of culture-specific terms.

2.2 Translations of culture-specific terms

There are many different ways of translating culture-specific terms. Translations of culture-specific terms may, for example, preserve, narrow or

remove the lingual and cultural gap between the source and target language and culture. This section discusses the main translation procedures of culture-specific terms and the possible advantages and disadvantages of different translation procedures.

The translation procedures of culture-specific terms are mostly procedures which are commonly used whenever so-called literal translation is impossible. For example, most classifications of procedures of translating culture-specific terms have been derived from Newmark's (1988: 81-93) translation procedures for different types of sentences and smaller units of language without literal translation equivalents which in their turn have been adapted from Vinay and Dalbèrnè's (1958) *Stylistic comparée du français et anglais*. The names and number of different translation procedures of culture-specific terms vary a great deal between different translation theorists.

In this study, it is sufficient to introduce the main procedures in different procedure classifications: transference, translation and omission. First of all, culture-specific terms can be transferred as such (e.g. *sake* -> *sake*) or with a translation or explanation (e.g. *sake* -> *sake, Japanese rice wine*). Secondly, they can be translated directly (also referred to as calque, loan translation, literal translation and word-for-word translation) (e.g. *hålkaka*->*lochbrot*), or they can be translated into cultural equivalents (e.g. *tea break*->*café-pause*), functional equivalents (e.g. *Sejm*-> *Polish parliament*) or descriptive equivalents (e.g. *Samurai*->*the Japanese aristocracy from the eleventh to the nineteenth century*). Thirdly, culture-specific terms can be deleted.¹ Descriptions and explanations of culture-specific terms are in the actual text, in footnotes or in glosses at the end of chapters or the book (see Newmark 1988: 92).

¹ The English terms for procedures and examples are from Newmark (1988: 83-85, 95) and the example *hålkaka* is from Kujamäki (1993: 96).

Studies on culture-specific terms and their translations have shown that all translation procedures of culture-specific terms seem to manifest some changes of meaning and it is possible that each procedure can produce many different types of changes (see for example Bödeker and Freese 1987: 145). Below are comments found in textbooks of translation and studies on culture-specific terms and their translation on the advantages and disadvantages of the main procedures. Newmark (1988: 96) points out that one of the advantages of a transference is that it brings local colour and atmosphere. Transferences are also reversible, as Kutz (1977: 257) points out, in that one can directly revert them to the original culture-specific terms. In addition, readers can also identify the referents in other texts (see Newmark 1988: 96) or search for some information on them. According to Newmark (1988: 96), the problem with transferences, however, is that they do not help the reader to understand the term unless one combines them with a generic noun or a classifier.

Translations of culture-specific terms are different from transferences in that their aim is to make understanding easier and they are not readily reversible. Direct translations or literal translations, according to Kujamäki (1993: 193), transfer local colour and relevant meaning components, but may evoke connotations which are not part of the original cultural context and lead to interpretation problems. Williams (1990: 57) also noticed that direct translations are seldom very successful and can be misleading, incomprehensible and even very amusing.

As for translations into cultural equivalents, they are substitutions of source language terms for target language terms (Williams 1990: 55). According to Williams (1990: 56), they can be readily accessible and comprehensible to TT readers but are inaccurate and not equivalent to the original culture-specific terms. In Kujamäki's (1993: 194) study translations into cultural equivalents helped to preserve the realistic perspective of the literary texts.

The advantage of translations of some components of a culture-specific term, such as functional and descriptive translations of culture-specific terms, is, according to Newmark (1988: 96), that they communicate the message with the help of a component common to both source language and target language and some extra contextual distinguishing components. The translations of some components of a culture-specific term do not, however, have the cultural or the pragmatic effect of a transference (Newmark 1988: 96). For example, Kujamäki (1993: 194) noticed in his study that they did not evoke the cultural connotations and many other details associated with the original culture-specific terms.

As for omissions of culture-specific terms, there are few comments on their effect or reasons for omitting culture-specific terms. Kujamäki (1993: 194), however, describes them as something that either tells about translators' indifference to some details or provides a way of reducing redundancy or avoiding translating something that one does not know.

Thus, although all the procedures of culture-specific terms appear to have some advantages, it seems that most of them can be potentially problematic for the TT reader. It seems that translations of culture-specific terms can be relevant, comprehensible and help to bridge the gap between the ST culture and TT culture or they can be too foreign, inaccurate, misleading or even difficult to interpret. The aim of this study was to show in a concrete way the concepts the TT reader associates with translations of culture-specific terms and examine when different procedures and translations are relevant pieces of text and when they create interpretation problems. The next section discusses the reasons behind the choices of translation procedures of culture-specific terms and the importance of studying the function and context of translations of culture-specific terms.

2.3 Reasons behind the choices of translation procedures

The reasons behind a translator's choice of an individual translation of culture-specific term are something that cannot be directly accessed without the translator's descriptions of the choices (see Taraman 1985: 313-314). However, discussing some of the possible main reasons help to understand the complex nature and most important aspects of translations of culture-specific terms. The choice of a translation procedure for an individual culture-specific term may depend, for example, on the goal of the translation, text type, cultural category, the function of the term and its context. If they are important factors when choosing translations of culture-specific terms, they are also important when examining them. This section discusses the main reasons, theoretical discussions on them and some results of studies on translations of culture-specific terms. Although there are large-scale studies combining statistical and descriptive methods on the number of different procedures used in entire texts of different types and culture-specific terms belonging to different cultural categories, the least studied area and the focus of interest of this study is the function and context of translations of individual culture-specific terms.

The general choice of translation procedures of culture-specific terms depends on the goal of the translation. To give an example of the two opposite extremes, if the aim is to be as loyal to the author and source culture as possible and the readership is familiar with the target culture, the translator will transfer the original culture-specific terms. Alternatively, if the aim is to make a text as understandable as possible for the TT reader not familiar with the source culture, the translator will describe or even adapt, i.e. acculturate, the terms. (see Newmark 1988: 46-47, 81-83, 96.) One clear case of a TT orientation in a translated text is Taraman's (1985) study on culture-specific terms and phrases in the German translations of nine Arabic texts. TT-oriented procedures predominated in her data: free interpretations of culture-specific terms formed 37,03% of all the procedures used, target oriented

speech acts 33,33%, direct translations 14,82%, transferences 7,41% and omitting 7,41% (Taraman 1985: 294).

The text type of the ST may, on the other hand, place certain limits and demands on the translation of culture-specific terms. For example, in factual texts and instructions of different kinds, the reader needs to be able to understand the text in the intended way or understand what needs to be done, which is why cultural differences behind words have to be made explicit by explaining them, presenting a figure to avoid confusion or substituting the ST term with adequate TT information (Schmitt 1989: 75). Translations of novels and poems, on the other hand, do not traditionally contain lengthy descriptions, explanatory glosses or footnotes (see Reiß 1971: 79), because they are expected to preserve their implicitness and openness (Gutt 1996: 240).

In addition, studies have shown that there is often a preferred translation procedure for culture-specific terms belonging to a cultural group in a translated text (see for example Hardy 1993, Nieminen 1996 and Kujamäki 1993), which is why it is important to examine culture-specific terms belonging to a cultural group together. What is interesting, however, is that the preferred procedure for a cultural group is not necessarily in line with recommended context-free translation procedures in textbooks of translation. For example, in Hardy's (1993: 43) study, culture-specific terms belonging to the category material culture were mainly translated using literal translations (44%). This shows a common procedure choice for a cultural group in a text which does not coincide with the recommended procedure in Newmark's (1988) *A Textbook of Translation*. Newmark (1988: 96) proposes just transference or transference combined with "a short culture-free term or neutral term" for culture-specific terms belonging to the category material culture.

Although textbooks of translation give context-free guidelines for the choice of translation procedures (see for example Newmark 1988: 96-101), there are some comments on the function of culture-specific terms in contexts.

Rantanen (1989: 75) notes that the function of the culture-specific term in its immediate cotext has an effect on the choice of the translation procedure. As an example, she explains that if a culture-specific term is used in a universal function despite its cultural denotation, the translation should also have a universal function. Rantanen (1989: 75) also points out that how often a culture-specific term occurs in a text plays a role in the choice of the translation procedure. The immediate cotext of a culture-specific term may, on the other hand, be a disambiguating or a defining factor. For example, if the cotext explains the contextual meaning of the culture-specific term, there may be no need to resort to any translation procedures (other than transference), or explain or describe the term. (see Koller 1972: 159.) Many studies on culture-specific terms have tried to take both the context-free meaning and context-dependent meaning of translations of culture-specific terms into consideration. Their comments on the effect of the cotext and context on the meaning of translations of culture-specific terms are, however, tentative, as will be argued in the next section.

To summarise, the choice of each translation of culture-specific term may have depended on a chosen ST or TT orientation, the text type, cultural category and/or the function of the term in its cotext. It appears that the reasons behind each choice of procedure and translation are varied and context-dependent, and the uses of context-dependent procedures and context-free recommendations may differ from each other. By studying the cotext and context of translations of culture-specific terms, this study attempted to get closer to the relevance and possible interpretation problems of the translations of individual culture-specific terms. The next section looks at how earlier studies on culture-specific terms have approached the meaning of culture-specific terms and their translations, and their context and cotext, and introduces a cognitive and qualitative way of looking at changes between culture-specific terms and their translations in the cotexts.

2.4 The need for a cognitive approach to changes and possible interpretation problems

Although the methods of earlier studies have helped to show different types of changes, and that some types of changes may create interpretation problems, they do not show when and what factors make the changes of meaning problematic from the point of view of interpreting individual culture-specific terms in their textual contexts (cotexts). This section first looks at statistical and componential approaches to the meaning of culture-specific terms and their translations and their context and cotext, then discusses postulated reader reactions on translation of culture-specific terms, and finally describes the cognitive and qualitative way of examining changes between culture-specific terms and their translations in their cotexts which this study uses.

Statistical methods of studying culture-specific terms and their translations, such as Bödeker and Freese's (1987) large-scale context-free componential analysis of changes, show that by isolating culture-specific terms and their translations from their cotext and using statistical methods and componential analysis based on feature semantics, one can give only vague indications of the extent and nature of the meaning differences. Bödeker and Freese (1987: 142) emphasise the importance of taking the cotext and context into consideration in further studies on culture-specific terms.

Examining culture-specific terms in their cotext and cultural context by postulating target reader reactions is a way of getting closer to how the reader might interpret translations of individual culture-specific terms and the types of problems a reader might encounter. For example, Matter-Siebel (1995: 129-131) gives examples of translations of culture-specific terms which may make it hard for the TT reader to imagine the object being referred to or understand what is happening in some extracts because of the translations of culture-specific terms. Calzada Pérez (1995: 90) also points out that translations of culture-specific terms, such as units of measure, may induce

the TT reader to work out things which come automatically to ST readers. These studies seem to suggest that when processing translations of culture-specific terms it may be difficult for TT readers to establish reference and situational coherence, and that they may have to process the terms more than an ST reader.

It seems that only some changes of meaning and contexts create interpretation problems for a TT reader. Taraman (1985: 294) argues that 62,96% of the translation procedures of culture-specific terms in her data helped to maintain the field (situational understandability) of the culture-specific terms and phrases in her data. This may be because on reading a translation one is most probably prepared for a considerable amount of strangeness. Nieminen (1996: 73), for example, suggests that the reader of a German translation of Finland's political history is most likely prepared for the foreignness which the numerous loan translations create in her data.

Some factors which may lead to unintelligibility are changes and the loss of the original connotations of culture-specific terms. As was pointed out already in Section 2.2, Kujamäki (1993: 193-194) noticed that direct translations were particularly problematic in his study due to changes in connotations. Componential translations of culture-specific terms also lacked the cultural connotations and many details associated with the original culture-specific terms. Taraman (1985: 306), on the other hand, points out that changes in connotations, the loss of the original connotations and changes in the pragmatic context in translations of culture-specific terms resulted in the non-transference of the original communicative function in her data. She does not, however, say whether the non-transference of the original communicative function makes it hard to interpret a translation of a culture-specific term. One of the aims of this study is to find a way of showing and analysing when and what types of changes of meaning between culture-specific terms and their translations create interpretation problems in their contexts, and what types of problems a TT reader can encounter when interpreting translations of culture-specific terms.

This study uses reader reactions to evoke the meaning of the culture-specific terms and their translation because one of the problems with earlier studies on culture-specific terms and their translations (see for example Calzada Pérez 1995, Kujamäki 1993, Matter-Siebel 1995 and Taraman 1985) is that the researchers evoke both the meaning of culture-specific terms and their translations themselves. As Kujamäki (1993: 103) points out, he is neither a typical TT reader nor a typical ST reader and this is more than likely also the case with the other researchers. Since they know both the ST and the TT and are most probably more familiar with one culture than the other, they mainly have to speculate on the changes of meaning and the possible interpretation problems. Kujamäki (1993: 196) suggests that “it could be worth testing if reader knowledge helped to shed new light on thoughts about culture-specific terms (translation mine)”.

This is what this study set out to do. With the help of reader reactions, this study compares the concepts associated with a small number of culture-specific terms and their translations in their contexts and examines the differences in the interpretation processes and results of one ST and TT reader. This study also investigates what types of changes create problems for the TT reader. The use of reader reactions is supported by reader-centred approaches to meaning in literary texts (e.g. Segers 1985), discourse analysis (e.g. Brown and Yule 1983, Cook 1994) and cognitive linguistics (e.g. Ungerer and Schmid 1996), which suggest that understanding words and texts is a cognitive process and the meaning of words depends on the reader or hearer’s cognitive models which are also referred to as schemas, frames, scripts and scenarios.

When analysing the differences of meaning, this study concentrates on describing concept level changes and looking at how the readers interpret the terms and their function in the textual contexts. Taraman (1985: 306) argues that one should not expect equivalency in the translations of culture-specific term and phrases, but that culture-specific terms should be examined from the point of view of adequacy. Koller (1972: 143) points out that ST readers only

evoke the relevant parts of meaning when interpreting culture-specific terms, which is why translators can reflect what information needs to be transferred instead of trying to transfer the full meaning potential of the original term. For example, the name of a well-known English private school, *Winchester*, entails a great deal of information for an English person. In some contexts and contexts, however, it might be enough to translate it into German as “in eine der englischen Elitschulen” to realise the text function of the original term. (see Hönig and Kußmaul 1982: 53.) As all translations of culture-specific terms create some changes of meaning and the aim of the translator may be to preserve, narrow or remove the cultural gap, this study examines whether the translations of culture-specific terms are relevant and functional pieces of the TT.

3 METHODOLOGY

This chapter describes how the data of this study was collected and analysed. Section 3.1 explains how the requirements of collecting and analysing reader data arose from the empirical observations during the initial reading of the textual data. The problems and further study suggestions of the earlier studies, explained in the previous chapter, supported the observations and the direction the study was taking. The next step was to find a theory which would help to plan the overall method of collecting reader data and analysing it. Section 3.2 describes how Fillmore's (1975, 1976, 1977, 1985, 1992) frame semantics provided the necessary concepts and overall view of the cognitive process of understanding words. Section 3.3 explains the method of collecting reader data. Section 3.4 describes how the initial analysis of reader data was carried out and the further requirements that arose from it.

3.1 The data and requirements for reader interviews and the initial analytical framework

The data of this study consists of nine extracts with references to food in Edna O'Brien's (1960) realistic novel *The Country Girls* and its Finnish translation, *Maalaistytöt*, which was translated by Maini Palosuo in 1961. 15 extracts with references to food were chosen for the reader interviews of which nine were selected for the final analysis. The extracts which showed the most changes, and different types of changes and procedures, and all the ones which manifested interpretation problems after the reader interviews were chosen.

The Country Girls is full of culture-specific terms which have neither equivalents in the Finnish language nor Finnish culture. It is a realistic novel set in Ireland of the 1950's with references to Irish food, household items, landscape, the Catholic traditions and even landmarks in Dublin. It is a story

of growing up and tells about two girls, Cait and Baba, and their escape from a convent school to the city life of Dublin.

What makes the references to food particularly interesting is that the main characters are often portrayed seeing, smelling, remembering and tasting them. There are references to food being prepared, served and eaten, inviting the reader to share the experiences. When reading *The Country Girls* for the first time, I could not help wondering how one would be able to translate them into Finnish and how a Finnish reader would visualise and interpret the translation equivalents in their textual contexts. As a result, I read Maini Palosuo's (1961) Finnish translation of *The Country Girls*, *Maalaistytöt*, and noticed considerable changes of meaning and even possible problems of interpretation especially in the translations of references to Irish food. I decided to focus on the references to food in *The Country Girls* (hereafter CG) and *Maalaistytöt* (hereafter MT).

The next step was to find a method of showing and analysing them. To make cognitive changes and interpretation problems visible, I needed real reader data, as Kujamäki (1993: 196) suggests, and a discourse analytical and cognitive approach as in reader-centred approaches to the meaning of texts. The problem was finding a theoretical framework which would help to plan the interviews, carry them out and finally analyse the interview data. To compare the reactions of an ST reader to references to food in the ST with those of a TT reader to their translations in the TT, I needed a theory or theories which would address 1) the connection between words and the concepts they activate, 2) how referents are established and 3) what enables the reader to create or prevents the reader from creating a coherent image of the extracts.

3.2 Finding frame semantics

A linguistic theory called frame semantics, developed by Fillmore, offered a framework on the nature of cognitive representations, the connection between words and cognitive representations, and presented the necessary initial concepts of how cognitive representations are used in reference establishment and processing text. It was used as the starting point for preparing reader data interviews and the initial analysis of the interview data, which is why it will be described in this section before explaining the method of collecting reader data in Section 3.3.

Frame semantics is not a method of analysing word association data, as Fillmore (1977: 72) points out himself, and neither are Vannerem and Snell Hornby's (1986) and Vermeer and Witte's (1990) accounts of Fillmore's scene and frame semantics in translation studies. Fillmore (1975, 1976, 1977, 1985, 1992) formulated frame semantics² as a reaction against feature semantics and componential analysis of meaning. Frame semantics is chiefly a theoretical discussion on word meaning, understanding discourse and building a "frame-based" dictionary which combines prototype theories, frame structures and the effect of context on meaning.

The basic idea in frame semantics is similar to Ogden and Richards's (1923) theory on the connection between symbols and references. It argues that word meaning consists of the association between words and concepts. Frame semantics, however, goes further than this and is more dynamic. It attempts to explain the association between words and concepts and the nature of concepts and their role in understanding. The main idea in frame

In 1975 and 1977, Fillmore used the term *scene* to refer to cognitive concepts which words activate in our minds and the term *frame* to refer to words and other linguistic choices. He was not satisfied with the word scene. As a result, in 1985, he called cognitive concepts frames and linguistic choices linguistic forms. To avoid confusion, this study will use Fillmore's terms of 1985 even when referring to his earlier texts and, for example, Vermeer and Witte's (1990) application of his earlier accounts.

semantics, as other cognitive theories of language, is that the meaning of words is not a set of linguistic features but something that, to quote Fillmore and Atkins (1992: 76-77), “can be understood only with reference to structured background of experience, beliefs, or practices, constituting a kind of conceptual prerequisite for understanding the meaning.”

It is these structured background understandings behind references to food in CG and MT that this study set out to examine with the help of reader data. Fillmore (1985) refers to structured background understandings as frames, which is also the term this study uses. Although frame semantics does not directly call for reader data, Fillmore (1985: 235) says that “frame semantics requires an account of the ability of a native speaker to ‘envision’ the ‘world’ of the text under an interpretation of its elements”. For the purposes of this study, I took this to mean that what I needed to do was to let an Irish ST reader envision the references to food in the ST and a Finnish TT reader envision the references to food in the TT to be able compare their meaning.

In asking readers to envision references to food, I would be asking them to activate frames for linguistic forms, to use Fillmore’s terminology. The connection between words and frames is such that they activate each other in the minds of those who have learned their association. Linguistic forms, such as collections of words and choices of grammatical rules or categories, activate their associated frames. Frames, on the other hand, activate the linguistic forms they are associated with. In addition, they are also linked with prototypical frames and other types of frames and other linguistic forms. (Fillmore 1976: 23, 1977: 63, 72.) This study compared Irish frames evoked by Irish English linguistic forms with Finnish frames evoked by the Finnish translations.

Frame semantics also gave me an idea of what type of data I could expect to be collecting when asking readers about references to food and their translations. Frames include any kind of coherent segment of human beliefs, actions, experiences and imaginings which can be small or large, simple or

complex, visual or non-visual and personal or shared by a group of people (see Fillmore 1977: 63, 72-73). For example, understanding ‘up’, ‘down’, ‘left’ and ‘right’ involves having our body image as the starting point (Fillmore 1977: 73). Understanding the word ‘apple core’, on the other hand, requires knowing that we eat apples in our culture in such way that the apple core is left uneaten (Fillmore 1977: 73). A cinematic frame could, for example, be a person eating, a child drawing a picture or people engaged in acts of commerce (Fillmore 1977: 72). Thus, I knew that the reader data of this study would most probably incorporate many types of frames and many types of information.

The following figure (figure 1) is my attempt to illustrate Fillmore’s (1976, 1977) idea of some of the aspects frames and linguistic forms may consist of, how they activate each other, and how they are associated with prototypic frames and other linguistic forms. Prototypical frames will be explained later on in this section.

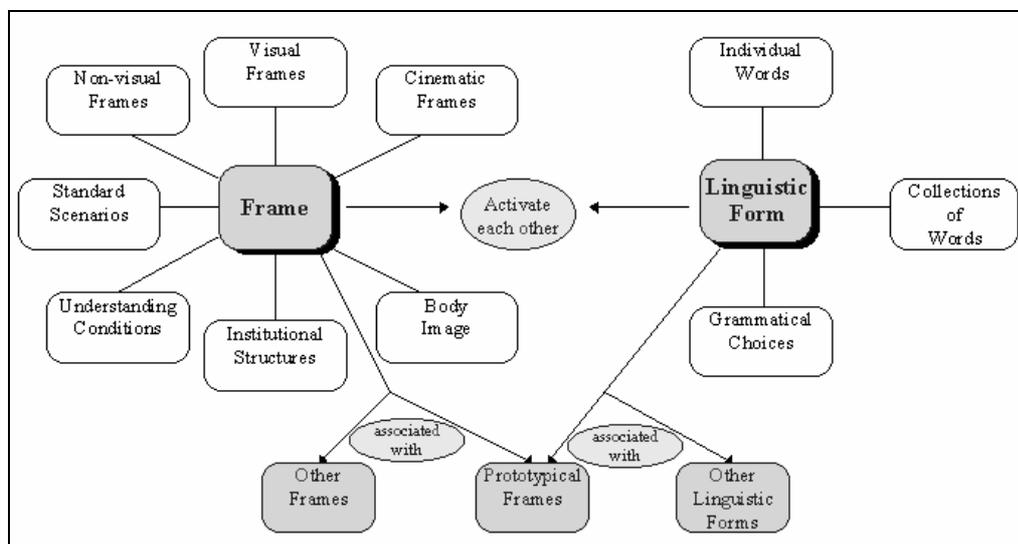


Figure 1

Although frames include many types of information, frame semantics, however, suggests that from the point of view of understanding words in discourse four things are of chief importance: shared understandings,

prototypical frames, larger frames and the effect of the context. These four important aspects of understanding word meaning were the focus of the analysis part of this study.

Shared frames, or what Fillmore (1985: 231, 1992) later calls interpretative frames presupposing shared understandings, include “cultural institutions, beliefs about the world, shared experiences, standard and familiar ways of doing things and ways of seeing things”. (Fillmore 1985: 231.) This study examined how shared understandings – and in particular prototypical frames and larger frames - helped to interpret references to food and how a lack of them affected text understanding.

Prototypical frames are one type of shared frames, which, according to Fillmore (1976: 26), are necessary in many of our framing abilities, and, as Rosch’s (1978) theory of prototypes and recent cognitive theories point out, they are also necessary when analysing the meaning of words. Prototypical frames are typical members of categories of things which help us, for example, to identify and distinguish between different perceptions and things referred to (see Fillmore 1977: 56, quoting Rosch 1973 and Labov 1973). They are shared, simplified, typified images which need to be presented, demonstrated or manipulated to understand word meaning (see Fillmore 1975: 123, 1975: 129). To quote Fillmore (1976: 24):

(...) in order to perceive something or to attain a concept, what is at least sometimes necessary is to have in memory a repertory of prototypes, the act of perception or conception being that of recognizing in what ways an object can be seen as an instance of one or another of these prototypes. The “situating” process depends not only on the existence of individual prototypes, but also on the character of the whole available repertory of prototypes.

For example, having the frame of a typical cake, pudding or pie in our minds allows us to recognise and categorise different types of desserts. The analysis part of this study identified prototypes in reader data and how they were used in the process of activating frames.

In addition to prototypes, processing words in discourse and analysing their meaning seems to require larger shared frames than prototypical frames (see Fillmore 1976: 28-29, 1977: 75). What Fillmore (1976: 29, 1977: 75) calls larger frames and “large pre-packaged complex frames” appear to play an important role in text understanding. Individual linguistic forms can evoke quite large and complex frames which help us to fill in connections, necessary details and the larger meaningful background (Fillmore 1976: 28-29, 1977: 75). The reason for this is that words have been learned in meaningful contexts. Words are linked with memorable and personally meaningful experiences which we remember in the form of frames incorporating points, relationships, objects and events. (see Fillmore 1976: 26, 1977: 62.) This study analysed whether the references to food activated larger frames in the readers’ minds and how larger frames or their absence affected making connections between different parts of the extracts.

What also needed to be taken into consideration in the analysis part of this study was the textual context of the references to food and the readers’ earlier contextual experiences with the utterances and their effect on the process of understanding the references to food. To quote Fillmore (1976: 24):

The process of interpreting an utterance may depend, more than we are used to thinking, on our perception of the context in which the utterance is produced and our perception of the context in which the utterance is produced and our memories of the contexts for earlier experiences with the utterance or its constituent parts.

What part or parts of a frame or what frame a word activates in a person’s mind appears to be determined by context (see Fillmore 1976: 27-29). Thus, not only can single words be connected with large frames but they can also be associated with many different frames. The following example from Fillmore (1976: 27) illustrates how understanding two utterances with the word *breakfast* call for two different prototypical frames associated with the word:

In the first instance the word is associated with a complex frame made up of the frame for the divisions of the day and a frame for an eating pattern of the kind

familiar to us, (...) with the time of day as an essential element, that a speaker of English can understand a sentence like, “The Wongs always have chicken soup for breakfast.” The same word is also associated, however, with a particular familiar combination of foods typically eaten as breakfast, in America this being most typically fried eggs and toast with fairly restricted possibilities for substitution, omission, and extension. It is this frame for the word which makes it possible for a speaker of English to understand a cafe [sic] sign that reads, “Breakfast served any time.”

This study examined on the one hand how context appeared to affect the readers’ understanding of the references to food and on the other hand how the readers used context when processing the references to food.

It is important to point out that although linguistic forms activate frames they are associated with, there is no one to one relation between frames and linguistic forms. We all have frames which do not have linguistic forms associated with them and linguistic forms without clear or any frames. (see Fillmore 1977: 66-67.) Thus, it was to be expected that not all references to food would evoke frames even in the ST reader’s mind.

In addition, it was also to be expected that the frames of the TT reader would be very different from those of the ST reader’s. This was first of all because the focus of attention were translations of culture-specific terms which have no linguistic or conceptual equivalents in the target language (see Kutz 1972: 256) and secondly, as Vermeer and Witte (1990: 48) point out, one can only attempt to reflect ST frames using a different language. Thirdly, even if the ST and TT readers’ backgrounds were identical, that is they were, for example, of the same sex, had a similar educational background and social background, their text experiences would differ because they belong to different linguistic and cultural communities. (see Nord 1991: 24, quoting Nord, in press/a.)

To summarise, Fillmore’s frame semantics gave an idea of the type of frames the interviewees might evoke in the interviews, what to focus on in the interviews and how to analyse the data. When asked about references to food, the interviewees might evoke small or large frames with connections, personal or shared frames, and would most possibly use prototypical frames, larger frames and the context to define referents. It would also be highly

possible that they would evoke no frames for some linguistic forms. The interviews and analysis of this study would focus on shared frames, prototypical frames and the connections and information provided by large frames and the context. The next section explains how the reader data of this study was collected.

3.3 The method of collecting reader data

The reader data of this study was collected through two interviews. I interviewed an Irish male about the references to food in *The Country Girls* (hereafter CG) and a Finnish male about the references to food in *Maalaistytöt* (hereafter MT). This chapter describes how the interviews were prepared and when and how they were conducted.

The interviewees were both male, university students and roughly of the same age. The Irish interviewee was a student of computer science, and the Finnish interviewee was a student of literature and philosophy. The Irish interviewee was 31 years old (born in 1966), and the Finnish interviewee was 33 years old (born in 1964). While the Irish interviewee grew up in Ireland and lived there up to the age of 27, the Finnish interviewee had always lived in Finland and had not visited Ireland or any other English-speaking countries. He also said that he was not good at English, which is possibly why he did not try to think of what the corresponding references to food in the ST extract were.

Before the interviews the Irish ST reader read CG, and the Finnish TT reader read MT. They had been told I was carrying out a comparative study in the area of translation studies and needed them to read CG/MT. They were asked to read CG/MT as they would normally read a novel. They were told that they would be interviewed about some references to food after reading CG/MT. Even though this made them different from typical readers in some

respects, it seemed necessary to be able to talk about the references to food in the interviews.

I chose 15 ST extracts with references to food and their translations in the TT. I selected the extracts with specific (i.e. subordinate-level) references to food (e.g. *trifle*, *sausage rolls*, *simnel cake*) which seemed to have the biggest changes of meaning and all the extracts with references to food which appeared difficult to interpret.

The interviews were tape-recorded and semi-structured, which means that I had prepared questions for the chosen 15 ST extracts and the corresponding ones in the TT in advance. The Irish ST reader was interviewed on 3rd August 1997, and the Finnish TT reader's interview was conducted on 6th August 1997. First the interviewees were asked to reread the extract in question. The length of the text extract depended on the references to food in the extract. If their co-references and frame development seemed to expand over a long extract, the reread extract was long enough to incorporate all the possible connected references, co-references and possible parts of the main frames active in the extract. Next they were asked to tell about the image of the chosen references to food and their cotext evoked in their minds.

The aim was to let the interviewees evoke the frames without being interrupted too much, and to ask as few questions as possible. Questions were, however, used to identify the readers' frames underlying the references to food and their immediate contexts similarly enough to be able to compare them and determine the cognitive changes. Thus, if some specific details which the interviewees did not mention needed to be evoked in order to be able to compare the ST and TT reader's reactions, questions were asked to explore those details for possible differences, similarities or problems.

The interview questions were mainly based on Fillmore's account of prototypical frames and their boundary conditions (e.g. how typical or not typical the food item was, how it differed from prototypical frames or was situated with regard to other variations) and larger frames (e.g. identifying

how the food item is typically prepared or when it is eaten). However, some ideas of how to determine the meaning of lexical units referring to objects with the help of informants were also derived from Nida (1975: 169-171) and Wierzbicka's (1985) *Lexicography and Conceptual Analysis*. The following types of questions were used:

What does it look like? (see Wierzbicka 1985: 103)

What size is it? (see Wierzbicka 1985: 102)

What does it taste like? (see Nida 1975: 169)

What is it made of? (see Wierzbicka 1985: 102)

How is it prepared?

How is it eaten?

When does one usually eat it?

Are there different variations of this food item?

Is it a typical food item?

If not, how does it differ from the typical version or typical Irish/Finnish food items?

To what higher-level category does it belong? (see Nida 1975: 171)

After the interviews, the recordings were transcribed. Only entire words were transcribed. Hesitations and sentences left unfinished were transcribed using the following symbol: ..., and my questions are given in parentheses.

After transcribing the Irish ST reader's interview, I realised that he had evoked culture-specific frames for two additional references to food in the ST (*ham and pickles for supper*, in Section 5.2.4, and *It was an iced bun and there was something on top of the icing. Possibly a cherry*, in Section 5.2.3), the translations of which had not been asked from the Finnish TT reader. The

reason for this is that I did not think that they were particularly culture-specific. To be able to compare them with the corresponding references to food in MT, the Finnish TT reader was asked to evoke frames for the corresponding references to food in MT (*kinkkua ja pikkelsiä illalliseksi* and *kuorrutettu pulla ja kuorrutuksen päällä oli jotain. Mahdollisesti ilmeisesti kirsikka*) in November 1997.

The next section explains how the initial analysis was carried out and the further requirements that arose from it.

3.4 The initial analysis and further requirements

The reader data was initially analysed with the help of Fillmore's (1975, 1976, 1977, 1985, 1992) frame semantics. The initial analysis of the data was qualitative analysis just like the final analysis of this study. The aim was to identify and compare the different types of frames the readers used to process the references to food in their extracts and the final frames.

The analysis concentrated on examining the use of larger frames and prototypical frames and the effect of the context. First of all, I examined whether the references to food of each extract were interpreted with the help of a larger frame providing many details and possibly connections, or whether they were described separately. Secondly, I identified whether connections were part of the activated frames or not. Thirdly, I identified the use of possible prototypical frames. Fourthly, I examined the effect of the text context on the processing of the references to food. Fifthly, I examined the type of information the final frame incorporated (e.g. size, taste, ingredients, function and connotations). In the TT reader's reactions, I also identified the translation process which had been used (translation, transference or omission) and possible word-level changes (e.g. subordinate level -> basic level). Finally, I compared the processes and final frames of the ST and TT

readers' and took the translation method and possible word-level changes into consideration when discussing the changes.

What the initial analysis showed was that Fillmore's concepts helped to analyse frame-based understanding of references to food which progressed without any problems. They helped to detect larger frames and prototypical frames, and identify which connections came from frames, and which did not. However, there were many observations which Fillmore's (1975, 1976, 1977, 1985, 1992) account of prototypes and larger frames could not explain or conceptualise.

For example, many subcategory level references to food had been translated into basic-level terms (e.g. *barm brack* -> *makeisia* 'sweets'). Subcategory level words and basic-level words evoked very different prototypes and properties. The nature of the prototypes connected with the two different word levels seemed to be important, but this could not be explained with the help of frame semantics. Another observation which frame semantics could not conceptualise or describe was that direct translations of compound nouns (e.g. *sausage rolls* -> *makkarasämpylöitä* 'sausage bread rolls') seemed to lose a great deal of their meaning or become actual interpretation problems.

The nature of larger frames in frame semantics is also relatively vague, which is why one could only say that in some extracts there seemed to be a larger frame which provided connections or a large meaningful background. Frame semantics does not explain what activates a larger frame or what the nature of larger frames or their connections is like.

Furthermore, frame semantics did not allow the description of problems by using frames. Nor does it provide any concepts for addressing the difference between frame-based processing and connections and other types of processing, such as non-frame-based processing. It also does not provide concepts for analysing processing which combines frames and other types of processing, such as problem solving and using general knowledge.

The initial analysis showed three types of processing: prototype level processing, larger frame level processing, and processing which was problem solving and did not necessarily include prototypes. Thus, I needed a theory or theories which would offer more information on prototypes and larger frames, and incorporate problems with processing text. For in-depth analysis, I also needed to limit the amount of data I had, which is why I selected nine extracts out of the original 15 extracts and their reader data for the final analysis. I chose the extracts which manifested the biggest changes of meaning, all the ones that showed interpretation problems, and at least one instance of each main translation procedure.

4 ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK

This chapter explains how Fillmore's frame semantics (1975, 1976, 1977, 1985, 1992) was combined with some other theories. His account of prototypical frames and larger frames were defined more specifically to be able to identify and analyse the three different ways of processing references noticed in the initial analysis of the data, that is, prototype and script level processing and problem solving which did not necessarily include prototypical frames. Section 4.1 describes the connection between two different types of prototypes and word levels, their context-dependence and explains how they were applied in the analysis of this study. Section 4.2 describes how Schank and Abelson's (1977) scripts helped to analyse structures like Fillmore's larger frames in a more systematic way. Section 4.3 describes how their account on problems with scripts and using plans and goals provided concepts for addressing not frame-based processing of words. Section 4.4 describes all the main concepts used in the analysis part of this study, and Section 4.5 presents the research questions of the analytical framework. The last section, Section 4.6, presents the way the analysis is organised.

4.1 Categories, prototypes and word levels

Although Fillmore's frame semantics helped to identify prototypical frames - shared, simplified, typified members of categories - which are presented, demonstrated or manipulated to understand word meaning (see Fillmore 1975: 123, 126-129), the initial analysis of the data showed that I needed more detailed information on the function of different levels of prototypes and the context-dependency of prototypes to analyse changes in word levels, the function and relevance of activated prototypical frames, and problems with prototypical frames. This section first discusses the general nature of prototypes and the levels of categories. Then it moves onto

discussing how subordinate-level words (e.g. *sponge cake*) and basic-level words (e.g. *cake*) are connected with different types of prototypes, the function of which is also different. Finally, it explains how this study applied this knowledge in the analysis part of this study.

Rosch (1978) and Ungerer and Schmid (1996) provided a more detailed picture of the general nature of prototypes which helped to analyse how prototypical frames are presented, demonstrated or manipulated in, for example, reference establishment. When one analyses prototypes, one analyses cognitive reference points which are context-dependent and culture-dependent (see Ungerer and Schmid 1996: 43-44, 50). They are building blocks of the cognitive category system in a culture at a particular time (see Rosch 1978: 28-30). There are context-free prototypes which serve as the starting point. Categories have context-free good examples (e.g. *robin* in the bird category) and bad and marginal examples (e.g. *penguin* or *ostrich* in the bird category) and their borders are fuzzy (see Ungerer and Schmid 1996: 13, 26, 38). The robin may be the birdiest bird, the most prototypical bird in many contexts. In some contexts, however, the context-dependent prototypical frame activated for the term bird might be a prototypical penguin or an ostrich. Thus, depending on the context, prototypes and their attributes within one category can shift (Ungerer and Schmid 1996: 43-45).

To illustrate this further, I will use Ungerer and Schmid's (1996: 43-44) example of the category *dog*. A person's context-free prototype of the category *dog* may be something similar to a terrier or retriever. The category *dog* in the following sentences, as Ungerer and Schmid point out, most probably will evoke crucially different prototypes in your mind.

The hunter took his gun, left the lodge and called his dog.
 Right from the start of the race the dogs began chasing the rabbit.
 She took her dog to the salon to have its curls reset.

You presumably activated the image of some kind of a retriever for the first sentence, a greyhound for the second sentence and a poodle for the last sentence (Ungerer and Schmid 1996: 43-44). Thus, context-free prototypes

and the prototypes which we activate in context may be crucially different. This study analysed how the readers used prototypes and different members of categories when establishing references to food, how easy it was for them to picture the prototypical frames in their minds and what the effect of the context was on the activated context-free prototypical frames and their attributes.

In the data of this study, there were changes in word levels and also translations which showed no word-level changes. As most of the ST references to food were subordinate-level words and the TT references to food included both basic-level terms and subordinate-level terms, it is important to look more closely into the context-free nature and function of categories and especially the basic and subordinate-level categories. Categories are built vertically in such a way that at the top there is usually a superordinate category (e.g. *food*), which mainly serves to classify other categories or highlight family resemblances but, as one cannot imagine a typical or good example of a food item, it is not connected with a prototypical frame (see Ungerer and Schmid 1996: 76-79, 84, examples mine). In the middle, there is a basic-level category (e.g. *cake*) which is the most important level from the point of view of understanding words and is connected with the most fully developed prototypes (Ungerer and Schmid 1996: 67-68, example mine). Finally, the lowest category is the subordinate category level (e.g. *sponge cake*) which is the most specific level and is associated with the most specific prototypes. (see Ungerer and Schmid 1996: 88, example mine.)

When the level of the word shifts, also the main context-free function changes. The main function of subordinate-level words is the specifying function, for example what type of cake is in question (e.g. *sponge cake*), while the main function of basic-level categories (e.g. *cake*) is to categorise objects and concepts (see Ungerer and Schmid 1996: 67, 88). Subordinate-level words are associated with highly specific prototypes and specific and numerous attributes which are easy to visualise. The advantage of basic-level categories (e.g. *cake* and *biscuit*) from the point of view of interpreting terms

is, however, that they form the central level where one can acquire the largest amount of relevant and easily and quickly processable information about an item (see Ungerer and Schmid 1996: 68, 72, quoting Rosch 1977, 1987). For example, it is easy to picture the common overall shape of a typical cake and evoke a large number of attributes that all cakes have in common. The differences between categories (e.g. between cakes and biscuits) and between members of the same category are important on this level (see Ungerer and Schmid 1996: 67). This study analysed word-level changes (e.g. *sponge cake* -> *cake*) and other types of changes from the point of view of prototypes and the function of different category levels.

What helped to analyse direct translations of compound nouns (e.g. *apple juice*) which seemed to lose a great deal of their meaning or become actual interpretation problems in the initial analysis was finding out that noun/noun compounds consist of two basic-level categories (e.g. *apple* and *juice*). Their prototypes are not always more determined by the second element of the compound, but the first element can be equally important or even dominant in the prototype, and there can be attributes which are not associated with either of the elements. (Ungerer and Schmid 1996: 89-92.)

For example, Ungerer and Schmid (1996: 89-90, quoting Schmid and Ungerer (forthcoming)), carried out a word formation analysis on the compound noun *apple juice* and found out the category *apple* was more prominent in yielding attributes than traditional analysis assume (e.g. ‘made from apples’, ‘fruity’). In addition, they noticed that there were attributes which are not linked with the category *apple* or the category *juice*, such as ‘naturally cloudy’ and ‘mixed with soda water’ (Ungerer and Schmid 1996: 89). The analysis part of this study analysed the prototypes and attributes the readers activated for compound nouns and their translations whenever the translation of a compound appeared problematic.

To summarise the importance of categories, prototypical frames and word levels, this study examined how the readers used prototypes and different members of categories when establishing reference to food items,

whether they were able to picture the prototypes in their minds, and what the effect of the context was on the evoked prototype and its attributes. Word-level changes (e.g. *sponge cake* ->*cake*) and other types of changes were examined from the point of view of prototypes and the function of different category levels. Changes between two basic-level terms and two subordinate-level terms, simple and compound, in the ST and TT were also analysed with the help of the evoked prototypes and attributes and when the differences created interpretation problems and when they did not.

4.2 Scripts and automatic connections

Schank and Abelson's (1977) theory on scripts, plans and goals, which combines social psychology, artificial intelligence and linguistics, not only provided detailed information on the use of structures similar to Fillmore's (1976: 29, 1977: 75) larger frames, but it also provided concepts for analysing what this study calls non-frame-based processing of words. The main features of Schank and Abelson's scripts, which are widely referred to in discourse analysis and cognitive linguistics, resemble Fillmore's larger frames. Schank and Abelson (1977), however, explain the overall nature of scripts, what activates them, and what script-based connections are like. This study will use the term script instead of larger frames, and Schank and Abelson's descriptions of scripts will be used in the analysis.

Although scripts are similar to Fillmore's large background frames, they are sequences of events and actions which are described in more detail than larger frames. They are "sequences of frequently encountered events or actions in a particular context" which connect specific, well-known every day situations and actions into comprehensible chains (Schank and Abelson 1977: 41). For example, Schank and Abelson's best known script, the restaurant script, includes for instance the following actions: asking for menu, ordering food, eating food and asking for a bill (see Schank and Abelson 1977: 43-44). Other examples of scripts would be, for example, at the hairdresser's and oral

exam (see Ungerer and Schmid 1996: 218). If prototypical frames are context-dependent, scripts are especially culture-dependent (see Ungerer and Schmid 1996: 50, 217). This study identified when the activation of a script was an essential part of interpreting a reference to food in its context, and when the lack of a script which is part of the source culture made it difficult to interpret the TT references to food and their text extracts.

Schank and Abelson's (1977) account on scripts made it possible to identify what concepts activated some of the evoked scripts. Scripts are activated by key concepts, i.e. script headers, in a text (Schank and Abelson 1977: 48-49). Just like Schank and Abelson's computer program SAM, humans most probably also monitor what Schank and Abelson (1977: 184) describe the key concepts of script activation, conceptual classes, references to real world objects, places, people and any indication of the function of objects to identify particular, context-dependent scripts. For example, the words *waitress* and *order* in a text would not only probably activate individual conceptualisations, but they might activate the restaurant script from the point of view of the customer. The restaurant script might in its turn be part of another script, such as a trip script. (see Schank and Abelson 1977: 49-50.) Whenever a script was used to process a reference to food in an extract, this study examined the activated frames to see if a script header could be found for example among the references to objects and places and particular attention was paid to the function of words. In addition, this study analysed whether scripts were part of other scripts or not.

Although Fillmore's (1976: 29, 1977: 75) larger frames include connections, necessary details and meaningful background, Schank and Abelson's (1977) script theory provided more detailed information on the general nature of script-based processing and the type of connections scripts yield. Script-based understanding is the quickest and easiest way to interpret text, which is why it is used whenever possible (Schank and Abelson 1977: 41, 61, 83). The connections provided by a script are activated "almost without thinking", which is why they are called automatic connections

(Schank and Abelson 1977: 23). From the point of view of this study, it is noteworthy that what is often omitted are all the obvious details and the ones providing connections between different parts of a script (Schank and Abelson 1977: 23, 41). For example, the restaurant script would allow us to leave out details such as asking for menu, ordering food and asking for a bill. In this study, analysing both scripts and prototypical frames helped to show implicit details which were necessary to establish reference and activate automatic connections between concepts in the Irish ST reader reactions.

To summarise, this study analysed on the one hand the use of and different parts of scripts in reference establishment and forming connections between different of concepts. Possible script headers, which activate scripts, and the existence of sub-scripts were also identified. On the other hand, as the TT reader did not use script-based understanding, it was important to be able to analyse not script-based analysing. The next section explains the tools Schank and Abelson's (1977) theory provided for analysing not script-based understanding.

4.3 Obstacles and goals

Schank and Abelson (1977) present a number of different types of obstacles that can be found in script-based processing, and describe one type of processing used when script-based processing is problematic or not available. In this study, although the TT reader did not have problems with scripts as such, he had problems similar to the ones Schank and Abelson connect with script-based processing. The TT reader's problems were due to a lack of scripts or changes in prototypical frames, because they occurred in places where the ST reader processed the original references to food with the help of scripts or specific prototypical frames. Therefore, in this study, different types of interpretation problems, such as problems with prototypical frames and word association, were examined with the help of Schank and Abelson's observations on problems and resolutions of problems in script-

based processing. In addition to script-based ways of solving interpretation problems, the use of goals and solutions similar to Schank and Abelson's plan-based processing, which are used when script-based understanding is not available, were examined in the data.

According to Schank and Abelson (1977: 55), there are many different types of problems one can have with scripts. In script activation, the beginning and the end of a script are most prone to problems. One may, for example, find it difficult to see when an active script has ended and a new one has begun, although a time gap often indicates the end of a script. (Schank and Abelson 1977: 60-61.) Two things which may prevent a script from continuing normally are states or actions which do not fit in the script or direct the processing out of the script. When actors encounter obstacles or errors in script continuation, they may re-enter the script and try to get it right, for example, by producing missing enabling conditions. This may be repeated several times in the form of obstacle-prescription-failure loops. Alternatively, actors may find a successful resolution right away (obstacle-prescription-success or error-loop-success) or abandon the script right away. (see Schank and Abelson 1977: 52-54.) This study used the above script-related problem descriptions to analyse the types of obstacles and errors the TT reader encountered when interpreting references to food in the TT, what he did to remove them, and whether he was able to resolve them or abandoned trying to remove them.

Schank and Abelson (1977: 70) point out that when there is no script which describes specific, well-known actions available, more general plan-based understanding is used. Plan-based understanding enables one to interpret new, unexpected situations and seemingly disconnected text. The creation of plans is problem solving, the chief elements of which are general knowledge on people's goals and what actions we take to achieve goals (Schank and Abelson 1977: 70-71). Plan understanding, on the other hand, is composed of "broad inferential knowledge of large numbers of actions and goals" (Schank and Abelson 1977: 73). In some cases, actions and goals can

be obtained from scripts, while in others people only have a set of possible actions to get closer to reaching a goal which will help them to understand (Schank and Abelson 1977: 74, 77-78). This study examined when and how the TT reader used general knowledge about people's goals to understand references to food.

Understanding may, however, be a combination of different types of understanding. Schank and Abelson (1977: 78) point out that understanding does not have to be solely script- or plan-based, rather it may be a combination of these two. What is also interesting is that it is possible to understand a script-based story using a plan-based approach (Schank and Abelson 1977: 98). This study examined whether the readers used prototype-based, script-based or plan-based understanding or combined these three types of understanding in their reactions to the references to food. In different types of interpretation problems, errors, obstacles, and the result of the problem solving process were identified using terminology from Schank and Abelson's script-based and plan-based understanding.

4.4 The main concepts of the analytical framework

This section provides short descriptions of the main concepts of the analytical framework.

Frame – a cognitive construction which a linguistic form activates in a person's mind. May include for example human beliefs, actions, experiences and can be large or small, simple, or complex, visual or non-visual and personal or shared by a group of people. (Fillmore 1976: 23, 1977: 63, 72-75.)

Prototypical frame – a shared, simplified and typified member of a category which is presented, demonstrated or manipulated to understand word meaning (Fillmore 1977: 56, 126-129)

Basic-level term – a central level term in the category system, the main function of which is categorising objects and concepts. Associated with prototypes yielding the largest number of attributes, as both differences between categories and within categories are important on this level. Can be specified by the context. (Ungerer and Schmid 1996: 43-44, 67-68, 72.)

Subordinate-level term – a term on the lowest level of the category system, the main function of which is specifying objects and concepts. Associated with specific prototypes and attributes. (Ungerer and Schmid 1996: 86-88.)

Superordinate-level term – a term on the highest level of the category system, the main function of which is highlighting and collecting a large number of items or categories under a common label. Not connected with prototypes but has category-wide general attributes. (Ungerer and Schmid 1996: 76-78, 98.)

Script – a sequence of events or actions in a particular context which connects well-known every day situations and actions into understandable chains. Provides automatic connections between different parts of a script. (Schank and Abelson 1977: 23, 41)

Script header – a key concept which activates a script in a text (Schank and Abelson 1977: 48)

Plans and goals – plans are composed of broad inferential knowledge about people's actions and goals and what they do to achieve them. Allow one to interpret unexpected situations and text that seems incoherent. (Schank and Abelson 1977: 70-71.)

Obstacles and errors – in Schank and Abelson's (1977: 52-57) theory, states or actions which hinder the normal continuation of a script. To remove the obstacle or error, actors may attempt to reactivate the script once or several times, activate a different script, or abandon trying to interpret problematic part in the text. In this study, although there were no problems with scripts, there were similar obstacles and errors with prototypical frames and word

association. The term obstacles and errors were used to analyse the types of obstacles and errors the TT reader encountered when interpreting references to food in the TT, what he did to remove them, and whether he was able to resolve them or abandoned trying to remove them.

Transference – “the transference of an SL (Source Language) term to a Target Language (TL) context” (Williams 1990: 55)

Direct translation (also known as literal translation, calque, loan translation and word-for-word translation)- “the translation of one item in the SL by one item in the TL” (Williams 1990: 55).

Translation into a descriptive equivalent – “the explanation of an SL culture-specific term” (Williams 1990: 55)

Translation into a functional equivalent – “the use of a culturally neutral TL term to define the SL culture-specific term” (Williams 1990: 55)

Translation into a cultural equivalent – substituting a source language term for a target language term (Williams 1990: 55)

Omission – the omission of a culture-specific term (see e.g. Kujamäki 1993: 100)

Cotext – the text surrounding a passage (see *The Linguistics Encyclopedia* 1991: 470), and in this study the text surrounding the references to food in the chosen examples.

Context – the situation and cotext in which an utterance is interpreted and the cognitive knowledge which is used in the interpretation process (see for example Verschueren 1999)

4.5 The research questions of the analytical framework

The analytical framework was divided into three sections: 1) the interpretation process, 2) the result of the process and 3) the changes detected between the ST and TT readers' processes and the results of the processes. The reader reactions of this qualitative study were analysed using the following questions:

1) The interpretation process

How does the reader interpret the reference to food as part of the extract? What are the steps he takes? Is the process A) prototypical frame, B) script and/or C) plan -level processing?

A) Prototypical frame-level processing: What clues indicate that prototypical frames are used? How are the prototypical frames used? What are they like? Does the reader have any problems with any of the prototypical frames? If he does, what does he do? Do the frames provide any connections? What is the importance of the cotext or context in the processing? Are any other types of processing used alongside with prototypical frames?

B) Script-level processing: What clues indicate that scripts are used? What words evoke the script header(s) in the extract? How is the script used? What is it like? Does the reader have any problems with the script? If he does, what does he do? Does he remove an obstacle, re-enter the script, try a new script or abandon the script? Do the scripts provide any connections? What is the importance of the cotext or context in the processing? Are any other types of processing used alongside with scripts?

C) Plan-level processing: What clues indicate that goals are used? How are the goals used? What are they like? Does the reader have any problems with the goals? If he does, what does he do? What is the importance of the cotext or context in the processing? Are any other types of processing used alongside with goals and plans?

2) The result of the process

What are the final frames like? Were they created during the process or merely described during it? How do they function in the context? Are they relevant to the reader?

3) The changes between the ST and TT processes and results of the process: In what way are the interpretation processes different? In what way are the possible connections different? Are there any word-level changes? What is the possible effect of the word-level changes or the translation procedure? How do the frames or the results of the process differ? Do the changes create interpretation problems for the TT reader?

4.6 How to read the analysis

1. The title summarises the most salient changes.
2. The references to food in the ST extract are listed.
3. The ST extract is given. The references to food which the ST reader was asked about are in **bold**. The references to food which the ST reader insisted on explaining without being asked to do so are underlined. When a part of the extract has been omitted, this is indicated using the following symbol: (...).
4. There is a lead-in to the ST reader's comments.
5. A transcription of the ST reader's reactions is given. Only entire words were transcribed. Hesitations and sentences left unfinished were transcribed in the following way: My questions are given in parentheses.
6. The ST reader's reactions are analysed. Direct quotations from the ST text are given in *italics*. Direct quotations from the ST reader's reactions are given in double quotation marks or in parentheses.

7. The translations of the references to food are listed.
8. The corresponding TT extract is given. The references to food which the TT reader was asked about are in **bold**.
9. There is a lead-in to the Finnish TT reader's reactions.
10. A transcription of the TT reader's reactions is given. Only entire words were transcribed. Hesitations and sentences left unfinished were transcribed in the following way: My questions are given in parentheses. The evoked frames of the references to food asked about in the second interview are accompanied with the following text: (Nov 1997 second interview).
The rough English translations of the TT reader's reactions can be found in the appendix at the end of this study. Culture-specific terms are in italics and they are followed by descriptions e.g.
11. The TT reader's reactions are analysed. Direct quotations from the TT text are given in *italics*. Direct quotations from the TT reader's comments are given in double quotation marks which are followed by rough English translations in single quotation marks.
12. The changes in the Irish ST reader's and the Finnish TT reader's frames are analysed.

5 COGNITIVE CHANGES OF MEANING BETWEEN REFERENCES TO FOOD AND THEIR TRANSLATIONS

The cognitive changes of meaning between references to food and their translations became a source of difficulty for the TT reader or simply went unnoticed without causing any interpretation problems. Section 5.1 presents the analysis of the extracts in which changes of meaning made the interpretation of the entire text extract in MT difficult for the Finnish TT reader. These changes of meaning are referred to as changes with interpretation problems. Section 5.2 includes translations of culture-specific terms for which the TT reader evoked considerably different frames from the ones the ST reader evoked for the original references to food, but they did not create interpretation problems for the TT reader. They are referred to as changes without interpretation problems.

5.1 Changes with interpretation problems

Changes with interpretation problems were cognitive changes of meaning between the original references to food in the ST and their translations in the TT which caused interpretation problems for the TT reader and often even led him to suspect that something had gone wrong in the translation.

5.1.1 From a cotextually adjusted prototypical frame and a script to constructing a vague and strange frame and using a goal

In CG, there are references to *trifle* in four different extracts. In the extract below, the word *trifle* occurs five times and there are several co-references, *it*, as well. Four instances refer to the trifle being served and eaten,

which is also described in detail, and one refers to all the trifles Cait's mother made and served:

'There's **trifle** in the pantry. Molly left **it** there,' she said to Baba. Molly was a sixteen-year-old maid, from a small farm up the country. During her first week in Brennans' she wore wellingtons all the time, and when Martha reproved her for this she said that she hadn't anything else. Martha often beat Molly, and locked her in a bedroom whenever Molly asked to go to a dance in the town hall. Molly told the dressmaker that 'they', meaning the Brennans, ate big roasts every day while she herself got sausages and old potato mash. But this may have been just a story. Martha was not mean. She took pride and vengeance in spending his money, but like all drinkers she was reluctant to spend on anything other than drink.

Baba came in with a Pyrex dish that was full of **trifle**, and she set **it** down on the bed along with saucers and dessert-spoons. Her mother dished **it** out. **The pink trifle with a slice a peach, a glacé cherry, a cut banana, and uneven lumps of sponge cake**, all reminded me of the days when we had **trifle** at home. I could see Mama piling **it** on our plates, my father's, my own, and Hickey's, and leaving only a spoonful for herself in the bottom of the bowl. I could see her getting angry and wrinkling her nose if I protested, and my father snapping at me to shut up; and Hickey sniggering and saying, 'All the more for us.' I was thinking of this when I heard Baba say, 'She doesn't eat **trifle**,' meaning me. Her mother divided the extra plate between the three of them and my mouth watered while I watched them eat. (CG 1960: 37-38.)

Below is the Irish ST reader's reaction to the two different instances of *trifle*, the one that was served and eaten and the other that Cait remembered, and their descriptions. The first part of the Irish ST reader's reaction, which is before the paragraph break and my first question, was his free association of the references and the co-references. The second part consists of his answers to my questions. My questions focused on finding out about the image, basic-level category membership and general features of trifle, because the chosen basic-level translation equivalents in the TT (which are analysed later in this section) and their relation to the surrounding words in the text extract appeared to be particularly problematic.

It's made from sponge and jelly. We had custard on our trifle. It isn't mentioned in that paragraph, but ours was covered with custard at the top. But there was also fruit chunks in it. But the part where Cait's mother divided large portions amongst everybody except herself is very similar to what used to happen in my aunt's farmhouse, in that she used to go to a lot of trouble to cook a very nice meal and to make a very nice trifle...Actually, we didn't have the trifle after dinner, we waited until afternoon tea to have the trifle... But she used to give my uncle and I very large portions and she'd hardly have any left for herself. And I was always wondering why that was because she was the one who had made it in the first place so it was almost like some form of self-sacrifice.

(How is it prepared and eaten?) It's prepared in a big glass bowl and served in small dessert bowls. You eat it with a dessert spoon. (But when it's in a bowl does it look

like a cake?) No, it looks like a wobbly jelly with fruit sticking out of it and spongy. (But what about the other alternative with wine in it, no is it brandy, when you soak it in brandy, does it look a bit different then?) No, it doesn't really look a bit different. It just tastes probably a bit more juicy and you can taste the brandy, and I think it's much nicer with brandy. (Is this brandy version some kind of a festive version?) Yes, that might be for a festive occasion for example extended family comes to visit or maybe, shall we say, Easter time or bank holiday weekends and things like that or christenings. (Is there some special occasion when you serve trifle?) No, I think trifle is mostly associated with the arrival of summer weather and spring, in that because it is a light dessert in a way it's summery in its colours and it's mostly taken in summer, at least I think so. I used to have it in summer. Mostly I remember eating it in summer. (What about the word trifle what does it bring to your mind?) Nothing really except that there is another word trifle in the English language. For example you might say: it's trifle difficult to organise this material meaning that it's rather difficult to organise this material. (But doesn't trifle also mean of little importance, something very small?) Yes, it's very trifle, yes. (Do you think this dessert got its name from this meaning? It's some leftover sponge cake just thrown in with some jelly etc.) Yes, it's very possible that that would be the source of the name of that dessert. I can't answer that. (Is trifle a cake, jelly or a pudding?) I think it's more akin to a pudding, a jelly pudding.

The first thing the Irish ST reader spontaneously said was: "It's made from sponge and jelly". The reason why he starts his reaction like this becomes clear when one looks at what is described in the ST extract. It seems that only those features of trifle which might alter in the trifles of different households were explained in detail in the text extract. In other words, the general features of trifle are not described in the extract. The Irish ST reader's spontaneously reaction ("It's made from sponge and jelly") seems to provide the information that was taken for granted in the extract, that is, the general features of a prototypical trifle.

It appears that the cotext and his prototypical frame of trifle and different variations frames of trifles help him to choose the appropriate prototypical trifle. What predominates his account is comparing the cotext and the features of the first instance of trifle with the features of the trifles he has eaten. The detailed description of the first instance of trifle ("The pink trifle with a slice of peach, a glacé cherry, a cut banana, and uneven lumps of sponge cake (...)") seems to help him to choose and construct the specific features of the appropriate prototypical trifle. Although it differs from the ones the Irish ST reader has had with his family, his trifle category appears to

allow for enough variation to interpret and evoke this instance of trifle without any problems.

As has already been mentioned, the questions were asked to find reasons for interpretation problems with the translation equivalents in the TT (analysed later in this section) and to understand the image he evoked in his mind. The general image of trifle on a plate and the basic category level assigned to trifle proved to be most relevant from the point of view of the corresponding TT extract and the gestalt image. The Irish ST reader said that a trifle on a plate would not look like a cake, but it would look like “a wobbly jelly with fruit sticking out of it and spongy.” To find out how the Irish ST reader would classify trifles, he was asked if trifle was a cake, jelly or pudding. He said that “it was more akin to pudding, a jelly pudding”. Therefore, it seems that the basic-level category he would assign it to is a type of hybrid between jellies and puddings, but closer to puddings all the same.

The second instance of trifle in the extract, an image of what happened when Cait’s mother had made trifle at their home, focuses on the serving and eating of the trifle. The description of Cait’s mother keeping hardly any for herself (“leaving only a spoonful for herself in the bottom of the bowl”) evoked a similar script in the Irish ST reader’s mind. This seems to be the script header along with the trifle frame. For the ST reader, the larger context of the experience of eating trifles appears to incorporate this kind of self-sacrifice script on the part of the maker of the trifle.

Thus, the Irish ST reader uses prototype and script level processing and the cotext to interpret this extract and the references to trifle. The described details connect with the general features of a prototypical trifle in his mind making the extract coherent and meaningful. The result of the prototype level process appears to be a jelly pudding-looking dessert with a fruit layer on top and sponge sticking out. The result of the script level process seems to be a typical script in which the maker of the trifle takes very little of trifle for

herself. The Irish ST reader seemed to simply describe the frame and the script during the interview instead of having to process them while speaking.

Below is the corresponding extract in the Finnish translation with *trifle* translated as *jälkiruokakakku* ‘dessert cake’, *jälkiruokakakkua* ‘of dessert cake’, *kakku* ‘cake’, *sellaista jälkiruokaa* ‘that kind of dessert’, and *tällaista* ‘like this’. The first translation procedure used is a translation into a cultural equivalent (*trifle* -> *jälkiruokakakku* ‘dessert cake’). The second and third ones are co-references and translations into functional equivalents (*trifle* -> *kakku* ‘cake’, *trifle* -> *sellaista jälkiruokaa* ‘that kind of dessert’) and the last one is a co-reference *tällaista* ‘like this’. The first translation and ST word are both subordinate-level words (*trifle* -> *jälkiruokakakku* ‘dessert cake’). There is a word-level change in the second and third translation. While the ST words are subordinate-level words, the second translation is a basic-level word (*trifle* -> *kakku* ‘cake’) and the third is a superordinate-level word (*trifle* -> *sellaista jälkiruokaa* ‘that kind of dessert’).

‘Ruokakomerossa on **jälkiruokakakku**. Molly pani se sinne,’ hän sanoi Baballe. Molly oli 16-vuotias palvelustyttö pieneltä maatilalta sisämaasta. Ensimmäisen viikon aikana Brennanilla hän käytti pitkävirtaisia saappaita koko ajan, ja kun Martha häntä siitä torjui, tyttö sanoi ettei hänellä ollut muuta. Martha löi usein Mollya ja lukitsi hänet makuuhuoneeseen, kun Molly pyysi päästä kaupungintalolle tanssimaan. Molly kertoi ompelijalle että ‘he’, nimittäin Brennanit, söivät suuria paahtopaisteja joka päivä, mutta hän itse sai makkaroita ja vanhaa perunasosetta. Mutta tämä saattoi yhtä hyvin olla pelkkää juttua. Martha ei nuukaillut miehensä rahojen suhteen. Hän tuhlassi niitä ylpeilläkseen ja kostaakseen, mutta kuten kaikki juomarit hän oli haluton käyttämään rahojaan muuhun kuin juomiseen.

Baba tuli sisään tuoden lasivuoaan, joka oli puolillaan **jälkiruokakakkua**, ja hän pani **sen** ja teevadit sekä jälkiruokalusikat vuoteelle. Hänen äitinsä jakoi **sen**. **Vaaleanpunainen kakku, jonka päällä oli persikanpala, sokeroitu kirsikka, banaanipuolikas ja epätasaisia sokerikakun palasia**, muistutti minua niistä ajoista, jolloin meilläkin oli **sellaista jälkiruokaa** kotona. Näin äidin kasaamassa **sitä** lautasillemme, isän, Hickeyn ja omalleni, ja jättävän itselleen vain lusikallisen kulhon pohjalle. Näin miten hän suuttui ja nyrpisti nenäänsä, jos minä panin vastaan, ja miten isä tiuskaisi minulle ja käski olla hiljaa, ja Hickeyn virnailevan ja sanovan: “Sitä enemmän meille.” Ajattelin tätä kun kuulin Baban sanovan: “Hän ei syö **tällaista**”, tarkoittaen minua. Hänen äitinsä jakoi neljännen palan heidän kolmen kesken, ja vesi kihosi kielelleni kun katselin heidän syöntiään. (MT 1961: 49-50.)

Here is what this extract and the translations of the references to *trifle*, their co-references and features activated in the Finnish TT reader’s mind:

No, tässähan niinku jakautuu tavallaan mies- ja naispuolisiin tää asetelma, jossa äidillä on madonnan rooli ja että hän tota niin tavallaan uhraa oman palansa toisille korostaakseen omaa niinku äidin rooliaan, ja tämä tehdään niinku toisten silmien alla elikä tämä tehdään täysin tietoisesti tämä uhraus tässä. Ja mä luulen, että tässä niinku osaltaan katolilaisuus tulee niinku voimakkaasti esille, mutta myös tällöinen patriarkaalinen kulttuuri, jota on näköjään miehet sitten tuntuvat käyttävän kovasti hyväkseen. Varsinkin tää eräs repliikki siitä, että “Ja tästähan riittää sitten meille enemmän”, joku tän tyylinen. (No, mites jos mennään ihan yksityiskohtiin, niin minkälainen mielikuva sulle tulee tästä jälkiruokakakusta?) Joo, elikkä se tarjoihtiin lasivuossa ja se on puolillaan jälkiruokakakku ja tästä kakusta, niin se on niinku käännetty “vaaleanpunainen kakku, jonka päällä oli persikanpala, sokeroitu kirsikka, epätasaisia sokerikakun palasia”. Niin tulee mieleen, että se on niinku tavallaan heitetty. Se on niinku jotenkin valmiiksi paloitetu, kun se luotellaan tällä tavalla, niin se on jo valmiiksi paloitetu jotenkin vähän semmonen epämääräinen kakku, mutta kuitenkin hyvin runsas. Se niinku jollain tavalla viittaa varallisuuteen tällöinen makea jälkiruoka. Niin siinä on jotain tällöistä suurpiirteisyyttä. (Minkä kokoisena sä näet sen mielessäsi?) Joo et nyt se on täysin riippuvainen tosta millainen on toi lasivuoka. Se on täysin riippuvainen siitä lasivuoan muodosta. Kyllä mä sen näen tällöisenä niinku jossain määrin neliskulmaisena ja se on sellainen leveäpohjainen, jossa on kapeat ehkä 10 cm korkeat reunukset, josta niinku tavallaan leikellään nää palat. Kyllä se kakku on tällöinen matala, mutta leveä. (No mites sitten jos sä ajattelet ton kakun suhdetta niihin jälkiruokakakkuihin, joita sä olet syönyt, niin onko ne yhtään samankaltaisia?) Mulla tulee tän kakku-sanalla kanssa valtava ongelma tämän tekstin kanssa. Mä luulen, että se kakku, mikä tässä on ei ole se mikä kakku on Suomessa. Kyllä mä näkisin jälkiruokakakun sellaisena makeana, missä on kermaa ja semmosena täytekakun näköisenä tai hyytelökakun näköisenä. Mutta tää on jotenkin ikään kuin jonkinlainen uunikakku tai jotain sen tyylistä. (Vedätkö sä tästä sitten semmoisen johtopäätöksen, että Irlannissa on tällöisiä kakkuja?) Kyllä varmaan niinkun tää ois niinku yks kakkumalli, mikä Irlannista löytyy, mutta nykyään kaikki on niin kansainvälistä, että...

For the Finnish TT reader, the main problem with the translations of *trifle* in this extract appears to be that he found it hard to picture *jälkiruokakakku* ‘dessert cake’ in his mind. The second instance of this dessert does not necessarily call for a visual image of it, which is why the Finnish TT reader was able to make sense of it using general knowledge. The Finnish TT reader can understand the goal of Cait’s mother leaving very little *sellaista jälkiruokaa* ‘that kind of dessert’ for herself and insisting on having so little. According to the Finnish TT reader, the mother sacrifices most of her share in order to reinforce her role as a mother. His general knowledge on mothers, women and men’s roles and the image of the Madonna as the symbol of motherhood and self-sacrifice helped him to do so. He also saw a strong connection with this form of self-sacrifice, patriarchal societies and Catholicism.

It seems that the first instance of the dessert cannot be interpreted without a prototype as a starting point. To evoke a picture of *jälkiruokakakku* in this extract in his mind, the Finnish TT reader thought out loud how it was served (...*tarjoiltiin lasivuoassa ja se on puolillaan jälkiruokakakkaa* ‘served in a Pyrex dish and the dish was half full of it’) and even read out loud how the description of *jälkiruokakakku* ‘dessert cake’ had been translated (*vaaleanpunainen kakku, jonka päällä oli persikanpala, sokeroitu kirsikka, epätasaisia sokerikakun palasia* ‘a pink cake with a slice of peach, iced cherry, half a banana and uneven sponge cake pieces on top’). This was the first and only time during the whole interview he referred to a translation equivalent as a translation (“se on niinku käännetty...” ‘it has been translated as...’). The picture which *jälkiruokakakku* ‘dessert cake’ in this extract activated in his mind was that of a cake which has been ready-sliced (“valmiiksi paloiteltu”), somehow tossed (“tavallaan heitetty”), a little obscure (“jotenkin semmoinen epämääräinen”) and yet very plentiful implying wealth and abundance.

It was only when prompted by questions that the problems with the translations *jälkiruokakakku* ‘dessert cake’ and *kakku* ‘cake’ became apparent. Being asked to evoke the size of *jälkiruokakakku* ‘dessert cake’ in this extract showed that the main reason for the vagueness and obscurity of his description was that he could not use his prototypical frame of *jälkiruokakakku* ‘dessert cake’ or *kakku* ‘cake’ to provide the general features of the first instance of *jälkiruokakakku* ‘dessert cake’. The descriptions of *jälkiruokakakku* ‘dessert cake’ in this extract neither coincided with the frame of *jälkiruokakakku* ‘dessert cake’ nor that of *kakku* ‘cake’.

This is why he abandons using the Finnish prototype of a typical *jälkiruokakakku* ‘dessert cake’ and *kakku* ‘cake’ and constructs an image using the descriptions and details of the cotext and a more borderline member of the category *kakku* ‘cake’. He said that the size and shape of *jälkiruokakakku* ‘dessert cake’ depended on the size and shape of *lasivuoka* ‘glass oven-dish’. First he activated the size and shape of *lasivuoka*

(‘somewhat rectangular’, ‘wide base’ and ‘10cm high sides’), from which he then deduced that *jälkiruokakakku* ‘dessert cake’ was “*matala mutta leveä*” ‘low but wide’. He suspects that the cake which is referred to in the extract is different from (typical) Finnish cakes. The constructed cake is a vague cake which is something of *uunikakku* ‘oven cake’.

To sum up the Finnish TT reader’s process and result of the process, he interprets the second instance of trifle with the help of a goal. To interpret and evoke an image of the first instance of trifle he has to abandon the Finnish prototypes the extract evokes in his mind and use a more borderline example of the category cake, and the context, to construct the image. The result is a type of very vague but plentiful *uunikakku* ‘oven cake’ which appears to be constructed during the interview.

To compare the processes of the ST and TT reader reactions and the results of the processes, the ST reader’s prototype and script level processing, which seem to be characterised by the ease of merely describing what came to his mind when reading the extract, differ considerably from the TT reader’s more general, goal level processing to interpret *sellaista jälkiruokaa* ‘that kind of dessert’ and inferring which he does to evoke an image of the first instance of *jälkiruokakakku* ‘dessert cake’ in the extract. The interpretation of the second instance of *trifle* in the ST and *sellaista jälkiruokaa* ‘that kind of dessert’ in the TT is, however, a good example of how a similar situation can be interpreted using a script or a goal without the sense of the text extract changing too much. It is true that the ST reader’s account is more personal and specific and directly connected with trifles while the TT reader’s reaction is on a more general level. Nevertheless, the translation into a functional equivalent, *trifle* -> *sellaista jälkiruokaa* ‘that kind of dessert’, and the co-reference *it* realise their textual function because it is more important to understand the goal of the mother than having a specific image of the dessert to understand the text extract.

Unlike the translation *sellaista jälkiruokaa* ‘that kind of dessert’, the problem with a translation into the cultural equivalent, *trifle*->

jälkiruokakakku ‘dessert cake’, and the functional equivalent, *trifle* -> *kakku* ‘cake’, is that they do not realise their textual function. While the features of the ST help the ST reader having a prototype of a typical trifle and different variations of trifles construct the variation referred to in the extract, the TT misleads the TT reader to think that the extract can be interpreted with the help of a prototype of *jälkiruokakakku* ‘dessert cake’ and a typical *kakku* ‘cake’. The TT reader had to doubt the translations, *jälkiruokakakku* ‘dessert cake’ and *kakku* ‘cake’, proposed by the text because he cannot associate the prototypes they evoke in his mind with the descriptions of the text extract. Instead of interpreting the text extract with the help of a prototype connected with a typical *jälkiruokakakku* ‘dessert cake’ and *kakku* ‘cake’, he chose the prototype of a more borderline member of the category *kakku* ‘cake’ (*uunikakku* ‘oven cake’) which could be associated with the features described in the extract. While the ST reader evoked a specific trifle frame, the TT reader evoked a vague *uunikakku* ‘oven cake’. Despite his problems of visualising *jälkiruokakakku* ‘dessert cake’, he does not doubt that this type of cake would not exist in Ireland. A jelly pudding looking dessert with a fruit layer on top and sponge sticking out changed into a type of a very vague but plentiful *uunikakku* ‘oven cake’.

5.1.2 From a specific prototypical frame, automatic connection and no specific frame to referential and situational unclarity and an attempt to construct Irish frames

The focus of interest in the below extract are the references to *sausage rolls* and *simnel cake* and *the first mouthful of crumby pastry*:

‘Good night, Mrs Brady, happy Easter,’ the First communion voice said to me and I wished her the same.

When I came in they were all having tea. Even Joanna was sitting at the dining table, with tan make-up on her arms and a charm bracelet jingling on her wrist. Every time she lifted the cup the charms tinkled against the china, like ice in a cocktail glass. Cool, ice-cool, sugared cocktails. I liked them. Baba knew a rich man who bought us cocktails one evening.

There were stuffed tomatoes, **sausage rolls**, and **simnel cake** for tea.

‘Good?’ Joanna asked before **I had swallowed the first mouthful of crumby pastry**. I nodded. She was a genius at cooking things we had never seen, little

yellow dumplings in soup, apple strudel, and sour cabbage, but how I wished that she wouldn't stand over us with imploring looks, asking 'Good?'. (CG 1960: 152.)

This is what the Irish ST reader said about the above-mentioned references to food and their cotext. Although he also activated the frames for stuffed tomatoes, yellow dumplings, apple strudel and sour cabbage, they will not be discussed in this section.

OK. Stuffed tomatoes, I think they are tomatoes which are...I think they are sliced into quarters, but I think they contain some kind of warm filling. I think they are grilled then under a grill. And sausage rolls...it's a sausage wrapped in pastry and then grilled, but it's not a... like a big Finnish sausage. It's those small pork sausages. (What's the pastry like?) Very light kind of croissant-type pastry, just wrapped like a skin around it. And then she swallowed a "mouthful of crumby pastry" meaning that the pastry from these sausage rolls actually falls apart easily just like a croissant falls apart easily. (What about this simnel cake?) Simnel cake, I don't have an idea. (Is it something they had in the old days in Ireland? And no longer have?) Probably, I can't answer, I'm not sure you know. Apple strudel is mentioned and that's an Austrian... and sour cabbage is Sauerkraut.

The references to *sausage rolls* and *the first mouthful of crumby pastry* trigger instant and rather specific descriptions. The ease with which the Irish ST reader described the reference to *sausage rolls* implies that he used a prototypical frame which did not have to be adapted to suit the cotext to interpret it. His prototypical frame of *sausage rolls* included aspects concerning steps of preparation ("sausage wrapped in pastry and then grilled") and the type of ingredients used ("small pork sausages", "very light kind of croissant-type pastry"). He also describes the size of sausage in question by comparing it to Finnish sausages: "it's not...a...like a big Finnish sausage. It's those small pork sausages".

The Irish ST reader does not have to process *the first mouthful of crumby pastry* separately because *pastry* is a part of the frame activated by *sausage rolls*. This is why the Irish ST reader automatically links the subsequent reference to *crumby pastry* with the reference to *sausage rolls* mentioned earlier on: "then she swallowed a mouthful of crumby pastry

meaning that the pastry from these sausage rolls actually falls apart easily, just like a croissant falls apart easily”.

Since the Irish ST reader did not know what *simnel cake* referred to, it did not activate any specific frame in his mind. This does not, however, seem to affect the coherence of the extract. Simnel cake is the only one of the ST references asked which did not evoke a specific frame in the Irish speaker’s mind. It is a temporal culture-specific term for the Irish ST reader. According to *Longman Dictionary of English Language and Culture*, *simnel cake* is chiefly historical today and it has traditionally been eaten at Easter or Lent.

To sum up the Irish ST reader’s process and result of the process, the Irish ST reader uses a specific prototype of *sausage rolls* which does not have to be altered to suit the cotext. It includes *pastry*, the dough part of sausage rolls, and yields an automatic connection between the references to *sausage rolls* and *pastry*. Although he evoked no specific frame for *simnel cake*, he does not have any problems interpreting the extract because the coherence of the extract relies on the prototypical frame of *sausage rolls*. The result of the prototype level process described during the interview appears to be a small pork sausage which is wrapped in croissant-type pastry.

Below is the corresponding extract in MT with *sausage rolls* translated as *makkarasämpylöitä* ‘sausage bread rolls’, *simnel cake* as *luumukakkua* ‘plumcake’ and *the first mouthful of crumby pastry* as *ensimmäisen palan murenevasta piirakasta* ‘the first mouthful of crumby pie/pastry. The first and second translations are translations into cultural equivalents (*sausage rolls* -> *makkarasämpylöitä* ‘sausage bread rolls’, *simnel cake* -> *luumukakkua* ‘plumcake’). The third one is a direct translation (*the first mouthful of pastry* -> *ensimmäisen palan murenevasta piirakasta* ‘the first mouthful of crumby pie/pastry). There are no word-level changes: the first two references and their translations are subordinate-level words and the third reference and its translation are basic-level words.

‘Hyvää yötä, neiti Brady, hyvää pääsiäistä,’ sanoi rippikoulutyön ääni minulle ja minä toivotin hänelle samaa.

Tullessani kotiin kaikki olivat juomassa teetä. Jopa Joannakin istui ruokasalin pöydän ääressä ruskea make-up käsivarsissa ja maskottirannerengas kilisemässä ranteessaan. Joka kerran hänen nostaessaan kuppia maskotit kilahtivat posliinia vasten, kuin jää cocktail -lasissa. Kylmässä, jääkylmässä, sokeroidussa cocktailissa. Minä pidin niistä. Baba tunsu erään rikkaan miehen, joka eräänä iltana osti meille cocktailin kummallekin.

Meillä oli täytettyjä tomaatteja, **makkarasämpylöitä** ja **luumukakkua** teen kera. ‘Hyvää?’ Joanna kysyi ennen kuin olin **nielaissut ensimmäisen suupalan murenevasta piirakasta**. Minä nyökkäsin. Hän oli mestari ruoanlaitossa yllättäen meitä laitoksilla, joita koskaan ennen emme olleet nähneet, kuten pienillä keltaisilla kokkareilla keiton seassa, omenastruudelilla ja hapankaalilla, mutta kuinka toivoinkaan, ettei hän olisi seisonut vieressä pyytävän näköisenä kysyen: Hyvää?’ (MT 1961: 212-213.)

This is what the references to food and their cotext triggered in the Finnish TT reader’s mind:

Nyt kyllä pitäis tietää, että mihin nämä tomaatit, makkarasämpylät, luumukakut viittaa. Koska tämä on imperfektissä, se ei välttämättä ole juuri se tilanne, missä syödään piirakkaa, mutta mä en pysty tästä lyhyestä tekstipätkästä sanomaan näiden kahden tekijän suhdetta toisiinsa. Nyt makkarahan mulla niinku tavallaan jakaantuu kahteen osaan: se on joko kokonainen makkara tai viipaloitu makkara. Jaa varmasti Irlannissa on muuta kuin jauhemakkaraa Suomessa se on hyvin lihaisaa. Eli jos tää on viipaloitua makkaraa, niin silloin se on niinku halkaistu sämpylä ja sitten sen päällä tai välissä sitten on tota makkaran viipaleita. Toisaalta makkara voi olla myöskin ryynimakkaraa tai verimakkaraa. En tiedä sitten mitä Irlannissa sitten käytetään yleisesti, mutta Suomessa toreilla on niinku yleistynyt tää verimakkara. Ja jos tää ois niinku kokonainen makkara, niin kyllä sen sitten täytyisi olla hyvin kapea, mutta mahdollisesti pitkä makkara, joka sitten pannaan halkaistun sämpylän väliin. Ja sitten se sämpylä syödään sellaisenaan, kokonaisenaan eli ei kahdessa osassa. (Millainen se sämpylä sitten on?) Sämpyläkin on nyt tavallaan... Siinä on kaksi muotoa... Niinku on pyöreä sämpylä, sellainen pikku pullan näköinen ja oloinen. Ja sitten tämmönen vähän ranskanleivän näköinen sämpylä, joka on sitten huomattavasti pienempi kuin ranskanleipä elikä semmoinen varsin pitkä ja kapea. (Kumpikohan tässä on?) Mä veikkaan, että tässä on... se on ehkä tää vähän vähän pidempi... (Ja sit se makkara siinä välissä?) Tässä on semmoset ohuet makkarat, jotka ovat varsin lihaiset ja tämä tarjotaan viileänä ja tää sämpylä on vaaleata vehnäleipää. Ja sitten tää piirakka, mulle nyt lähinnä tulee mieleen, että se on mureapohjainen. Siinä on täyte, mutta tässä ei oo niinku ilmaistu, sitten että mitä täytettä, siinä voisi olla, mutta mikään keksimäinen se kuitenkin ole. Jaa luultavasti tää piirakka on sitten sellainen, mitä niinku yleisesti tee- tuokion aikaan nautitaan. Semmoinen hyvin tyyppillinen sikäläinen piirakka, ei, ei mikään karjalanpiirakka kuitenkaan.

The Finnish TT reader’s first comment is that he does not know what “täytetyt tomaatit, makkarasämpylät ja luumukakku” ‘stuffed tomatoes, sausage bread rolls and plum cake’ refer to. Just like in the ST extract, the food entities served for tea are first mentioned one by one: *täytettyjä tomaatteja, makkarasämpylöitä ja luumukakkua teen kera* ‘stuffed tomatoes,

sausage bread rolls and plum cake with tea’. Then in the next sentence of the TT extract, the narrator all of a sudden “had swallowed the first mouthful of crumby pie/pastry” (*olin nielaissut ensimmäisen suupalan murenevasta piirakasta*), to which no previous reference had been made.

The first and foremost problem for the Finnish TT reader seemed to be that he was unable to construct a coherent image of the situation in the extract. TT reader suspected that there might be two different situations because the extract is in the past tense. This is interesting because, according to Schank and Abelson (1977: 61), a time gap often indicates the end of one script and the beginning of a new script. The Finnish TT reader does not develop this idea any further, however. His final comment is that he cannot see the connection between the first three food references and the fourth food reference in the subsequent sentence. As a consequence, he abandons the attempt to try to establish the connection between the references and interprets them separately.

What is striking about the way the Finnish TT reader deals with *makkarasämpylä* and *mureneva piirakka* ‘crumby pastry’ is that he does not solely evoke prototypical Finnish frames, but he makes a considerable effort to imagine their Irish counterparts. He constructs *makkarasämpylä* and *mureneva piirakka* ‘crumby pastry’ using his prototypical Finnish frames as the starting point. Then using all the possible information he can obtain from the context and he has about the food entities and their different variations, the final frames are compromises between all the contextual clues and extralinguistic knowledge at hand.

The process, through which he comes to the final frame of *makkarasämpylä* ‘sausage bread roll’, entails opening two prototypical ways of serving *makkara* ‘sausage’ and considering different members of the category *makkara* ‘sausage’, and imagining how it would be served with a bread roll in the Irish cultural context. Although he can verbally describe only one entity at a time, it appears that he has many frames open at the same time

in his mind as he explains how he comes to construct “the Irish variant” in his mind.

First he explores the frame of *makkara* ‘sausage’ and the two possible ways in which one can serve it (whole or sliced). Second he evokes the typical Finnish sausage (sausage made of finely ground meat and flour) and its possible Irish counterpart (a more meaty sausage). Third, he pictures the typical Finnish *makkarasämpylä* ‘sausage bread roll’ in his mind saying that if the sausage in this context is a slice of sausage, then *makkarasämpylä* ‘sausage bread roll’ here refers to the typical Finnish *makkarasämpylä* (a slice of sausage on a split bread roll or whole bread roll). Fourth, he considers the other alternative, namely that the *sausage* in question would be a whole sausage, which would affect the way it would be served. The Finnish TT reader said that the whole sausage would then be served in between the two halves of the split bread roll. At this stage he leaves it undecided which alternative is in question.

He would most probably not take the interpretation process any further than this. However, being asked to describe the reference to *sämpylä* ‘bread roll’, he evokes two variants of bread rolls in his mind, namely the typical Finnish variant (a small round bun) and a less common variant in Finland (a long narrow bun made of white flour). Then asked which bun and sausage variants are referred to in this extract, he finally decides the nature of this reference to food. Well aware of this being pure guesswork, he suggested that the *makkarasämpylä* ‘sausage bread roll’ in this context would refer to a whole meaty sausage served warm in between the top and bottom part of a long and narrow bread roll made of white flour.

As for the reference to *piirakka* ‘pie/pastry’, he evoked a prototypical Finnish pie with short crust type of pastry. However, he concluded that this was a typical tea time pie from this particular area in Ireland. Thus, as with interpreting the reference to *makkarasämpylä* ‘sausage bread roll’, he has his Finnish prototypes as the starting point, but he seems to be very aware of that the Irish referents would most probably be different from his Finnish

prototypes. What is also interesting is that he added that the *piirakka* ‘pie’ in question was not *karjalanpiirakka* ‘Karelian pastry’. This could be a sign of that he was still going through all the possible and even impossible associations and frames that the reference to *piirakka* ‘pie/pastry’ could evoke (in this particular context).

To sum up the Finnish TT reader’s process and result of the process, after abandoning trying to link the first three references to food and fourth reference to food, he interprets the references to food separately using Finnish prototypes and different members of the categories *makkara* ‘sausage’ and *sämpylä* ‘bread roll’, and all possible and even slightly relevant knowledge. It appears that he is forced to take the interpretation process further than he would most probably have taken it. The first result is two possible variations of *makkarasämpylä* which appear to be constructed during the interview: a slice of sausage on one side of a bread roll cut in half or a whole bread roll or a whole sausage in between the two sides of a bread roll. The second result, which he produced after an additional question, was a whole meaty sausage served warm in between the top and bottom part of a split, long and narrow bread roll made of white flour. In case of interpreting the reference to *piirakka*, he also uses a Finnish prototype as the starting point and then states that it is a typical Irish pie from that region. I did not ask him to re-evoked the frame for *luumukakku* as he evoked it for the translation extract discussed in Section 5.1.3.

To compare the processes and results of the ST and TT reader reactions, the most important frame from the point of view of interpreting the ST extract was the ST reader’s prototypical frame of *sausage rolls* which allowed him to create a coherent image of the extract, i.e. evoke the frame for the references to *sausage rolls* and *pastry* and the connection between them. The connection between the references to *sausage rolls* and *pastry* was left to the reader to fill in with the help of his prototypical frame of *sausage rolls*. The missing of a specific frame for *simnel cake* did not interfere with the overall coherence of the extract. In the TT extract, the problem with the reference of

makkarasämpylöitä ‘sausage bread rolls’ is that it did not realise its textual function because it did not evoke a prototype which would incorporate the frame of *piirakasta* ‘pie/pastry’ and yield an automatic connection between references to *makkarasämpylöitä* ‘sausage bread rolls’ and *piirakasta* ‘pie/pastry’ in the TT reader’s mind. In addition, the direct translation *pastry* -> *piirakasta* ‘pie/pastry’ evoked the frame of an entire pie instead of a part of an other food entity, that being the dough part of it. Not being able to produce the missing enabling conditions for the connection, the TT reader processed the first three references and the fourth reference separately. A small pork sausage which is wrapped in croissant-type pastry changed into a slice of sausage on one side of a bread roll cut in half or a whole bread roll or a whole sausage in between the two sides of a bread roll. The croissant type pastry changed into an imagined local Irish pie constructed from a prototypical Finnish frame.

What was interesting is that the translation into a cultural equivalent, *sausage rolls* -> *makkarasämpylöitä* ‘sausage bread rolls’, and the direct translation, *pastry* -> *piirakasta* ‘pie/pastry’, did not only yield Finnish prototypes, but the reader was so aware of the Irish cultural context of the text that he tried to imagine the cultural variants of the source culture. Thus, even though the usual reason for using cultural equivalents in a translation is to make it easier for the TT reader to read the text and acculturate the strange and unknown, the TT reader tried to acculturate the cultural equivalent back to the ST culture. Although there were no word-level changes, the word levels are important in that the more specific the word level of the translation, the more specific Irish variant the TT reader tried to form. TT reader attempted to form a specific Irish frame of the subordinate-level word *makkarasämpylöitä* ‘sausage bread rolls’ and a less specific frame of the basic-level term *piirakasta* ‘pie/pastry’.

5.1.3 From two scripts, no specific frame and two specific prototypical frames to conflicting prototypical frames and removing obstacles

The following extract is a continuation of the Easter Saturday tea-time extract in Section 5.1.2. There are three references to food, one of which refers to the same *sinnel cake* as in Section 5.1.2. This extract contains an utterance where one food entity, *sinnel cake*, is put into a food container, a *marshmallow tin*, and another utterance where one food entity, a *slice of sad sponge cake*, is kept for making another food entity, *trifle*. Tea-time is coming to an end, but Cait is still hungry:

‘More **cake?**’ Joanna asked. But she had put **the sinnel cake** into a **marshmallow tin**.

‘Yes, please.’ I was still hungry.

‘Mine Got, you got too fat.’ She made a movement with her hand, to outline big fat woman. She came back with a slice of sad **sponge cake**, that was probably put aside for **trifle**. I ate it.

Upstairs, I took off all my clothes and had a full view of myself in the wardrobe mirror. I was getting fat all right. I turned sideways, and looked round so that I could see the reflection of my hip. It was curved and white like the geranium petals in the dressmaker’s window-ledge. (CG 1960: 153.)

Next the Irish ST reader’s reactions to the references to food and the food container in this extract will be given and analysed. The Irish ST reader was not asked to describe *sinnel cake* again because, on interpreting the ST extract of Section 5.1.2, he had already made it clear that it did not evoke any specific frame in his mind. In addition, he had already explained his prototypical frame of *trifle* in detail with the extract in Section 5.1.1, which is why he was not asked to activate it again, although this trifle might have evoked a slightly different frame. The function of the questions was to find out those aspects of the possible frames which served to make the food items relevant and coherent in this extract. The size of the tin and the cake appeared to be problematic in the translation, which is why they were asked. Here are the Irish ST reader’s descriptions of the references to *marshmallow tin*, *sponge cake* and *trifle*:

Marshmallows are those very soft candies which are coloured white or pink. And you can actually bake marshmallows by putting them on a stick and holding them over a fire... (What are they made of?) Very much concentrated sugar, I think. (What

size would you say they are?) They are quite big and round and very tasty, very sweet though, and very chewy, soft... so I think this tin is a metal tin and often in Ireland... (How big is it?) The metal tin would be the size of a biscuit tin, quite high, maybe 10 cm high, or something like that. Generally they hold two layers of marshmallows. But they are of metal or tin, and therefore when the marshmallows are all gone people keep their cakes in them because they are very handy to keep cakes fresh. I think this sponge cake could be a shop sponge cake, but it was just being kept for a trifle dish. But a sad sponge cake probably meant that it was quite a few days old and might have started to get a bit hard on the outside, not very tasty really but filling all the same.

In order to explain the frame the reference to *a marshmallow tin* evoked in his mind, the Irish ST reader first explained what the reference to *marshmallow* alone activated in his mind. After giving a general description (marshmallows are “very soft candies which are coloured white or pink”), he told about a special way of preparing them (“putting them on a stick and holding them over a fire”). Guided by the interviewer’s questions he was then asked to explore specific details such as the main ingredient (“very much concentrated sugar, I think”) and size (“quite big and round”). This then led him to evoke the taste (“very tasty, very sweet though”) and the touch of the palette (“very chewy, soft”).

After describing the reference to *marshmallow*, he started to unfold the meaning of *marshmallow tin* in this extract. The first thing he evoked was the material marshmallow tins were made of (“metal”), which would then have given the reason to why they served some purpose in Ireland (“this tin is a metal tin and often in Ireland...”).

However, he was interrupted by my question on the size of marshmallow tins (because evoking the size of the translation equivalent proved to be a big problem for the reader of the translation.). He described the size of marshmallow tins in the following way: “The metal tin would be the size of a biscuit tin, quite high, maybe 10 cm high or something like that. They generally hold two layers of marshmallows”. The ease with which he describes the details and their specificity indicate that he is using a specific prototypical frame which he does not have to adjust to the cotext.

Although he had momentarily been distracted by my question, he persisted on evoking the familiar script which made the reference to *putting the simnel cake in a marshmallow tin* a most normal procedure to him. He returned to describe the material of marshmallow tins, which justified their function and connection with cakes and reference to *simnel cake*: “But they are made of metal or tin, and therefore when the marshmallows are all gone people keep their cakes in them because they are very handy to keep cakes fresh.” In Ireland, marshmallow tins seem to be commonly used to keep cakes fresh after all the marshmallows have been eaten, i.e. the frames of cakes and marshmallow tins are interconnected in this way to form this familiar script.

The second familiar script which underlay the reference to *a slice of sad sponge cake that was probably put aside for trifle*. Since he had just described that sponge cakes are one of the main ingredients of trifle dishes (see the Irish ST reader’s reactions in Section 5.1.1), he commented on the connection between the references to *sponge cake* and *trifle* in this context simply by saying: “I think this is a shop sponge cake, but it was just being kept for a trifle”. *A slice of sad sponge cake* in this context made him suspect that this cake was “a shop sponge cake”, which was “quite a few days old and might have started to go a bit hard on the outside, not very tasty but filling all the same”. Thus, the cotext and the adjective *sad* appears to help him to specify his prototypical frame of sponge cake as a few days old, slightly hard but filling shop sponge cake.

To sum up the Irish ST reader’s reactions, what made the references to food and the food container meaningful to the Irish ST reader was that under them there lay two familiar ways of doing things, two familiar scripts. The short and direct answers which evoked the necessary information and connections indicate the use of scripts. The scripts were to a large extent based on the function of marshmallow tins and sponge cakes in Ireland: marshmallow tins are used as cake containers and one can make trifle from a few days old sponge cake. The missing of a specific frame for the reference to *simnel cake* did not blur the coherence of the extract. It seems that he

evoked the frame of a cake which had been put into an approximately 10 cm high metal tin which is often used to preserve cakes when there are no more marshmallows in it. Then he evoked the frame of a few days old, slightly hard but filling shop sponge cake. The frame seemed to be his prototypical frame of a sponge cake which had been altered to suit the context. The adjective *sad* played an important part in evoking the age of the cake.

Below is the corresponding extract in MT *with had put the simnel cake into a marshmallow tin* translated as *oli pannut luumukakun karamellitölkkiin* ‘had put the plumcake into a candy tin’ and *a slice of sad sponge cake, that was probably put aside for trifle* translated as *palasen ikävännäköistä sienikakkua, joka luultavasti oli säästetty jälkiruoan pohjaksi* ‘a slice of unpleasant/dull-looking mushroom/sponge cake which had probably been kept to be the base of a dessert’. The first and third translations are translations into cultural equivalents (*simnel cake* -> *luumukakun* ‘plumcake’, *sponge cake* -> *sienikakkua* ‘sponge/mushroom cake’). The second and fourth ones are translations into functional equivalents (*into a marshmallow tin*-> *karamellitölkkiin* ‘into a tin of sweets’, *for trifle* -> *jälkiruoan pohjaksi* ‘for a dessert base’). There are two word-level changes: the reference to the subordinate-level food container, *into a marshmallow tin*, changes into a basic-level term, *karamellitölkkiin* ‘into a tin of sweets’, and the reference to a subordinate-level food entity, *trifle*, changes into a superordinate-level term, *jälkiruoan pohjaksi* ‘for a dessert base’. The first and third ST references and their translations are subordinate-level terms: *simnel cake* -> *luumukakun* ‘plumcake’, *sponge cake* -> *sienikakkua* ‘sponge/mushroom cake’.

‘Lisää **kakkua?**’ Joanna kysyi. Mutta hän oli pannut **luumukakun karamellitölkkiin**.

‘Kyllä kiitos.’ Minä olin yhä nälkäinen.

‘Mein Gott, te lihotte liikaa.’ Hän teki kädellään liikkeen kuvatakseen suuren, lihavan naisen ääri viivoja. Hän toi palasen ikävännäköistä **sienikakkua, joka luultavasti oli säästetty jälkiruoan pohjaksi**. Minä söin sen.

Yläkerrassa riisuin kaikki vaatteeni ja katselin koko vartaloani vaatekaapin peilistä. Olin todella tulossa lihavaksi. Käännyin sivuittain ja katsoin ympäri, niin että näin lantioni peilistä. Se oli kauniisti kaareva ja valkoinen kuin pelargonin terälehdet ompelijan ikkunasyvennyksessä. (MT 1961: 215.)

This is what the Finnish TT reader said about the references to food in the above extract:

Mä luulen, että tässä on niinku tämmönen kääntäjän kömmähdys tapahtunut. (Minkä takia?) Siksi että karamellitölkki on jotain semmosta korkeata, 15 cm korkeaa ja halkaisija korkeintaan 10 cm. Jos sinne luumukakun palasia laitetaan, niin mutta luumukakun...silloin se pitäis laittaa kokonaisena. Ja toi sana tölkki jo pitää sisällään ahtauden. Ja jos ton luumukakun sinne laittaa palasina, niin kyllä siitä huolimatta ton tölkin täytyy olla laaja astia ja se on kannellinen. Luultavasti se on metallia, tosin kai se voi olla lasiakin. Ja luumukakku on kuivakakku, jossa on luumun palasia siinä täytteessä tai siinä taikinassa, ei se sen kummempi.

Koska tässä niinku eleillä kuvataan lihavaa naista, silloin sienikakku... niin täytyy olla jotain...kun mä löytäisin oikean sanan, sisäänpäinvetäytynyttä, kuivaa, nahkeaa ja...(Mites sitten sienikakku siinä kontekstissa, missä se on?) Eli sienikakku kakkuna? (...joka oli säästetty jälkiruoan pohjaksi.). Joo, niin...tää tää on mulle hyvin hankala paikka. Itse asiassa nimittäin toi sieni ja kakku, niin ei millään sovi yhteen silleen miten mä oon tottunut kakun ajattelemaan. Mulle tulee tästä sienikakusta mieleen rihmastoja. Ja silloin jos se ois rihmoja, niin se sienikakku ois jotenkin juustomainen. (Käytetäänkö teillä päin sokerikakusta sanaa sienikakku?) Ei.

The reader's introductory comment was that there had to be some kind of a translation mistake. He found it impossible to do what the text prompted him to do, to put *luumukakun karamellitölkkiin* 'the plumcake in a tin of sweets' in his mind because a whole plumcake would simply not fit into a narrow and high tin of sweets. First of all, for *karamellitölkkiin* 'into a tin of sweets', he evoked the frame of a narrow and quite high tin: "karamellitölkki on jotain semmoista korkeata, 15 cm korkeaa ja halkaisija korkeintaan 10 cm" 'a tin of sweets is something which is high, 15 cm in height, and at the most 10 cm in width. Then the frame *luumukakun* 'plumcake' activated in his mind was that of a whole "kuivakakku" (one type of rather big and wide Finnish cake) with plum slices and which had not been sliced. Thus, the initial prototypical frames he evoked for *luumukakun* 'plumcake' and *karamellitölkkiin* 'into a tin of sweets' conflicted with each other and did not allow him to interpret this extract. This was a major obstacle and distraction and made him suspect a translation mistake.

He engaged into a problem solving process trying to make sense of the text extract and create an integrated whole of its parts. First, he tried out slicing *luumukakku* 'plum cake' in his mind. However, even with the cake sliced, he could not see how it would fit into a narrow tin of sweets,

karamellitölkkiin, which essentially incorporated the connotation of something narrow for him. This is why he decided that *karamellitölkki* ‘tin of sweets’ in this extract had to be a wide container with a lid, although, as has already been pointed out, his prototypical *karamellitölkki* ‘tin of sweets’ was tall and narrow. He shifts from using the word *karamellitölkki* ‘tin of sweets’ to using the word *astia* ‘container’. In other words, it seems that this wide *karamellitölkki* ‘tin of sweets’ differed so much from his prototypical frame of *karamellitölkki* ‘tin of sweets’ that it did not even qualify for a borderline case of his prototypical *tölkki* ‘tin’, but the Finnish TT reader had to move to a more general level, the basic level, and use the prototype it activated in his mind.

The second problematic incident was *palasen ikävännäköistä sienikakkua, joka luultavasti oli säästetty jälkiruoan pohjaksi* ‘a slice of unpleasant/dull-looking mushroom/sponge cake which had probably been kept for a dessert base’. To find out what *sienikakku* ‘mushroom/sponge cake’ could refer to, he looked for possible clues in the cotext. Since fatness was referred to just before *sienikakku* ‘mushroom/sponge cake’ was mentioned, the Finnish TT reader drew the conclusion that *sienikakku* ‘mushroom/sponge cake’ might refer to something *sisäänpäinvetäytynyttä* ‘inward’, *kuivaa* ‘dry’ and *nahkeaa* ‘leathery’. It is possible that the adjective *ikävännäköistä* ‘unpleasant/dull-looking’ had an effect on the construction of this image as well.

Asked to look at *sienikakku* ‘mushroom/sponge cake’ in its cotext, *sienikakku* as a cake and something that had been saved to be the base of a dessert, the conflicting nature of *sienikakku* became evident. First of all, the word *sienikakku* contained two conflicting frames in itself for the Finnish TT reader, making this part particularly difficult for him to solve: “tää tää on mulle hyvin hankala paikka.” ‘this this is a very difficult part for me’. He said that *sieni* ‘mushroom’ denoted something salty, while *kakku* ‘cake’ denoted something sweet. Despite the fact that the root of the word *kakku* ‘cake’ denoted something sweet and in the extract *sienikakku oli luultavasti säästetty*

jälkiruoan pohjaksi ‘mushroom/sponge cake which had probably been kept to be the base of a dessert’, the Finnish TT reader could not help feeling that *sienikakku* had to be something salty. He pictured myceliums in his mind and proposed that *sienikakku* ‘mushroom cake’ would be somehow cheesy or cheese-like.

The Finnish TT reader said that where he comes from they do not use the word *sienikakku* ‘mushroom/sponge cake’ for *sokerikakku* ‘sponge cake’. *Sienikakku* is sometimes used interchangeably with the word *sokerikakku* ‘sugarcake’ both denoting the same cake, a close equivalent of Irish sponge cake. It may, however, be that today the word *sienikakku* is no longer as commonly used, and *sokerikakku* is a more frequently used word. Judging from the fact that the translator uses both *sienikakku* and *sokerikakku* as translation equivalents of *sponge cake*, it seems that the translator’s frame was probably more or less the same for the two words. The translator, whose translation of *The Country Girls* was published in 1961, had no way of knowing that *sienikakku* would not necessarily evoke the same frame as *sokerikakku* in the 1964-born TT reader’s mind in 1997.

To sum up the Finnish TT reader’s reactions to the references to food, both the situations the extract evoked in his mind involved conflicting prototypes. Unable to visualise how a whole or even a sliced *luumukakun* ‘plum cake’ could have been put into a narrow sweet tin (15 cm high and 10 cm at most in width), the Finnish TT reader had to abandon using the prototype *karamellitölkkiin* ‘into the tin of sweets’ evoked in his mind and evoke the prototype of a wider container, which also called for a more general level term *astia* ‘container’, into which a sliced *luumukakku* ‘plum cake’ would fit. The second problematic situation *sienikakku oli luultavasti säästetty jälkiruoan pohjaksi* ‘mushroom/sponge cake which had probably been kept to be the base of a dessert’ also evoked conflicting prototypes even within the compound noun *sienikakku* ‘mushroom/sponge cake’. First he resorted to the cotext and evoked something *sisäänpäinvetäytynyttä* ‘inward’, *kuivaa* ‘dry’ and *nahkeaa* ‘leathery’. Asked to explain the meaning of the

references to food in their context a bit more, it became clear that the problem was that the first part of the reference to *sienikakku* ‘mushroom/sponge cake’ denoted something salty in his mind and the last part something sweet. He resolved this by saying that the cake is salty, cheesy somehow. He did not try to solve the conflict with the salty *sienikakku* ‘mushroom/sponge cake’ being probably kept for (something that is usually sweet) *jälkiruoan pohjaksi* ‘the base of a dessert’.

To compare the processes of the ST and TT reader reactions, while the references to food in the ST extract activated two familiar scripts in the Irish ST reader’s mind, the translation equivalents of the TT evoked two rather problematic incidents in the Finnish TT reader’s mind. The translation equivalents evoked prototypical frames which conflicted with each other. In the case of the first incident, this resulted in the reader even having to abandon one of his prototypical frames, and in the case of the second incident he could not go very far in trying to make sense of the references to food. The missing of a specific frame for the reference to *simnel cake* did not cause any interpretation problems in this extract for the ST reader, because it seems that it realised its textual function in this context, even if unspecified.

To compare the results of the ST and TT reader’s processes, it seems that a cake which had been put into an approximately 10 cm high, metal tin changed into a plum cake which had possibly been sliced and put into a large container made of metal or glass. In addition, a few days old, slightly hard but filling shop sponge cake which had been kept for a trifle changed into something *sisäänpäinvetäytyntä* ‘inward’, *kuivaa* ‘dry’ and *nahkeaa* ‘leathery’ or something salty and cheese-like which had been kept for a base of a dessert.

There are two main problems with the translation procedures in this context. The functional equivalent *into a marshmallow tin*-> *karamellitölkkiin* ‘into a tin of sweets’ does not realise the textual function in this extract because a whole or sliced plum cake would not fit into it. The most important observation in this extract and its translation is that even the basic-level terms

such as *karamellitölkkiin* ‘into a tin of sweets’ can evoke fairly specific prototypes. In this context, the prototype the TT reader evoked for the basic-level term did not enable the TT reader to interpret the extract. The translation equivalent of *sponge cake*, *sienikakkua* ‘sponge/mushroom cake’, is, on the other hand, a temporal culture-specific term for the Finnish TT reader even though it is a Finnish cultural equivalent for sponge cake.

5.2 Changes without interpretation problems

Changes without interpretation problems in food frames are such that the frames evoked by the ST reader differ a great deal from those of the TT reader, but unlike changes with interpretation problems, the changes did not cause any major interpretation problems in their text extracts and went unnoticed from the Finnish TT reader.

5.2.1 From two specific prototypical frames, a script and an automatic connection to using the context and word association to construct a vague frame and an implication

In the following extract, Cait and Baba are received in the convent school by a nun and must say goodbye to their parents. There are three references to food: Cait could see in her mind how their parents would go *to have tea and mixed grill* and she *could taste the hot pepper taste of Yorkshire relish*. The focus is on the references to *mixed grill* and *Yorkshire relish*:

The nun smiled through her farewells. She had been watching others since early morning.

‘They will settle down,’ she said. Her voice was determined though not harsh; but when she said ‘They will settle down’ she seemed to be saying ‘They must settle down.’

Our parents left. I thought of them going off to have tea and **mixed grill in the warm hotel** and I could taste the hot pepper taste of Yorkshire relish. (CG 1960: 74.)

Here is what the food entities together with their cotext evoked in the Irish ST reader's mind:

Well, first of all I imagine that this is a hotel in a small town, and not in a big city or even a small city, but rather a family hotel of some kind. And mixed grill is quite a popular, shall we say, supper time meal in Ireland and England. A mixed grill consists generally of, shall we say, two sausages, two strips of bacon, which we call rasher, and probably an egg, perhaps black or white pudding, which is hard to describe here. It's made from sheep's blood, I think. And you might even have some potato chips with this. It's quite a heavy, greasy kind of meal, but very filling and tasty, and very nice on wet, cold wintry days. And then of course the Yorkshire relish is a sauce, which is very similar, shall we say, to the brown sauce bottles that you can see in cheap restaurants or small family-run hotels. And Yorkshire relish is one particular brand, which is quite spicy, so it adds a peppery taste to the sausage and bacon or rasher. The bottle is... it's got a light blue label and I'm not sure what exactly is on the label. But the scene generally brings to mind...if they are going to have a mixed grill in a warm hotel, I think that outside it's cold, and maybe it's damp or rainy, grey, so I would think. It's maybe late autumn or winter or early spring when weather is still very unsettled and cold.

Describing the reference to *mixed grill*, the Irish ST reader first gave a general explanation of what it is (“quite a popular, shall we say, supper time meal in Ireland and England”) which also specifies the time of day when it is generally eaten and the countries where it is eaten. His description also included a precise account of the number of food items mixed grill would contain (“two sausages, two strips of bacon, which we call rasher”) and the possible accompaniments (“probably an egg, perhaps black or white pudding”). In addition it included the taste and the season when it is nice to eat mixed grill: “It's quite a heavy, greasy kind of meal, but very filling and tasty, and very nice on wet, cold wintry days”. The ease and specificity with which the Irish ST reader described the reference to mixed grill indicate that it activated a specific prototypical frame in his mind.

He explained the reference to Yorkshire relish in a similar fashion which also suggests prototype-level processing. First he explained the reference to *Yorkshire relish* in general terms (“a sauce which is very similar, shall we say, to the brown sauce bottles that you can see in cheap restaurants or small family run hotels”). Then he specified it and simultaneously evoked the connection between *Yorkshire relish* and between the meat ingredients of

mixed grill: “And Yorkshire relish is one particular brand, which is quite spicy, so it adds a peppery taste to the sausage and bacon and rasher”. Although the connection between having *mixed grill* and being able to taste *the hot pepper taste of Yorkshire relish* is not stated in the extract, the Irish ST reader has no problems making this connection. This was an automatic connection because it seems that he drew the relevant pieces of information from his prototypical frame of Yorkshire relish and mixed grill.

In addition to helping him make connections, the Irish ST reader’s prototypical frame of Yorkshire relish also seems to have helped him to conclude what type of hotel is referred to even though it is only referred to as *a warm hotel* in the extract. The Irish ST reader started to unfold the images the extract evoked in his mind from the reference to *a warm hotel* although he had only been asked about the references to food: “Well, first of all I imagine that this is a hotel in a small town, and not in a big city or even a small town, but rather a family hotel of some kind.” The only indication from where he could have inferred the type of hotel in question is the way he described Yorkshire relish: “(...) Yorkshire relish is a sauce which is very similar (...) to the brown sauce bottles that you can see in cheap restaurants or small family-run hotels.” Thus, it seems that the mention of Yorkshire relish specified the hotel this extract evoked in his mind. The fact that he wanted to explain the type of hotel first may indicate that the references to *a warm hotel* and *Yorkshire relish* were the script headers of a family hotel in a small town script in his mind.

What is also interesting is that the reference to *mixed grill* and *a warm hotel* in this extract implied to the Irish ST reader that it is cold outside: “...the scene generally brings to mind, if they are going to have a mixed grill in a warm hotel, I think that outside it’s damp or rainy, grey...”. Thus the use of the simple adjective *warm* and the association of mixed grill with winter create this implication. In addition, it is noteworthy that not only the references to food but also the coldness seem to be of culture-specific kind, i.e. the typical damp or rainy greyness one comes across in Ireland.

To sum up the Irish ST reader's reactions, he used prototypical and possibly also script level processing to interpret this extract and the references to *mixed grill* and *Yorkshire relish*. The reader's reactions also show, although somewhat indirectly, that the connection between *mixed grill* and *Yorkshire relish* is part of the prototypical frames activated by the prototypes of *Yorkshire relish* and *mixed grill*, which is why it was an automatic connection which needed very little processing. The adjective *warm* in the reference to *in a warm hotel* and the reference to *mixed grill* specified the season in the extract as winter. He evoked a supper time meal with two sausages, two strips of bacon and possibly an egg and black or white pudding in a small family run hotel in a small town to which sausages and bacon Yorkshire relish adds a nice spice and peppery taste.

Below is the corresponding extract in the Finnish translation with *mixed grill* translated as *erilaisia paahdettuja lihalaatuja* 'different sorts of roasted meat types' and *the hot pepper taste of Yorkshire relish* translated as *Yorkshiren kirpeän pippurinmaun* 'the bitter/hot taste of Yorkshire'. The first translation procedure is a translation into a descriptive or a functional equivalent (*mixed grill* translated -> *erilaisia paahdettuja lihalaatuja* 'different sorts of roasted meat types') in which one can detect a change from subordinate-level to a more general level. The second translation procedure is a transference combined with an omission (*the hot pepper taste of Yorkshire relish* -> *Yorkshiren kirpeän pippurinmaun* 'the bitter/hot taste of Yorkshire') in which it is hard to say to which level the original subordinate-level term changed. *In the warm hotel* has been translated as *ravintolaan* 'to the restaurant' which is a combination of an omission and a cultural or functional equivalent.

Nunna hymyili koko jäähyväisten ajan. Hän oli katsellut niitä aamuvarkaisesta asti. 'Kyllä he kotiutuvat,' hän sanoi. Hänen äänensä oli päättäväinen, joskaan ei karkea, mutta sanoessaan 'Kyllä he kotiutuvat' hän näytti sanovan: 'Heidän täytyy kotiutua.' Vanhempamme lähtivät. Ajattelin heidän menevän ravintolaan juomaan teetä ja syömään **erilaisia paahdettuja lihalaatuja** ja tunsin **Yorkshiren kirpeän pippurinmaun**. (MT 1961: 101.)

Here is the Finnish TT reader's reaction to *erilaisia paahdettuja lihalaatuja* 'different sorts of roasted meat types' and *Yorkshiren kirpeän pippurinmaun* 'the bitter/hot taste of Yorkshire':

Häränlihapihvistä on kyse. Muistaakseni Yorkshiressä... tota niin...se liittyy härkään jollain tavalla joku lehmälaji on tuota joku Yorkshire tai joku semmonen. Siellä olis niitä. Ja tää kirpeä pippurin maku niinku tavallaan sit vois viitata niinku häränliha-mausteeseen. Ja paahdetut lihalaadut viittaa niinku paahdettu... on siis grillattua tietyllä tavalla. Ja sitten tämä olis niinku häränlihaa eri tavalla valmistettuna, mutta kuitenkin paahdettuna...Mahdollisesti tää on niinku pikku tytön näkökulma ja hän peilaa itseään niinku vanhempiaan vastaan ja tai vanhempiinsa. Ja sillä tavalla nää paahdetut lihalaadut niin voivat saada jonkunlaisen auktoriteetin funktion. Ne menee ikään kuin...tai vanhemmilla on oikeus syödä tällaisia liharuokia, siksi että he ovat vanhempia. Näin määhän niinku tavallaan assosioin, että se ei ole lastenruokaa esimerkiksi.

The Finnish TT reader started by giving the preliminary result of his interpretation process: *Häränlihapihvistä on kyse* 'the food entity in question is a beef steak'. After this he explained how he came to this conclusion and slightly altered the interpretation. He constructed a frame and connections by using the reference to *Yorkshire* as the 'landmark'. As the word *relish* had not been translated, he connected the reference to *Yorkshire* with *erilaisia paahdettuja lihalaatuja* 'different sorts of roasted meat types'. *Eri-laisia paahdettuja lihalaatuja* 'different sorts of roasted meat types' together with *Yorkshiren kirpeän pippurin maun* 'the bitter/hot taste of Yorkshire' brought to his mind a cow breed from Yorkshire, which led him to conclude that beef was being alluded to. He further inferred that *Yorkshiren kirpeän pippurin maun* 'the bitter/hot peppery taste' referred to a special spice used to season beef. After having processed all the words and their possible connections one by one, the final interpretation is slightly different from his preliminary interpretation (*Häränlihapihvistä on kyse*. "The food entity in question is beef steak"). The Finnish TT reader concluded that what was referred to was "häränlihaa eri tavalla valmistettuna, mutta kuitenkin paahdettuna" 'beef prepared in a different way but roasted all the same'.

It appears that he had an especially hard time interpreting *erilaisia paahdettuja lihalaatuja* 'different kinds of roasted/grilled meat types. The

two components of this descriptive or functional translation, *erilaisia* ‘different kinds’ and *laatuja* ‘types’, are highly ambiguous in this context. Possibly to lessen the ambiguity a little and to make the food item more concrete, the Finnish TT reader ignored the component suggesting that there were different types of meat and decided that only beef was referred to.

Despite the vagueness of the evoked frame (beef prepared in a different way but roasted all the same and seasoned with a special meat spice) he inferred a reason for mentioning it or what it implied in this particular context. He proposed that the reference to food is used to convey authority, something that belongs to the world of adults and something that children do not normally have: “vanhemmillä on oikeus syödä tällaisia liharuokia...Se ei ole lasten ruokaa” ‘adults have the right to eat meat dishes of this kind...it is not children’s food’.

To sum up the Finnish TT reader’s reactions, his main concern was to identify what kind of meat was referred to. *Yorkshire* had a double function in his interpretation of the extract. It evoked a breed of cow in his mind together with the reference to *erilaisia paahdettuja lihalaatuja* ‘different kinds of roasted/grilled meat types’. In the reference *Yorkshiren kirpeän pippurin maun* ‘the bitter/hot peppery taste’ it was part of the frame of a special spice used to season beef. His first reaction (*häränlihapihvi* ‘beef steak’) differed from the final description he gave of the reference to food (“häränlihaa eri tavalla valmistettuna, mutta kuitenkin paahdettuna” ‘beef prepared in a different way but roasted all the same’). What seemed to make the constructed frame relevant for him, in spite of its vagueness, is that he evoked a reason for why it was mentioned in this particular context. The result of his interpretation process appeared to be beef prepared in a different way but roasted all the same and seasoned with a special beef spice.

To compare the interpretation processes and results of the Irish ST reader and the Finnish TT reader, the Finnish TT reader’s reactions were of a very general type compared to the Irish ST reader’s ones. While the Irish ST reader only seemed explain the appropriate pieces of information he evoked

from his interconnected prototypes and script to interpret the references to food and the connection between them, the Finnish TT reader processed nearly every word separately and used general information, word association and the cotext to construct a frame, a connection between the references, and a meaningful implication. What is interesting in the Irish ST reader's reaction is the importance of the adjective *warm* and reference to *mixed grill* in evoking the season in the extract. To compare the results, the Irish ST reader's detailed frame of a supper time meal with two sausages and two strips of bacon to which Yorkshire relish adds a nice spicy and peppery taste, and possibly an egg and black or white pudding eaten in a small family-run hotel in a small town on a cold winter day, changed into a dish of beef prepared in a different way but roasted all the same and seasoned with a special spicy beef spice. Despite the differences, both the Irish ST reader's frame and that of the Finnish TT reader are relevant in their textual extract. The Irish ST reader's frame is a normal eating script which happens in a family run hotel in a small town. The function the Finnish TT reader evoked for the beef dish – adults' food which children normally do not eat - made the reference to the dish relevant for the Finnish TT reader in this particular cotext.

Many of the differences in the interpretation processes and the results can be traced back to the chosen translation procedures. The omission of the word *relish* in the reference *the hot pepper taste of Yorkshire relish* and transference of the word *Yorkshire* leaves the noun phrase without a part of its head and *Yorkshire* to modify *the hot pepper taste* alone: *Yorkshiren kirpeän pippurin maun* 'the bitter/hot peppery taste'. The reference to *Yorkshire* together with *erilaisia paahdettuja lihalaatuja* 'different kinds of roasted meat types' not only specified the meat in the extract but also served as a part of the meat spice and the connection between the two references to food in the constructed frames. This is possibly because *Yorkshire* has a connection to the real world and because *erilaisia paahdettuja lihalaatuja* 'different kinds of roasted meat types' is too vague and general to function as a descriptive or functional equivalent alone. With the omission of the word

warm in the reference *in a warm hotel* and introduction of the descriptive translation equivalent *erilaisia paahdettuja lihalaatuja*, there is no implication that it is cold outside. The translations of the references to food do also not specify the type of *ravintola* ‘restaurant’ in question.

These changes do not, however, cause interpretation problems for the Finnish TT reader, and he does not indicate in any way that he would have suspected some changes. The Finnish TT reader constructed frames, a connection and an implication which made the extract relevant and coherent for him.

5.2.2 From a script, sub-script, specific prototypical frame and an automatic connection to an attempt to construct a frame

In the next extract, Cait and Baba celebrate Halloween with the other girls at the convent school. There are several references to food. Although the Irish ST reader was only asked to explain what the references to *barm-brack* and *barm-brack ring* brought to his mind, he insisted on explaining almost all the references to food in the extract (*apples, monkey nuts, four boxes of chocolates, three shop cakes, heaps of sweets and home-made oatcakes*) and the reference to *the Halloween party* and *a stingy parcel*. Here is the ST extract:

(...) After the rosary we talked about the Halloween party.

‘Get the one with the nits,’ Baba said to me. She meant the girl in the bed next to mine

‘Why?’ I knew Baba hated her.

‘Because her damn’ mother has a shop and the reception-room is bursting with parcels for her.’ The parcels for the Halloween party were coming every day. I couldn’t ask my father for one because a man is not able to do these things; so I wrote to him for money instead and a daygirl bought me **a barm-brack**, apples, and monkey nuts.

When the day came for the party we carried small tables from the convent down to the recreation hall; we sat in groups of five or six and shared the contents of our parcels. Cynthia and Baba and the girl with the nits, whose name was Una, and myself shared the same table. Una got four boxes of chocolates and three shop cakes and heaps of sweets and nuts.

‘Have a sweet, Cynthia?’ Baba said, opening Una’s chocolates; but Una didn’t mind. No one liked her and she was always bribing people to be her friend. Cynthia got lovely home-made oatcakes and when you ate them the coarse grains of oats stuck in your teeth....

‘You got a hell of a stingy parcel,’ Baba noted, leaning over to look into the cardboard box of mine that had **the barm-brack** and the few things in it. I blushed and Cynthia squeezed my hand under the table. Baba had missed her own things with Una’s, so that I wasn’t sure what she had got. But I knew that Martha told her to share with me. We ate until we were full, and afterwards we cleaned off the tables and the floor was littered with nutshells, apple cores, and toffee-papers. Nearly every girl was wearing a **barm-brack ring**.

Then we went up to the chapel to pray for the Holy Souls and Cynthia had her arm round my waist.

‘Don’t mind Baba,’ she said to me tenderly. But I had minded. Baba walked behind with Una. Una gave her an unopened box of chocolates and some tangerines. The tangerine skin had an exotic smell and I brought some in my pocket so that I could smell it in the chapel. (CG 1960: 91-92.)

Here is what the references to food and their cotext evoked in the Irish ST reader’s mind:

Barm-bracks... are usually eaten around Halloween, which is end of when? (Beginning of November?) The beginning of November, yes. Generally around Halloween there might be one day off school maybe. And there might be a little party, children’s party in the evening, where they have barm-brack, apples and monkey nuts. And I’ll describe each of these. The barm-brack looks like a loaf of bread, except it’s got raisins and chopped fruit inside of it. It’s a fruit bread. And there is a ring in there somewhere. And the idea is to...the ring actually is very cheap metal, gold metal, and I think it’s like when the child finds the ring that that child will be married, or something like that. Then the apples are usually used for a game where you would put the apples in a bowl...a tub of water, a plastic tub of water, and what you have to do you have to use your teeth to get the apple out from the water. (Oh, that’s why she got apples?) Maybe, yes. You know that game? You see it on TV sometimes. (What about the monkey nuts?) Monkey nuts, I don’t know why they are called monkey nuts. Maybe because monkeys eat them. But they are those long shells, which are light brown in colour and you can easily crack them and inside you might have three or four individual dark red nuts that you can eat. And usually you buy them by the kilo. Then Una got four boxes of chocolates, three shop cakes, heaps of sweets. These are not generally associated with Halloween. Boxes of chocolates, heaps of sweets, I think she was just being pampered here, and maybe that her family owned a shop or something like that. A stingy parcel. Stingy means mean-looking, looking small. Oat cakes they are very simple cakes made with similar ingredients to making porridge, maybe oat flakes, a very simple and cheap kind of... And what else is there, tangerines, mandarins.

Although the Irish ST reader was only asked to evoke what the references to *barm-brack* and *a barm-brack ring* brought to his mind, he first talked about Halloween and children’s Halloween parties. Thus, it seems that *barm-brack* and *a barm-brack ring* are part of the Halloween script and its children’s Halloween party sub-script.

For the Irish ST reader, explaining the references to *barm-brack* and a *barm-brack ring* in this extract appears to be just a matter of describing the prototypical frame of barm-brack. First he describes the overall appearance of barm-brack by telling how it differs from his prototypical bread frame: “The barm-brack looks like a loaf of bread, except it’s got raisins and chopped fruit inside of it. It’s a fruit bread.”. He does not need to evoke any other frames or resort to inferencing to establish the connection between the barm-brack and the ring. The ring is a part of his barm-brack frame along with the belief associated with barm-brack rings: “And there is a ring in there somewhere, the ring actually is very cheap metal, (...) and I think it’s like when the child finds the ring that that child will be married, or something like that ”.

He reflected most of the references to food against the script of Halloween and the subscript of children’s Halloween party. There are references to food which are traditionally associated with Halloween and those which are not, and therefore stand out. While *barm-brack*, *apples* and *monkey nuts* are meaningful in this extract because they are part of the Halloween party script, *the four boxes of chocolates*, *three shop cakes* and *heaps of sweets*, which a girl named Una received in the extract, seem to receive their implication from not being typical Halloween party treats. This deviation from the Halloween party frame is important in that it appears to characterise Una: “I think she was just being pampered here, and maybe that her family owned a shop or something.” *Oat cakes*, on the other hand, brought to the Irish ST reader’s mind the image of simple and cheap cakes with similar ingredients to making porridge. They are in great contrast with Una’s expensive sounding delicacies and Cait’s traditional Halloween treats, which might suggest that the choice of references to food had been carefully thought of in this extract.

What is interesting is that not only the references to *barm-brack* are culture-specific, but even the reference to *apples* appears to be culture-specific in this extract as part of the children’s Halloween party script. The function of apples as part of this party frame is culture-specific: “The apples

are usually used for a game where you would put the apples in a (...) plastic tub of water, and what you have to do, you have to use your teeth to get the apple out from the water.”

To sum up the Irish ST reader’s reactions, he uses script and prototype level processing to interpret the extract and the references to food. The connection between the references to *barm-brack* and *a barm-brack ring* is an automatic connection, as barm-brack rings are part of the Irish ST reader’s prototypical frame of barm-brack. The main result is a fruit bread with raisins and chopped fruit and a ring inside it which is typically served at Halloween and in children’s Halloween parties. The apples in the extract are also a part of the Halloween script, as they are used in a children’s game in the party. Some of the references their receive implications in the Irish ST reader’s mind from not being associated with Halloween.

In the translation extract, *a barm-brack* has been translated as *makeiset* ‘sweets’ and *the barm-brack* as *makeisia* (the partitive form) ‘sweets’. They seem to be translations into functional equivalents. While *barm-brack* is a subordinate-level term, the translations are on a very general basic or even superordinate level. The reference to *the barm-brack ring* has been omitted.

...Ruusukon jälkeen keskustelimme halloweenjuhlasta.

‘Hae se täipää,’ Baba sanoi minulle. Hän tarkoitti minun viereisessäni vuoteessa nukkuvaa tyttöä.

‘Miksi?’ Tiesin Baban vihaavan häntä.

‘Koska hänen kirottu äitinsä omistaa kaupan ja vastaanottohuone on kukkuroillaan hänelle tulevia paketteja.’ Paketteja tuli halloweenjuhlaan joka päivä. En voinut pyytää pakettia isältäni, sillä mies ei pysty näitä asioita hoitamaan, ja niin kirjoitin hänelle ja pyysin sen sijaan rahaa ja eräs päiväoppilas osti minulle **makeisia**, omenoita ja maapähkinöitä.

Kun juhlapäivä tuli, me kannoimme pieniä pöytiä luostarista ruokasaliin; istuimme viiden, kuuden tytön ryhmissä ja jaoimme keskenämme pakettiemme sisällön. Cynthia ja Baba ja se tyttö, jolla oli täitä ja jonka nimi oli Una, ja minä istuimme samassa pöydässä. Una sai neljä laatikkoa suklaata ja kolme kaupasta ostettua kakkua ja suuren kasan karamellejä ja pähkinöitä.

‘Ota karamelli, Cynthia,’ Baba sanoi avaten Unan suklaalaatikon, mutta Una ei pahastunut. Kukaan ei hänestä pitänyt ja hän yritti aina lahjoa ihmisiä ystävikseen. Cynthia sai ihania kotitekoisia kaurakakkuja ja kun niitä söi, karkeat kauranjyvät tarttuivat hampaisiin.

‘Olkaa hyvä, sisar,’ Cynthia sanoi sisar Margaretille, joka käveli edestakaisin pöytien välissä. Sinä päivänä hän hymyili. Hän hymyili jopa Baballekin. Hän otti kaurakakkuja, mutta hän ei syönyt niitä. Hän pani ne sivutaskuunsa, ja kun hän meni pois, Baba sanoi: ‘He kiusaavat itseään nälällä.’ Luulen, että hän oli oikeassa.

‘Kylläpä sinä sait helkutin nuukan paketin,’ Baba huomautti kumartuneena katsomaan minun pahvilaatikkooni, jossa oli **makeiset** ja ne muut vähät tavarat. Minä punastuin ja Cynthia puristi kättäni pöydän alla. Baba oli sekoittanut omat tavaransa Unan tavaroiden kanssa, niin että en ollut varma, mitä hän oli saanut. Mutta tiedän että Martha oli käskenyt hänen jakaa minun kanssani. Söimme kunnes olimme täynnä, ja jälkeenpäin raivasimme pois pöydät ja lattia oli täynnä pähkinänkuoria, omenan siemenkotia ja toffeepapereita.... Sitten menimme kappeliin rukoilemaan Pyhien Sielujen puolesta ja Cynthian käsivarsi oli minun vyötäisilläni. ‘Älä välitä Babasta,’ hän sanoi minulle hellästi. Mutta minä olin välittänyt. Baba käveli perässä Unan kanssa. Una antoi hänelle avaamattoman suklaalaatikon ja muutamia tangeriineja. Tangeriinin kuoressa oli eksoottinen tuoksu ja minulla oli yksi hedelmä taskussani, niin että tunsin tuoksun kappelissa. (MT 1961: 126-127.)

This is what the Finnish TT reader said about the references to *makeiset* ‘sweets’ and *makeisia* ‘sweets’ in the TT extract:

No, ensiksi makeinen on jotain tämmöstä kovaa, imeskeltävää makeaa ja sitä on joko saatavana pussissa tai irtonaisena. Luultavasti tässä tarkoittaa irtokarkkeja. Ja nyt jos ajattelee niinku ajankohtaa, niin joskus 50-luvulla, niin silloin tää makeistenkaan tarjonta ei nyt niin hirveän niinku ylellistä ollut. Varmaankin jotain niinku erikoiskarkkeja sitten niinku tullut Amerikan päästä Irlantiinkin. Mutta yhtä hyvin saattais niinku...niin ei se tarkoita suklaata itse asiassa minun kontekstissa, vaikka kyllähän se siihen piiriin kuitenkin kuuluu. Siihen kuuluu kaikki tämmöset mariannet ynnä muut sen tyyliset karkit, suklaa ei musta tää suklaa kuuluis tähän kategoriaan laisinkaan. Se on oma kategoria. Ja sit on muut makeiset. Tuohon aikaan ei varmasti ollut mitään patukoita. Että ne oli jotain irtokarkkeja tai siihen rinnastettavia paperipäällysteisiä. Tämmösen kontekstin mää ajattelin.

Firstly, the Finnish TT reader explains what his prototypical *makeinen* ‘sweet’ is like: “No, ensiksi makeinen on jotain tämmöstä kovaa, imeskeltävää ja sitä on joko saatavana pussissa tai irtonaisena” ‘Well, first of all, a sweet is something hard and sweet that you suck, and you get them either in bags or you can buy them separately’. Then using the cotext and context, he tries to specify what type of sweets are referred to. He takes the time (sometime in the 1950’s) and the place into consideration (Ireland with close links with America). He says that the range of sweets cannot have been that wide in the 1950’s, although there might have been some special sweets brought from (the United States of) America.

Then, as if testing the limits of his category *makeinen* ‘sweet’, first he says that chocolate belongs to the same group of things, as sweets. Chocolate and other kinds of sweets (“mariannet ynnä muut sen tyyliset karkit”

‘marianne sweets plus other similiar types of sweets’), however, belong to two different categories according to him. Thus it seems that he would group chocolate and other sweets under the same superordinate category, but he would place them in different categories on the basic level. Since he assumed that here were no *patukoita* ‘candy bars’ in those days (which he also appears to count as sweets), he concludes his reasoning by saying that *makeisia* ‘sweets’ (in this cotext and context) refer to “jotain irtokarkkeja tai siihen rinnastettavia makeisia” ‘a type of sweets bought by the piece or other similar sweets’.

To sum up the Irish ST reader’s reactions, what dominates his account is specifying the type of *makeinen* in question in this cotext and context. He examined the borders of the prototypical frame, and activated a prototype which suits the broader context of the book, Ireland of the 1950’s. The result appears to be a sweet which is hard and suckable and bought by the piece or other similar sweets.

Both the scope of the processes and the results of the processes of the Irish ST reader and the Finnish TT reader were very different. While the Irish ST reader insisted on explaining almost all the references to food in the extract and used script and prototype level processing which yielded an automatic connection, the dominant feature of the Finnish TT reader’s process was establishing what sweets were referred to in the context. He adjusted his prototypical frame of *makeisia* ‘sweets’ mainly to the broader context of the book, his image of what Ireland might have been like in the 1950’s. As for the results of the processes, a fruit bread with raisins and chopped fruit and a ring inside it which is typically served at Halloween and in children’s Halloween parties changed into sweets which are hard and suckable and bought by the piece or other similar sweets.

The choice of translation procedures, translation into a functional equivalent (*a barm brack* -> *makeiset*, *the barm brack* -> *makeisia*), and omitting the reference to *barm brack ring*, removes culture-specificity and the possible interpretation problem, the connection between the references to

barm brack and *a barm brack ring*. The changes of meaning do not cause interpretation problems for the Finnish TT reader. It is most probable that he would not have tried to specify the referent if he had not been asked about it.

5.2.3 From specific prototypical frames, an automatic connection and a script to using prototypical Finnish frames and the cotext to construct a frame and establish a referent

In the following extract, the focus is on *a piece of seed cake* and its co-reference, *a piece of cake*, and *a bun* and its co-references, *an iced bun* and *the bun*. The references to *cake* and *the cake* extend over several pages. They occur a total of five times (CG 1960: 75, 78) before the cake is defined as a seedcake (CG 1960: 78) in the following extract. Cait has just arrived to the convent school and wants to have some of the seed cake she brought with her:

I got in between the icy sheets and ate **a piece of seed cake**. The whole dormitory was crying. You could hear the sobbing and choking under the covers. Smothered crying.

The head of my bed backed on to the head of another girl's bed; and in the dark a hand came through the rungs and put a bun on my pillow. It was an iced bun and there was something on top of the icing. Possibly a cherry. I gave her **a piece of cake** and we shook hands. I wondered what she looked like, as I hadn't noticed her when the lights were on.

She was a nice girl whoever she was. The bun was nice too. Two or three beds away I heard some girl munch an apple under the covers. Everyone seemed to be eating and crying for their mothers. (CG 1960: 78-79.)

This is what *a piece of seedcake* and *an iced bun* and their co-references evoked in the Irish ST reader's mind:

Well, seed cake I actually haven't eaten very often, but it's quite a simple cake to make, I think. It's very basic, and its ingredients, except that it has caraway seeds, which are, look actually a bit like bird seeds. So it's a kind of...perhaps young children might be a bit afraid of seed cake because the seeds look a bit like bird seeds, so it's not probably very appetising. It's got a very strange, strong taste from the caraway seeds, and it's not an expensive cake. It's a cake that could be made quite quickly for the weekend, Sunday afternoon tea, or for example when neighbours or friends call you would offer them a cup of tea and slices of seed cake. It's a light cake, it's not heavy or too filling. But I don't really know what colour it is. I just imagine that it's done in a baking tin, and I think the inside is whitish, cream or white-coloured floury dough.

And then iced buns, generally iced buns are sold in small family-run shops. They're probably made by the bakery company, the local bakery company. And really all they are is white baked dough with an icing layer on top and there might be one single cherry on top of that icing layer. And they are very cheap to buy generally. Not very healthy and not what you would consider health food but something that's

very tasty with a cup of tea or coffee as a snack. (What about the dough in this bun? Would you say it's similar to the dough inside the buns we have (in Finland))? I think the dough inside the iced bun is similar to the dough inside... what are those munkkis 'doughnuts' called, not munkki but the ones with jam inside of them? (Munkki, hillomunkki.) A bit like hillomunkki dough, except that it's fluffy, it's light; there is a lot of air in there, but not exactly like a croissant, not that light. But I think it's like hillomunkki dough, but it's not very sweet. The icing is sweet, and it's (the bun) is round. (And usually there is a cherry on top?) Not always but often there is. And of course cherries tend to fall off when you put them in the bag and then there isn't any cherry left. The cherry falls off often.

The Irish ST reader's description of the reference to *a piece of seed cake* and its co-reference included many relatively specific details: its preparation ("it's quite a simple cake to make, I think", "made quite quickly"), the ingredient giving the name to the cake ("it's very basic, and its ingredients, except that it has caraway seeds, which are, look actually a bit like bird seeds"), its taste ("a very strange, strong taste from the caraway seeds"), when eaten ("Sunday afternoon tea, or for example when neighbours or friends call you would offer them a cup of tea and slices of seedcake") and the general appearance of the cake ("It's a light cake, it's not heavy or too filling. (...) I think the inside is whitish, cream or white-coloured floury dough.").

The fact that he merely described the details and they are quite specific suggests that he used a prototypical frame without having to adapt it to the cotext. The numerous negative connotations such as "a very strange, strong taste", "not an expensive cake", "not probably very appetising" he associates with the reference to seed cake cannot be inferred from the cotext and also imply the use of a prototypical frame. In addition, what is interesting is that he classified the cake as a light cake. It is possible that in Ireland cakes are classified as light or heavy.

His description of the reference to *an iced bun* and its co-references is similar to his description of *seed cake* in effortlessness, specificity of details and connotations which cannot be inferred from the cotext. All this indicates the use of a specific prototypical frame connected with a subordinate-level

compound noun. The prototypical frame includes where iced buns are made (“probably made by (...) the local bakery company”) and sold (“sold in small family-run shops”), their general appearance (“white baked dough with an icing layer on top, and there might be one single cherry on top of the icing”), taste and when eaten (“very tasty with a cup of tea or coffee as a snack”) and price (“very cheap to buy generally”). It seems that where they are baked and sold are important parts of the prototypical frame as he mentioned them first. The dough of his prototypical iced bun appears to be culture-specific in that he can only find a near equivalent in lightness in Finland. *Hillomunkki* ‘Finnish doughnut with jam filling’, does not, however, match the dough of an iced bun in sweetness or fluffiness.

He does not have to adjust his prototypical frame of iced bun to suit the details of the iced bun described in the text. A cherry usually appears to be a part of iced buns, and not just something that was added on top of the particular bun referred to in the extract. Thus, it is a part of the prototypical frame and requires no additional processing. The Irish ST reader also evoked a short script associated with this prototypical frame which includes that the cherries have a tendency to fall off when one puts them in a bag.

To sum up the Irish ST reader’s process and result of the process, he used prototype level processing combined with a short script to interpret the extract and the references to food. The connection between the following references: *an iced bun* and *There was something on top of the icing. Possibly a cherry* is automatic, as cherries are part of the Irish ST reader’s prototypical frame of iced bun. The result of the process is a specific light cake with caraway seeds and a specific type of bun with icing with a cherry on top. Judging by the Irish ST reader’s reactions, which may incorporate matters of personal taste, the girl in the extract received an unappetising homemade cake in return for a tasty bun bought in a shop.

Below is the corresponding extract in MT with *a piece of seed cake* translated as *palan kakkua* ‘a piece of cake’, *bun* has been translated as *pullan* ‘bun’, *an iced bun* translated as *kuorrutettu pulla* ‘bun with

icing/frosting’ and *a piece of cake* as *palan kakkua* ‘a piece of cake’ and *the bun* translated as *pullakin* ‘also the bun’. The first and third translations are translations into functional equivalents and from subordinate level to basic level (*a piece of seed cake* -> *palan kakkua* ‘a piece of cake’, *an iced bun* -> *kuorrutettu pulla* ‘iced bun/ bun with glazing or frosting’). The second, fourth and fifth translations are co-references and direct translations without level changes (*bun* -> *pullan* ‘bun’, *a piece of cake* -> *palan kakkua* ‘a piece of cake’, *the bun* -> *pullakin* ‘also the bun’).

Minä menin jääkylmien lakanoitten väliin ja söin **palan kakkua**. Koko makuusali itki. Peitteitten alta kuului nyhkytystä ja nieleskelyä. Tukahdettua itkua.

Vuoteeni pääpuoli oli erään toisen tytön vuoteen pääpoultta vasten, ja pimeässä pistäytyi käsi pintojen välitse ja pani **pullan** tyynylleni. Se oli **kuorrutettu pulla ja kuorrutuksen päällä oli jotain. Mahdollisesti kirsikka** (second interview Nov 1997). Minä annoin hänelle **palan kakkua** ja me puristimme toistemme käsiä. Minä tuumiskelin, minkä näköinen hän mahtoi olla, koska en ollut huomannut häntä valojen palaessa. Hän oli mukava tyttö, olipa kuka tahansa. **Pullakin** oli hyvä. Parin kolmen vuoteen päässä kuulin erään tytön mutuuttavan omenaa peiton alla. Jokainen tuntui syövän ja itkevän äitiä. (MT 1961: 108-109.)

Here is the Finnish TT reader’s account of what the references to *palan kakkua* ‘a piece of cake’ and *kuorrutettu pulla (...)* ‘iced bun (...)’ and their various co-referents brought to his mind:

Kyllä se tota laskiasipullaa muistuttaa. (Ja minkälainen se kuorrutus on sun mielessä?) Tää on pulla, joka on niinku tavallaan pistetty halki, että tää pullan päällisosa on tasainen ja siinä on sitten kermavaahdon päällä on sitten tää kirsikka. (Onko se ihan tavallinen tämmönen pulla kuin mitä meillä Suomessa on?) Joo kyllä se on ihan semmonen ehkä pikku pulla. (Second interview Nov 1997)

Tää on kuivakakku ja se on kiinteä, sitä pystyy pitämään käsissä, en tiedä, millä se on maustettu, ehkä jollain hedelmäpalalla kenties. Mutta siinä ei ole mitään semmoista valuvaa, semmoinen eräänlainen kuivakakku, niin mä sen päättelen.

The first reference to food *kuorrutettu pulla* ‘iced/frosted bun’ and its co-references and cotext evoked something that resembles a shrove bun in the Finnish TT reader’s mind. The directness and certainty of his reply indicate the use of a prototypical frame. He said that the bun had been cut in half (horizontally), and there was whipped cream on the bottom half. All this conforms to typical Finnish shrove buns. Then although the Finnish TT reader does not say it explicitly, it seems that he had to change his

prototypical frame of shrove bun slightly to form a bun which has a cherry on top of the topping. Unlike typical shrove buns which have the top half of the bun on the whipped cream, the bun the Finnish TT reader evoked consists only of the bottom part with whipped cream and a cherry on top of the cream. Thus, the most likely reason for why the evoked frame only resembles a shrove bun is, according to him, that a cherry on top of the topping is not part of his prototypical frame of shrove buns and forces him to change it a little.

The reference to *palan kakkua* ‘a piece of cake’ evoked something of one type of Finnish cake called *kuivakakku* in the Finnish TT reader’s mind. It is clear that he used the cotext to establish the reference. Since the girls are handling the cakes in their hands, he said that it has to be something one can hold in hands and less solid cakes were out of the question. However, he did not readily assume that it would be exactly like this particular type of Finnish cakes, but stated that it would be *eräänlainen kuivakakku* ‘something of a type of Finnish cake called *kuivakakku*’. This way he seemed to allow for an Irish variant. He said that he could not infer what type of ingredients or spices had been used. As an afterthought, he added that maybe a piece of fruit had been used to give the cake a flavour.

To sum up the Finnish TT reader’s process and result of the process, he used prototype level processing which appeared to use the cotext and context in many different ways. The result of the process was a bun which resembled a Finnish shrove bun but had a cherry on top of the whipped cream and something of a type of Finnish cake called *kuivakakku*. He appears to have changed his prototype of shrove bun a little to include the cherry mentioned in the cotext on the whipped cream. To process the reference to *palan kakkua* ‘a piece of cake’, he chose the prototype of a solid cake since the girls hold it in their hands in the cotext. He also took the broader Irish context into consideration by not assuming that the cake would be exactly like his prototypical frame of *kuivakakku*.

To compare the processes and results of the Irish and Finnish TT reader, although both readers used prototypical frames, the frames and their

specificity were very different. The main difference in the use of prototypical frames was that while the Irish ST reader solely described the numerous details and connotations that the references and their cotext activated in his mind without altering his prototypical frames, the Finnish TT reader concentrated on establishing the references with the help of the cotext, context and his prototypes. To do this, he changed the first prototypical frame to suit the cotext and lessened the specificity of the second one to allow for possible differences in the broader context. A specific light cake with caraway seeds changed into something of a Finnish cake called *kuivakakku*. A specific type of bun with a cherry on top of icing changed into a bun which resembled a Finnish shrove bun with a cherry, instead of the top half of the bun, on top of the whipped cream.

The translations into functional equivalents changed the word level from subordinate level to basic level (*a piece of seed cake* -> *palan kakkua* ‘a piece of cake’, *an iced bun* -> *kuorrutettu pulla* ‘iced bun/ bun with glazing or frosting’) and yielded Finnish prototypes in the Finnish TT reader’s mind which he adjusted with the help of the cotext and context. The adjusted prototypes fulfilled their essential textual functions although they were very different from those of the Irish ST reader. Although the second translation into functional equivalent was a basic-level term *kuorrutettu pulla* ‘iced bun/ bun with glazing or frosting’, the details mentioned in the cotext called for a specific bun with a cherry on top of the topping. The advantage of the basic-level term in this cotext was that the Finnish TT reader could choose a bun with a topping from all the cakes in his basic-level category and with some alterations construct a frame which suited the cotext.

The functional equivalent *palan kakkua* ‘a piece of seedcake’ and the direct translations of the co-references without level changes (*bun* -> *pullan* ‘bun’, *a piece of cake* -> *palan kakkua* ‘a piece of cake’, *the bun* -> *pullakin* ‘also the bun’), on the other hand, were not as straightforward as one might assume. They activated Finnish prototypes, and in the case of the reference to *palan kakkua* ‘a piece of cake’ the Finnish TT reader allowed for possible

differences in the Irish referent. What made the essential textual functions of the references easy to realise is that any prototype of a bun with a topping on which one can imagine a cherry, and any prototype of a solid cake, would probably have made the extract coherent and understandable.

5.2.4 From specific prototypical frames to evoking prototypical frames and combining prototypical frames, word association and the cotext to construct frames

Cait and Baba have come to spend their Christmas holidays at Baba's parents' place. They open the presents and then have supper which consists of *ham and pickles* followed by *home-made fruit cake*. In addition, Cait remembers how Baba looked when rolling *pastry*, taking an *apple-pie* out of the oven and testing a *madeira cake* at school cooking classes:

We had ham and pickles for supper, and home-made fruit cake that Martha had made specially for us.

'Tis reeking with nutmeg,' Baba said. Cooking was her best subject at school. She looked pretty in her white overall rolling pastry, and her face was always coyly flushed as she stood near the oven waiting to take out an apple-pie or to test a madeira cake with a knitting-needle.

'How much nutmeg d'you use?' Baba asked her mother.

'Just a ball,' Martha said innocently; and Baba laughed so much that the crumb went down her windpipe and we had to thump her on the back.(...) (CG 1960: 95-96.)

This is what the Irish ST reader said about the references to food mentioned in the above extract:

When I saw the reference to ham and pickles for supper what immediately came to my mind was a ploughman's lunch, which is a very traditional supper or lunch for farmers in England, in the middle of England or in the Dales of Northern England. And since many of the traditional foods of England and traditional foods of Ireland overlap, yes, we often do have ham and salad and pickles type meals for supper or lunch. (How would you describe this ham and pickles meal?) Pickles are just those small hillospulit, ham and maybe even some brown sauce, also pickles yeah kurkku, but also those small onions. (How is the ham served?) The ham is often... it's served cold, sliced cold ham, and sometimes... it's sometimes... it's smoked ham. There might be brown bread and butter and tea. (But no potatoes?) Perhaps not.

Then home-made fruitcake that Martha had made especially for...A home-made fruitcake that's really quite a large baking task because fruitcake is... has a lot of ingredients and it takes a lot of time so Martha had spent quite some effort in preparing that. (And could you describe this fruitcake a little more?) It wouldn't be as rich as Christmas cake. It would be a lighter brown colour. Christmas cake is

dark brown and is very heavy. But often home-made fruitcake would be light brown in colour with probably half the density of a Christmas cake but the same ingredients. And Baba said it was reeking with nutmeg. That means it's really stinking with nutmeg so there was a really strong presence of nutmeg in the cake. I would say it's just a typical Irish supper. Perhaps I think it would be a farmers' type of supper or a middle class supper in a town. But I think maybe working class people would be inclined to buy a fruitcake rather than go through the trouble of making it. Also rolling pastry, you know what that entails: a rolling pin and pastry. Well, apple pie is also a very traditional type of dessert or treat. (Would you like to describe it a little bit?) Well, I think it just consists of a very ordinary dough, which is rolled out and placed in a baking tray. Then the apples had been boiled somewhat in water and with sugar added and allowed to thicken and it's placed in the dough tray and there might be cinnamon put in as well. And then there is another layer of dough on top. And the madeira cake, I'm not sure what the ingredients in madeira cake are. I think it's a very light cake. It's a very light airy kind of cake. (Do you have any idea of what it might look like?) Madeira cake, I think, is yellow in the middle, but I'm not so sure. (Is it a big cake?) No, it's an average small kind of cake.

Quite contrary to the interviewer's expectations, the reference to *ham and pickles for supper* did not solely consist of ham and pickles, but it instantly evoked a large prototypical frame of a traditional supper or lunch in the Irish ST reader's mind: "When I saw the reference to ham and pickles for supper what immediately came to my mind was a ploughman's lunch (...)." The immediacy and instant recognition of his reaction suggest the use of a prototypical frame. According to the Irish ST reader, ploughman's lunch is a traditional farmers' lunch or supper in the middle of England or in the Dales of Northern England. He pointed out that cold plate-type lunches or suppers of this kind, consisting of ham, salad and pickles, are also common in Ireland: "I would say it's just a typical Irish supper".

Guided by the questions, he was then asked to describe the specific details of the activated prototype. Using Finnish words, he pointed out that the pickles simply referred to "hillosipulit" (pickled onions) although the word pickles could also refer to pickled "kurkku" (gherkins). He said that the ham would be sliced and cold, although sometimes the dish included smoked ham. In addition, he pointed out that there might be brown sauce, brown bread and butter and tea. There would most probably be no potatoes to accompany the meat, much to my surprise. Thus, although only ham and pickles were mentioned in the context, his prototype of this farmers' lunch

incorporated how the meat was served, what type of pickles was in question and the sauce, bread and butter and tea accompaniments.

What indicated to him that the reference to *ham and pickles for supper* in this context did most likely not refer to farmers' or working class people's supper was the fact that the fruitcake referred to in the extract was home-made. This is because, according to him, working class people tend to buy fruitcakes instead of making them: "Perhaps I think it would be farmers' type of supper or a middle class supper in a town. But I think maybe working class people would be inclined to buy a fruitcake rather than go through the trouble of making it".

Just like the reference to *pickles and ham for supper*, the reference to *home-made fruitcake* also evoked a specific prototypical frame in the Irish ST reader's mind. The Irish ST reader explains the reference to *home-made fruitcake* by comparing it to Christmas cake, another traditional Irish cake: "It wouldn't be as rich as Christmas cake. Christmas cake is dark brown and very heavy. But often home-made fruitcake would be light brown in colour and with probably half the density of a Christmas cake but the same ingredients". According to him, the two cakes have the same ingredients, but the density or heaviness is the distinguishing criterion. While Christmas cakes are dark brown and heavy, fruitcakes are light brown and only have half the density of a Christmas cake. Then he adjusted his prototypical frame of homemade fruitcake to the context where Baba said that the cake was "reeking with nutmeg". He points out that the home-made fruitcake in this context has a lot of nutmeg: "That means it's really stinking with nutmeg so there was a really strong presence of nutmeg in the cake".

To the Irish ST reader, the determiner *home-made* in front of the noun fruitcake conveys two things. First of all, it conjured up the image of quite a large baking task, which made the Irish ST reader infer that Martha had gone to quite a lot of trouble in baking it. Secondly, as has already been mentioned, the reference to a *home-made fruitcake* seems to imply the middle class status

of Baba's parents, because the Irish ST reader said that working class people do not tend to go to the trouble of baking a fruitcake.

The reference to *pastry* in the sentence *She looked pretty in her white overall rolling pastry* (...) he described in the following way: "Also rolling pastry, you know what that entails: a rolling pin and pastry". Thus, it referred to Baba rolling pastry with a rolling pin.

As for the reference to *apple pie*, he pointed out that it was a "very traditional dessert or treat". In other words, he specified the superordinate-level category it belongs to and that it is a traditional dessert or treat. Then asked to describe it, he first of all gave a general description of the process of preparing the dough: "Well, I think it just consists of a very ordinary dough, which is rolled out and placed in a baking tray." After this, the Irish ST reader explained the boiling of the apple and placing a layer of dough on top of the apple and the first dough layer: "Then the apples had been boiled somewhat in water and with sugar added and allowed to thicken, and it is placed in the dough tray and there might be cinnamon put in as well. And then there is another layer of dough on top." The specificity of the description suggests the use of a prototypical frame which has been formed through mainly eating apple pies and seeing them being prepared.

As for the reference to *madeira cake*, the Irish ST reader described it as a very light cake: "I think it's a very light cake. It's a very light, airy kind of cake." Here again the lightness of a cake as opposed to heaviness is the Irish ST reader's way of describing a reference to a cake. This light-heavy scale may be a typical way of placing a cake in the basic-level Irish cake category and comparing different cakes. Asked to describe the appearance and size of his prototypical frame of madeira cake, the Irish ST reader said that it might have "yellow in the middle" and is "an average small kind of cake". His descriptions suggest that he uses a relatively general prototypical frame of madeira cake which provides the size, density and internal colour of a typical madeira cake but does not yield any specific ingredients.

To sum up the Irish ST reader's process and result of the process, he used prototype level processing of many different levels of specificity. The reference to *ham and pickles* activated a large and specific prototypical frame of a traditional Irish supper in his mind with accompaniments which had not been mentioned in the text. The reference to *home-made fruitcake* activated a specific prototypical frame of a light brown and light cake. He slightly adjusts the prototypical frame to the cotext. The determiner *home-made* not only implied that this was a large baking task but it also implied that in this cotext the entire meal was not a farmers' supper but a middle class supper. The reference to *pastry* was simply Baba rolling pastry with a rolling pin. The reference to *apple pie* he described by giving the general steps of preparing an apple pie. The reference to *madeira cake* activated a general prototype of a light and small cake. The light-heavy scale seemed to be an important part of describing the cakes of the extract.

Below is the corresponding extract in MT with *ham and pickles for supper* translated as *kinkkua ja pikkelsiä illalliseksi* 'ham and pickles for supper' and *home-made fruitcake* translated as *kotitekoista rusinakakkua* 'home-made raisincake'. The reference to *rolling pasty* has been translated as *kaulitessaan piirakkaa*, *apple pie* as *omenapiirakan* 'apple pie' and *madeira cake* as *madeirakakkua* 'madeira cake'. The first, third and fourth translations are direct translations without word-level changes (*ham and pickles for supper* -> *kinkkua ja pikkelsiä illalliseksi*, *rolling pasty* -> *kaulitessaan piirakkaa*, *apple pie* -> *omenapiirakan*). The second translation is translation into a cultural equivalent without word-level changes (*home-made fruitcake*-> *kotitekoista rusinakakkua*). The fifth translation is something in between a transference and a direct translation without word-level changes as the first part has been transferred as such and the second part, the specifying part, has been translated (*madeira cake* -> *madeirakakkua*).

Meillä oli **kinkkua ja pikkelsiä illalliseksi** (second interview Nov 1997) ja kotitekoista **rusinakakkua**, jonka Martha oli tehnyt erikoisesti meitä varten.

'Tässä on hurjasti muskottia,' Baba sanoi. Ruoan laitto oli koulussa hänen paras aineensa. Hän oli sievä valkoisessa työtakissaan kauliessaan **piirakkaa**, ja hänen kasvonsa olivat aina suloisien punaiset, kun hän seisoi uunin vieressä odottamassa ottaakseen sieltä **omenapiirakan** tai kokeillakseen **madeirakakkua** sukkapuikolla.

‘Paljonko muskottia sinä panet?’ Baba kysyi äidiltään.
 ‘Vain yhden pähkinän,’ Martha sanoi viattomasti, ja Baba nauroi niin että muruset menivät henkeen ja meidän piti takoa häntä selkään.(...) (MT 1961: 132-133.)

This is what the Finnish TT reader said about *kinkkua ja pikkelsi* ‘ham and pickles, *kotitekoista rusinakakkua* ‘home-made raisin cake, *kaulitessaan piirakkaa* ‘as she was rolling pie’, *omenapiirakan* ‘apple pie’ and *madeirakakkua* ‘madeira cake’ in the TT extract:

Niin, niin rusinakakku on semmonen tavallinen kuivakakku, jossa tota niin rusinat muodostavat tämän hedelmätäytteen tässä taikinassa, kakkutaikinassa. Se on... muistuttaa... ja varmaan onkin tota samanlaisia kakkuja kuin mitä meillä Suomessa on saatavana... rusinakuivakakku, tämmösen mä aattelen. Siinä varmaan mausteena voi olla kanelia, uskon näin, muun muassa. Sitten tää piirakka, niin sillä luultavasti kumminkin tarkoitetaan kuitenkin piirakkapohjaa ja silloin se on niin omenapiirakkaan kuin madeirakakkuun. Ja omenapiirakan mä nyt ajattelen esimerkiksi, onks se nyt amerikkalainen omenakakku vai millä nimellä sitä nyt kutsutaan. Siinä on nää siivut, omenat niinku viipaloitu sitten tota niinku siivuiksi ja sitten muodostetaan semmonen päällyste, jossa sivut on niinku limittäin toisia vasten. Ja se on uunikakku, uunissa valmistettu kakku. Madeirakakku sitten on, madeirasta mulle tulee mieleen likööri, tietynlainen likööri. Ehkä se on tämmönen alkoholilla maustettu kakku, kuivakakku sekin, näin mä tän päättelen.

Niin, kinkku on luultavasti semmoinen sian ruhon kappale, jossa on hirveän paljon läskiä, ja sitten tuota siinä on nahka päällä. En tiedä millä kuorutettu, mutta luultavasti se oisi viipaloitu. Ja ja pikkelsi niin sen on joku semmoinen vähän syltymäinen mutta kasvispitoinen jokin tämmöinen lisä esine, mutta ei kuitenkaan mikään salaatti. Vähän ehkä vähän samantapainen mitä täällä Suomessa on se Kartanon pikkelsi. (Joo ja oisko tää kinkku sitten tarjottaessa lämmin vai kylmä?) Lämmin, lämmin. Varmaan uunissa, varmaan uunissa valmistettu. Veikkaan että se on uunissa. Semmoinen mielikuva kyllä tuli siitä. (Joo, ja mä en ihan tarkalleen tiedä, millaista se Kartanon pikkelsi on.) Joo, se on väriltään semmoista vihreetä. Siinä on pieniä semmoisia kasvin paloja ja sitten se on semmoinen kirpeän makuinen. Kuitenkin niinku maultaan tän pikkelsin pitäisi sopia tähän kinkkuun, mutta mä veikkaan että tää kinkku on hyvin läskipitoinen. (Second interview Nov 1997.)

The Finnish TT reader chose to process all the other references to food before constructing a frame for the reference to *kinkkua ja pikkelsiä illalliseksi* ‘ham and pickles for supper’ even though it was the first reference to food in the extract. This may have been because the reference to *kinkkua ja pikkelsiä illalliseksi* ‘ham and pickles for supper’ required more processing than the other references to food in the extract.

He processed the references to *kinkkua* ‘ham’ and *pikkelsiä* ‘pickles’ separately, and he did not say anything about the dish being served for supper. The Finnish TT reader described *kinkkua* ‘ham’ in this context as most probably being a lump of very fatty meat the skin of which had not been removed. Although he pointed out later that the ham was probably baked and served warm, the word *ruho* ‘carcass’ he initially used to describe the meat suggests that the reference to *kinkkua* ‘ham’ evoked the image of something almost raw or unprepared in his mind. He could not say how the meat was garnished, but assumed that it might be sliced. The reference to *pikkelsiä* ‘pickles’ as part of this meat dish conjured up the prototypical frame of a trimming or extra which can be bought in Finnish shops and is called *kartanon pikkelsi* ‘the manor house pickles’. He said that the pickles referred to in this context might be something similar to *kartanon pikkelsi* allowing for differences in the Irish variant. He described *kartanon pikkelsi* as a greenish food substance of pickled plants. He described the taste of the trimming referred to in this context as bitter but well suited to accompany the ham containing a considerable amount of fat.

Thus, the Finnish TT reader constructed the image of a lump of fatty ham accompanied by green-coloured, bitter pickles for the reference to *kinkkua ja pikkelsiä illalliseksi* ‘ham and pickles for supper’. The fact that he processed the references to ham and pickles separately and there were many words expressing hesitation and uncertainty indicate that he had no prototypical frame for this dish. The choices of words such as *ruho* ‘carcass’ and *kasvin paloja* ‘pieces of plants’ imply that the image was somewhat unprepared and possibly strange.

As for the reference to *kotitekoista rusinakakkua* ‘home-made raisin cake’, it evoked the prototypical frame of a typical Finnish *kuivakakku* (one type of Finnish cake) in the Finnish TT reader’s mind which included raisins or with which he combined raisins: “Niin, niin rusinakakku on semmoinen tavallinen kuivakakku, jossa tota rusinat muodostavat tämän hedelmätäytteen tässä taikinassa, kakkutaikinassa.” ‘And raisin cake is an ordinary

kuivakakku, in which raisins form the fruit filling in the dough, in the cake dough.’ He was quite certain about the applicability of the prototypical frame this food term evoked in his mind. Although he was conscious of the possible cultural variations, this time he did not see any reason to assume big differences between his Finnish prototype and the Irish variant. Thus he said that the cake referred to in the extract resembles and probably is like the Finnish rusinakuivakakku ‘a particular type of Finnish cake with raisins called rusinakuivakakku’. He also said that one of the spices used in the cake was most probably cinnamon.

For the reference to *kaulitessaan piirakka* ‘rolling pie’, the Finnish TT reader pointed out that *piirakka* ‘pie’ in this cotext most probably referred to a dough and not a pie. Thus he corrected the translation decision of the translator with the help of the cotext. In addition, he said that the dough was connected with both the *omenapiirakan* ‘apple pie’ and *madeirakakkua* ‘madeiracake’ mentioned later on in the extract.

As for the reference to *omenapiirakan* ‘apple pie’, the Finnish TT reader made the assumption that the type of apple pie which was referred to in this extract was a baked pie called the American apple pie with sliced apples and two overlapping layers. His prototypical apple pie seems to incorporate the American variation of apple pie among possibly other types of apple pies, since he said that he associates the reference to apple pie for instance with the American apple pie. However, for this cotext, he evoked the American variation of apple pie.

As for the reference to *madeirakakkua* ‘madeiracake’, the Finnish TT reader processed the words separately. He associated the term *madeira* with liqueur of some kind. The term *kakku* ‘cake’, on the other hand, evoked the image of kuivakakku (a type of Finnish cake called kuivakakku) in this cotext. The final constructed frame was a particular type of cake called kuivakakku flavoured with liqueur: “Madeirakakku sitten on, madeirasta tulee mieleen likööri, tietynlainen likööri. Ehkä se on tämmöinen alkoholilla maustettu kakku, kuivakakku sekkin, näin mä tän päättelen” ‘as for madeira

cake, it is, madeira makes me think of liqueur, some kind of liqueur. It could be an alcohol-flavoured cake, this is how I would deduce this.'

To sum up the Finnish TT reader's process and result of the process, he both evoked prototypical frames which he could use without having to adjust them and constructed frames by using prototypical frames, word association and the cotext and context. The reference to *kinkkua ja pikkelsiä illalliseksi* 'ham and pickles for supper' he processed by combining word association and a prototype. The result was a lump of fatty ham combined with green-coloured pickles. The reference to *kotitekoista rusinakakkua* 'home-made raisin cake' he processed by evoking a Finnish prototype which either included raisins or with which he incorporated raisins. The result was the type of Finnish cake called *kuivakakku* which had raisins in it. As for the reference to *kaulitessaan piirakkaa* 'rolling pastry', the Finnish TT reader corrected the translation equivalent with the help of the cotext saying that *piirakkaa* 'pie' most probably refers to the dough part of a pie. The reference to *omenapiirakan* 'apple pie' he processed by evoking his prototype of American apple. The result was a pie consisting of a sliced apple layer and two overlapping layers. The reference to *Madeirakakkua* 'madeiracake' he processed using word association and a prototypical frame. The result was a type of Finnish cake called *kuivakakku* combined with liqueur.

To compare the interpretation processes and results of the Irish and Finnish TT reader, while the Irish ST reader processed all the references to food using prototypical frames of different levels of specificity, the Finnish TT reader used two prototypical Finnish frames as such and two prototypical Finnish frames combined with word association and took the cotext and context into consideration. In addition, the Finnish TT reader corrected one translation equivalent with the help of the cotext. The prototypical frame of a specific light-brown, light fruitcake activated by the reference to *home-made fruitcake* in the Irish speaker's mind changed into a type of prototypical Finnish cake called *kuivakakku* which either incorporated raisins as the name of the cake suggested *rusinakakku* 'raisin cake' or was combined with the

association of raisins. The frames evoked by the references to *pastry* and its translation *piirakan* ‘pie’ were similar because the cotext helped the reader to correct the translation equivalent to refer to a dough instead of a pie. The prototypical frames activated by the references to *apple pie* and *omenapiirakan* ‘apple pie’ were relatively similar, with the exception that the Irish ST reader’s one was more detailed than the Finnish TT reader’s one. The fairly general prototypical frame of a small and light cake with a yellow middle, evoked for the reference to *madeira cake*, changed into a type of prototypical Finnish cake called *kuivakakku* combined with the association of liqueur evoked for the reference to *madeira*.

The Finnish TT reader’s reactions to the direct translations (*ham and pickles for supper* -> *kinkkua ja pikkelsiä illalliseksi*, *rolling pastry* -> *kaulitessaan piirakkaa*, *apple pie* -> *omenapiirakan*) were very different in nature. Although there were no word-level changes, his interpretation of the above direct translations and the specificity of the evoked frames depended on his extra-linguistic knowledge on the target culture and similar cultures and the defining or non-defining role of the cotext. As he was not familiar with a supper consisting of *kinkkua ja pikkelsiä* ‘ham and pickles’ and the cotext provided no other clues than the two main elements, he constructed a dish with solely the mentioned elements using word association and a prototype. Despite the lack of word-level changes, a specific Irish supper changed into a vague dish. The details of the dish not being essential for the interpretation of extract, the lack of specificity of the constructed frame did not prevent the Finnish TT reader from interpreting the extract. As for the translation equivalent *piirakkaa* ‘pie’, the cotext helped him to correct it to refer to a dough instead of a pie and to avoid possible interpretation problems. The translation equivalent *omenapiirakkaa* conjured up a similar prototype in the Finnish TT and the Irish ST readers’ minds, because the Finnish TT reader’s prototype of American apple pie was similar to, although not as detailed as, the Irish ST reader’s prototypical frame of apple pie. Thus, the direct translations fulfilled their essential textual functions, although only one of the translation equivalents conjured up a prototype which was similar to

the one the prototypical frame evoked by the Irish ST reader and one changed considerably.

The translation into a cultural equivalent (*home-made fruitcake* -> *kotitekoista rusinakakkua*) without word-level changes evoked a sublevel cultural equivalent in the Finnish TT reader's mind, namely a prototypical Finnish cake called *kuivakakku* with raisins. This time the Finnish TT reader was quite convinced that his prototypical Finnish frame was applicable in this context. The prototypes were very different and so were the categories to which they belonged. The Irish ST reader's prototype of home-made fruitcake belonged to light cakes and the Finnish TT reader's prototype belonged to a category of cakes called *kuivakakku*. In addition, *kotitekoista* 'homemade' did not yield the same implications for the Finnish TT reader as *homemade* yielded for the Irish ST reader. However, the different prototypes, categories and lack of implications did not make it hard for the Finnish TT reader to interpret the extract.

The mixture of a transference and a direct translation (*madeira cake* -> *madeirakakkua*) without word-level changes showed the same category change as the translation into a cultural equivalent (*home-made fruitcake* -> *kotitekoista rusinakakkua*). A light cake changed into a category of cakes called *kuivakakku*. Despite the subordinate-level terms, both the Irish ST reader and the Finnish TT reader evoked rather vague prototypes which differed from each other. In spite of the category change and the differing prototypes, the Finnish TT reader did not find it difficult to interpret the reference nor the extract.

5.2.5 From a specific prototypical frame and an implication to evoking a vague frame and a different implication

In the following extract, the focus is on the reference to *crunchies*. The ST extract depicts Cait's first few minutes on her first working day:

My shop was in a shopping centre, between a drapery and a chemist's.

Tom Burns - Grocery was written over the door and painted crookedly on the window was a sign which read *Home-cooked ham a speciality*. There were fancy biscuit tins in the window and posters of girls eating **crunchies**. Nice girls with healthy teeth.

I went in, nervously. Behind the counter stood a stout man with a brown moustache. He was weighing bags of sugar, and he scooped the sugar out of the big sack.

'I'm the new girl,' I said. (CG 1960: 144.)

This is what the reference to *crunchies* and the extract evoked in the Irish ST reader's mind:

Crunchies are chocolate bars. I think crunchies contain a lot of honey. It's a honeycomb kind of chocolate bar which is wrapped in an orange-coloured wrapper and has been very popular for the last thirty years in Ireland. There's just one flavour. And it's very traditional because the wrapper hasn't changed in all that time. But the advertisement illustrating nice girls with healthy teeth is a bit misleading because a crunchy is so sweet that if you eat them too often your teeth will fall out. (What size would you say this chocolate bar is?) These crunchies would be the same size as a moro bar or something like that. (That small?) Yes, just like that.

First the Irish ST reader defined the reference to *crunchies* by specifying the category of foods it belongs to, namely chocolate bars. Then the Irish ST reader described one of the main ingredients and flavour ("a lot honey"), structure ("a honeycomb kind of chocolate bar"), the general appearance ("wrapped in an orange-coloured wrapper"), some history of the product ("it's very traditional because the wrapper hasn't changed in all that time") and the size ("the same size as a moro bar"). As none of the above-mentioned details can be found in the cotext, the description suggests the use of a highly specific prototypical frame of a traditional Irish honeycomb chocolate bar in an orange-coloured wrapper to establish the reference.

His prototypical frame of crunchies also made it possible for him to evaluate the cotext. He pointed out that the reference to nice girls with healthy teeth eating crunchies contradicted the unhealthy connotations of regular consumption of sweet crunchies: "the advertisement illustrating nice girls with healthy teeth is a bit misleading because a crunchy is so sweet that if you eat them too often your teeth will fall out".

To sum up the Irish ST reader's interpretation process and result, he evoked a specific prototypical frame which incorporated many details which

had not been mentioned in the cotext. The result was a traditional Irish honeycomb chocolate bar in an orange wrapper. He used the prototypical frame as a reference point when establishing the truth value of the cotext.

Below is the corresponding extract in the TT with the reference to *crunchies* translated as *hiutaleita* ‘flakes’. It is difficult to name the translation procedure used or the word-level changes. The translator most probably intended the translation process to be a translation into a functional or a cultural equivalent. While the prototypical frame the Irish ST reader evoked for the reference to *crunchies* has the specificity of a prototype connected with a sub level word, the translation equivalent appears to be a basic-level term or even a superordinate-level term. As the Finnish TT reader did not interpret the subsequent sentence out of his own initiative, he was directly asked to elaborate on the connection of the reference to *hiutaleita* and the subsequent sentence.

Liikkeeni oli ostoskeskuksessa, rohdoskaupan ja kangaskaupan välissä.

“Tom Burns - siirtomaatavaroita”, oli kirjoitettu oven yläpuolelle, ja ikkunassa oli kilpi, johon oli vinoin kirjaimin maalattu: “Erikoisuus kotikeittoinen kinkku”. Ikkunassa oli koristeellisia keksilaatikoita ja julisteita, joissa tytöt söivät **hiutaleita**. **Sievät tytöt, joilla oli terveet hampaat.**

Menin hermostuneena sisään. Tiskin takana seisoj tanakka mies, jolla oli viikset. Hän punnitsi sokeripusseja ja ammensi sokeria suuresta säkistä.

‘Minä olen se uusi tyttö,’ sanoin. (MT 1961: 201-202.)

Below is what the Finnish TT reader said about the reference to *hiutaleita* ‘flakes’ and the subsequent sentence in the TT extract.

Joo tuohon aikaan ei taatustikaan mysliä ollut, vaikka se on varmaan sata vuotta vanha tää mysli, mutta kyllä mää veikkaan, että tää on niinku orastavan corn flakesin aikaa. Eli silloin se olis niinku, onks se nyt kaurahiutaleita nämä corn flakesit ovat (Vai onks ne maissihiutaleita?) Joo maissia ne ovat. (Mites sitten jos ajatellaan tota seuraavaa lausetta?) Hampaitten esiintyminen korostaa niinku tämmöstä elinvoimaa ja tietysti tulee tahaton assosiaatio semmonen, että nämä hiutaleet ovat varsin sitkeitä, kun tarvitaan hampaita.

The Finnish TT reader used prototypical frames and the temporal setting of MT to establish the referent. Although he estimated muesli to be probably a hundred years old, he started by saying that muesli did not exist during the time in which the book was set (in the 1950’s). This suggests that his prototypical frame of “mysli” ‘muesli’ was one of the alternative prototypes,

or the reference to *hiutaleita* ‘flakes’ may initially have activated his prototypical frame of muesli. However, he was absolutely sure that *hiutaleita* ‘flakes’ in the temporal setting of MT did not refer to “mysli” ‘muesli’. With muesli excluded and remembering that corn flakes might have appeared around this time, he guessed that corn flakes were referred to. The frame or prototypical frame of corn flakes seemed quite vague. He was not quite sure of what the main ingredient in corn flakes was, so he first suggested “kaura” ‘oats’, and then agreed with the interviewer that they are made of “maissia” ‘corn’.

When asked to look at the word *hiutaleita* ‘flakes’ with regard to the subsequent sentence ((...) *julisteita, joissa tytöt söivät hiutaleita. Sievät tytöt, joilla oli terveet hampaat* ‘(...)posters with girls eating flakes. Pretty girls with healthy teeth.’), he said that the mention of teeth emphasised vitality and automatically brought to his mind that the flakes were chewy. Thus, the prototypical frame he evoked for the reference to *hiutaleita* ‘flakes’ together with the association of girls with healthy teeth eating them produced a healthy implication.

To sum up the Finnish TT reader’s interpretation and result of the process, using the temporal setting of MT he tests two alternative prototypical frames that of “mysli” ‘muesli’ and that of corn flakes. After discerning muesli, he guessed that corn flakes were referred to. The frame of corn flakes evoked a healthy implication in the cotext.

To compare the Finnish TT and Irish ST reader’s interpretation processes and results of the process, while the Irish ST reader evoked a specific prototypical frame with the help of which he evaluated the truth value of the extract, the Finnish TT reader used the temporal setting of MT to choose the referent from two different prototypes. Thus, the temporal setting served as a defining factor. The Finnish TT reader greatly adjusted his frames to the text frame setting of the 1950’s excluding muesli and then evoking the frame of corn flakes. A traditional Irish honey chocolate bar in an orange wrapper changed into corn flakes. Although the prototypical frames of the

Irish ST and Finnish TT reader differed considerably, and so did their level of specificity, the translation into a functional equivalent, *hiutaleita* ‘flakes’, made it possible for the Finnish TT reader to interpret the extract.

This extract also illustrated how the choice of a translation equivalent and its associated frame together with the other active frames of the cotext can considerably change the implication of the whole extract. In this extract the frames evoked by *hiutaleita* ‘flakes’ and *terveet hampaat* ‘healthy teeth’ elicited healthy implications for the Finnish TT reader, while in the ST extract *crunchies* and *Girls with healthy teeth* produced quite the opposite implication for the Irish ST reader. All the activate frames of the extract together elicited the implications.

5.2.6 From a detailed prototypical frame and a connotation to using a prototypical frame and word association to construct a frame

Cait and Baba’s first dinner at the convent school with all the other girls consisted of *a boiled, peeled potato, some stringy meat, a mound of roughly chopped cabbage* followed by *tapioca*. The focus is on the dessert, the reference to *tapioca*, and its co-references:

After the soup came the plates of dinner. On each plate there was a boiled, peeled potato, some stringy meat, and a mound of roughly chopped cabbage. (...)

(...) Sister Margaret has just come into the refectory and was standing at the head of the table surveying the plates. I was cutting my cabbage, and seeing something black in it I lifted some out on to my bread-plate.

‘Cathleen Brady, why don’t you eat your cabbage?’ she asked.

‘There’s a fly in it, Sister,’ I said. It was a slug really but I didn’t like to hurt her feelings.

‘Eat your cabbage, please.’ She stood there while I put forkfuls into my mouth and swallowed it whole. I thought I might be sick. Afterwards she went away and I put the remainder of my meat into Baba’s envelope, which she put inside her jumper.

‘Do I look sexy?’ she asked, because she bulged terribly at one side.

When our plates were empty we passed them up along to the head of the table.

The lay nun carried in a metal tray which she rested on the corner of the table. She handed round dessert dishes of **tapioca**.

‘Jesus, it’s like snot, Baba said in my ear.

‘Oh, Baba, don’t,’ I begged. I felt terrible after that cabbage.

‘Did I ever tell you the rhyme Declan knows?’

‘No.’

‘“Which would you rather: run a mile, suck a boil, or eat a bowl of snot?” Well which would you?’ she asked, impatiently. She was vexed when I didn’t laugh.

'I'd rather die, that's all, I said. I drank two glasses of water and we came out. (CG 1960: 85.)

Below is what the Irish ST reader said about the reference to *tapioca* and its co-references in the ST extract:

Generally I think when teenagers or young children receive food which they associate with something disgusting like snot or pooh, they make jokes about it at the table. And this tapioca is really, I don't think it looks like snot, it's a bit stringy and lumpy, but it's white in colour so I wouldn't associate it the way they have associated it. (So it's white and it's got...Is it pudding?) Yeah, it's kind of like rice pudding made with milk. (Is there rice in it?) I don't know if it's rice but they are round. It's rougher than semolina. It looks like frogspawn; it looks like frog's eggs with white cream on it. It's got a milky taste. A sweet taste as well. And you can add jam to tapioca. Strawberry jam or raspberry jam. (When do you eat it?) Well, tapioca is a warm dessert so it would be probably most commonly eaten in the winter months after a dinner. Yes, it's quite filling, very filling. It's too heavy and warm for summer.

The Irish ST reader's description of the reference to *tapioca* and its co-references suggest relatively specific prototype level processing. First of all, he pointed out that, although Baba saw a similarity between tapioca and snot, tapioca showed only a vague resemblance to snot: "And this tapioca is really, I don't think it looks like snot, it's a bit stringy and lumpy, but it's white in colour so I wouldn't associate it the way they have associated it." In other words, his prototypical frame of tapioca made it possible for him to evaluate the truth value of Baba's reaction to the tapioca. In addition to the prototypical frame of tapioca, he used his script level knowledge about how children generally make jokes about food which can be associated with something disgusting: "Generally I think when teenagers or young children receive food which they associate with something disgusting, like snot or pooh, they make jokes about it at the table." The script headers appear to be the reference to *tapioca* and Baba being a teenager.

Guided by the questions, he described the appearance, taste and possible accompaniments of tapioca, and when and how it would be eaten. The ease and specificity with which he evoked the details all indicate the use of a prototypical frame. He explained the appearance of tapioca by using frog's

eggs as comparison: “It looks like frog’s eggs with white cream on it.” According to him, the taste of tapioca was milky and sweet. As an additional accompaniment, he said that there could be strawberry or raspberry jam. Asked when the Irish eat tapioca, he explained that since it was eaten warm and was very filling, it was mostly a winter food eaten after dinner.

Asked if tapioca was a pudding, the Irish ST reader gave a description of its category and how it differs from another dessert. He described *tapioca* by categorising it as something like rice pudding although he was not sure whether it was made of rice: “it’s kind of like a rice pudding made with milk”. Then he compared it with another Irish dessert, semolina: “I don’t know if it’s rice but they are round. It’s rougher than semolina”.

To sum up the Irish ST reader’s reaction, he used prototype level processing and script level processing to process the reference to *tapioca* and its co-references. The result was a warm and sweet pudding which looked like frog’s eggs with white cream and could be served with strawberry or raspberry jam. This prototypical frame together with the script (children generally make fun of food which can be associated with something disgusting) enabled him to evaluate the truth value of the cotext.

Below is the corresponding TT extract in which the reference to *tapioca* has been translated as *tapiokavanukasta* ‘tapioca pudding’. Thus the ST term has been transferred and a defining term *vanukasta* has been attached to it. On the word level, there appear to be no level change: a subordinate-level word has been translated into a subordinate-level term accompanied by a category defining word. In addition, the letter c of the ST term (*tapioca*) has been changed into k in the TT extract (*tapioka*). This is possibly because c is not a common letter in the Finnish language.

Keiton jälkeen oli pääruoka. Joka lautasella oli keitetty, kuorittu peruna, vähän syistä lihaa ja kasa suuriksi paloiksi hakattua kaalia. (...)

(...) sisar Margaret oli juuri tullut ruokasaliin ja seiso pöydän päässä tutkien lautasia. Minä leikkasin kaaliani, ja kun näin siinä jotain mustaa, minä nostin sen leipälautaselleni.

‘Caithleen Brady, mikset syö kaaliasi?’ hän kysyi.

‘Siinä on karpänen, sisar,’ minä sanoin. Todellisuudessa se oli etana, mutta en halunnut loukata hänen tunteitaan.

‘Ole hyvä ja syö kaalisi.’ Hän seisoj ja katseli, kun pistin haarukallisia suuhuni ja nielin purematta. Luulin, että antaisin ylen. Sitten hän lähti pois ja minä panin loput lihasta Baban kirjekuoreen, jonka hän pisti neulepuseronsa sisään.

‘Näytänkö seksikkäältä?’ hän kysyi, koska hän oli toiselta puolelta hirveästi koholla.

Kun lautasemme olivat tyhjt, lähetimme ne pöydän päähän.

Maallikkonunna toi metallisen tarjottimen, jonka hän pani pöydän kulman varaan. Hän ojenteli jälkiruokalautasia, joilla oli **tapiokavanukasta**.

‘Jestas, ihan kuin räkää,’ Baba sanoi korvaani.

‘Voi Baba, älä,’ minä pyysin. Minulla oli kaalista kamala olo.

‘Olenko koskaan tehnyt sinulle kysymystä, jonka Declan osaa?’

‘Et.’

‘Mitä mielummin tekisit: juoksisit mailin, imisit paiseen tyhjäksi vai söisit kupillisen räkää? No, mitä sinä tekisit?’ hän kysyi kärsimättömästi. Hän oli suutuksissaan, kun minä en nauranut.

‘Mielummin kuolisin siinä kaikki,’ sanoin. Join kaksi lasia vettä ja menimme ulos. (MT 1961: 117-118.)

Below is what the reference to *tapiokavanukasta* ‘tapioca pudding’ evoked in the Finnish TT reader’s mind:

Tää menee kyllä vähän arvauksen puolelle siksi, että mä en tiedä tapiokaa. Mä epäilisin, että se on joku etelän hedelmä. No, lähetään nyt purkaan sanasta vanukas. Se on jotain tämmöstä tiiviimpää kuin vaniljakiisseli, mutta ei rahkamainen. Ja tapioka on sitten semmonen hedelmä, joka tavallaan pilkottu sitten tän vanukkaan sekaan näin mä sen niinku koen tätä lukiessani.

As the Finnish TT reader is not familiar with *tapioka* ‘tapioca’, he constructed a frame using the association of *tapioka* that came to his mind while reading the extract and his prototypical frame of *vanukasta* ‘pudding’. He started to disentangle the evoked images from the word *vanukasta* ‘pudding’. He defined his prototype of *vanukas* ‘pudding’ with the help of two other Finnish desserts: “jotain tämmöistä tiiviimpää kuin vaniljakiisseli, mutta ei rahkamainen” ‘something thicker than vanilla flavoured stewed juice but not like quark’. His association of *Tapioka* ‘tapioca’ was that it could be a tropical fruit. Then he combined the two separate images, his prototypical frame of *vanukas* ‘pudding’ and his association of *tapioka* ‘tapioca’, to construct a frame. The final frame was *vanukas* ‘pudding’ mixed with chopped up tropical fruit.

To compare the Irish and Finnish TT readers' processes and results of the process, the Irish ST reader used prototype and script level processing and the Finnish TT reader constructed a frame by using a prototype and word association. The Irish ST reader's detailed and familiar prototypical frame of tapioca (which included the appearance, taste, accompaniments, how and when served) changed into the combination of two separate images, the Finnish TT reader's prototypical *vanukas* 'pudding' and association of tapioca (some tropical fruit). A sweet and warm pudding which looks like frog's eggs with white cream and can be served with strawberry or raspberry jam changed into a pudding with chopped up tropical fruit.

The additional defining word *vanukas* 'pudding' with the prototypical frame it activated and the association of *tapioka* 'tapioca' appear to provide an adequate for the Finnish TT reader. The impoverishment and change of frames does not seem to cause any problems as far as the intratextual coherence is concerned in the TT, since there are no further references to the specific features of tapioca or co-references presupposing detailed knowledge about *tapioca*. Although the constructed frame does not allow the Finnish TT reader to evaluate the truth value of the cotext, the transference combined with a defining word appear to fulfil the function of a dessert eaten from dessert plates in this cotext. The retention of the original term, *tapioka* 'tapioca', in a slightly changed form, would probably allow the reader to search for more information on this dessert if he wanted to find out more about it. The changing of the letter c into k, would, however, most probably make the transference less reversible, to use Kutz's (1977: 257) term, as it would otherwise be.

6 DISCUSSION

The reactions of the Irish ST reader and the Finnish TT reader differed in many ways. Although the references to food and their translations incorporating the most frame level changes were chosen, six of the nine TT extracts were coherent and relevant pieces of the TT. This section discusses the differences in describing the references to food in the ST and the TT and the results of the interpretation processes, what types of changes and cotexts caused interpretation problems and the way the Finnish TT reader interpreted the translation procedures and word levels in their cotexts.

6.1 Differences in describing the references to food

The main difference in the descriptions was that the Irish ST reader described the prototypical Irish frames and scripts of different levels of specificity which the references to food in the ST activated in his mind, while the Finnish TT reader often constructed “Irish” frames using his prototypical Finnish frames and/or word association, general knowledge, the cotext and the context. Prototypes were the starting point for both the readers whenever available and they were adjusted or changed to suit to the cotext and/ or context if necessary. As the Irish ST reader’s prototypes and scripts were part of the Irish context of the text, he could use them as reference points. The Finnish reader, on the other hand, had to rely more on the cotext, temporal and spatial context and general knowledge as the reference points to process the references to food and change and adjust his Finnish prototypes. When there was no prototype available, he used general knowledge and a goal to process a reference to food.

The Irish ST reader’s reactions to the Irish references to food and their cotext in the ST consisted of detailed descriptions of different levels of specificity of the asked references to food, and even many references which

were not asked. The ease and specificity with which he described the references to food and their connection to other parts of the extract all suggested the use of specific and large prototypical frames, scripts and sub-scripts. The activated prototypical frames and scripts helped him to establish referents and automatic connections between the references to food, their co-references and the other active frames in the extracts. He mostly used his prototypical frames and scripts as such, although he sometimes needed to adjust the frames slightly to the cotext. They made the extracts relevant and coherent and also made it possible for him to evaluate the truth value of the extracts. Only one of the asked references to food was a temporal culture-specific term for him. Although the references to *simnel cake* did not activate a specific frame in his mind, he was able to process them in their cotexts with the help of a basic-level frame for cakes.

The Finnish translations of the Irish references to food in the TT mostly activated Finnish prototypes in the Finnish TT reader's mind from which he tried to construct or adapt Irish frames. While the Irish ST reader described the activated prototypical frames and scripts, the Finnish TT reader's reactions to the translations of Irish references to food consisted of a considerable amount of constructing, guessing and even problem solving. He was very conscious of the temporal and spatial setting of the novel, which is why he used his prototypical Finnish frames only as the starting point. He was prepared to do a considerable amount of processing to establish the referents and interpret the text extracts and accepted a great deal of strangeness and vagueness without doubting the correctness of the translation equivalents. While the Irish ST reader used his prototypical frames and scripts to evaluate the truth value of the text and the cotext only served to fine-tune his prototypes, the Finnish TT reader relied heavily on the cotext and context to adjust his prototypical frames and even to correct one of the translation equivalents.

The main concern of the Finnish TT reader was usually to identify some kind of referent with the help of his prototypical Finnish frames and/or word

association and the cotext. He only processed the references to food which were asked, which suggests that their frames were not connected with those activated by other references to food in the extracts. He also often processed different parts of references separately and combined the evoked prototypes or images in his mind. He mostly did not assume that the referents would be exactly like his prototypical frames. This is why he did not seem to mind adjusting and changing his prototypical frames to suit the cotexts and not taking some aspects of the evoked image or prototypical frame into consideration, if this was needed to establish reference. Although he used his prototypical Finnish frames twice as such, he mainly adjusted the activated Finnish prototypes to the cotext and/or the broader temporal and spatial context and left them somewhat open, even in the case of subordinate-level terms, to allow for differences. When there was neither a specific prototype nor any prototype which he could use, he used word association or a goal, the cotext and context to construct an image.

6.2 Differences in the frames

The Irish ST and Finnish TT readers' frames were very different, with the exception of one frame. The prototypical Irish food frames and scripts of different levels of specificity changed into four different types of frames: prototypical Finnish food frames, prototypical Finnish food frames from which the Finnish TT reader cotextually and contextually adjusted "Irish" food frames, combinations of word association and prototypical Finnish food frames and an American food frame which happened to be very close to the prototypical Irish food frame. In general, the specific changed into vagueness and even strangeness. There were also changes in the textual functions, implications and connotations of the references to food. In addition, the underlying category-level frames were very different at times. For example, the Irish ST reader seemed to categorise cakes according to their lightness or

heaviness while the Finnish TT reader often activated a category of cakes called 'kuivakakku'.

6.3 Changes with and without interpretation problems

In spite of all the different types of changes, in six of the nine extracts, the TT references to food formed relevant pieces of the TT in the Finnish TT reader's mind. In only three of the extracts, the Finnish TT reader's prototypes or constructed frames did not fulfil the necessary textual functions. Strangeness, vagueness, having to make guesses and changes in the functions, implications and connotations usually did not create interpretation problems. The Finnish TT reader found it hard or impossible to interpret a reference to food or an extract when the function of the reference to food in a particular cotext or the coherence of the extract was tied to specific features associated with the original reference to food and the translation of the reference to food did not activate those features. The interpretation problems were just as dependent on the necessary functions of the references to food in their cotexts as the prototypes the translation of the references to food activated.

What made it difficult or impossible for the Finnish reader to interpret the references to food in their cotexts and made him suspect translation mistakes was having to change the prototypical frame which a basic-level or subordinate-level term activated in his mind to a different prototypical frame to be able to interpret an extract or not being able to form a coherent piece of text. The problematic extracts had translations into cultural equivalents, functional equivalents and direct translations. In the first of the three problematic extracts (5.1.1), the prototype which the translation into a cultural equivalent evoked in his mind did not yield the general features with which he could combine the specific features mentioned in the text. To solve this problem, he resorted to a prototype on a more general level with which he could combine the mentioned specific features. In the second problematic extract (5.1.2), he abandoned trying to establish a connection between the

prototypes the translation into a cultural equivalent and a direct translation evoked in his mind. The cultural equivalents and direct translations of the third problematic extract (5.1.3) evoked conflicting prototypes in his mind. To process the first translation into a cultural equivalent and functional equivalent, he had to use a prototype connected with a more general level term and slice the cake to be able to visualise what the text prompted him to visualise in his mind. The last references to food, a translation into a cultural equivalent and a functional equivalent, included a temporal culture-specific Finnish term for him and evoked a vague and unappetising image in his mind.

6.4 Translation procedures and word levels in their cotexts

It was often hard to pinpoint which translation procedure and word level had been used. Especially translations into cultural equivalents, functional equivalents and descriptive equivalents and direct translations were often hard to differentiate. The reader evoked frames, however, helped to show the specificity of the terms and how the translation procedures functioned in the extracts.

Although translations into cultural equivalents are thought to be TT-oriented and make it easier for the TT reader to interpret the TT reference, the Finnish TT reader tried to imagine and construct Irish variants using his prototypical Finnish frames, the cotext and the context. Translations into cultural equivalents retained the subordinate-level of the ST but became very different and the Finnish TT reader left them more vague than subordinate-level terms normally are. They fulfilled their textual function if no specific or general features of the prototype associated with the ST reference were needed to establish connections or combine the specific details mentioned in the text.

Translations into functional equivalents changed the word level of the ST reference from subordinate level to basic level. The advantage of the

basic-level term was that it allowed the Finnish TT reader to choose from a larger range of prototypes than a subordinate-level term such as *madeira kakku* ‘madeira cake’ for example. However, the basic-level terms were often specified by the cotext and almost as specific as subordinate-level terms. This was a problem when a translation into a functional equivalent evoked a very different prototype from the ST reference and some specific features of the prototype activated by the ST reference were part of the necessary textual functions of the extract. Not all the translations into functional equivalents provided the necessary textual functions of the extracts.

Establishing the reference to the only translation into descriptive equivalent, *erilaisia lihalaatuja* ‘different types of meat’, in the data of this study was difficult for the Finnish TT reader. As it could not be associated with a prototypical frame and as there was also a partial omission in the extract, the reader used word association, a goal and the cotext to construct a vague frame for the descriptive equivalent.

The way the Finnish TT reader interpreted direct translations depended on his knowledge of the ST references to food. If he knew the type or variation of the food in question, as was the case with *omenapiirakan* ‘apple pie’, he activated a very similar frame to the one the Irish ST reader activated. If he did not know the type of food in question, he processed the two parts of direct translations separately using word association and Finnish prototypes and then combined the images to construct a frame. The result could be strange and unappetising, as was the case with *kinkkua ja pikkelsiä* ‘ham and pickles’. Direct translations did not appear to change the word levels of the ST references. However, while the ST references evoked very specific frames, the TT references mainly evoked more general and also vague frames.

There was one partial omission and one complete omission in the data. The frame the Finnish TT reader constructed for the partial omission involved creating crucially different connections to ones the Irish ST reader made. The complete omission, on the other hand, being the omission of the reference to

barm brack ring, removed culture-specificity and the possible interpretation problem, evoking the connection between the references to *barm brack* and a *barm brack ring*. It appears that an omission can be used to create coherence at the cost of losing some culture-specificity.

The Finnish TT reader processed the transference combined with a defining word, *tapiokavanukasta* ‘tapioca pudding’, using word association and a prototype. Although there was no word-level change, the Finnish TT reader’s frame was more general and vague than that of the Irish ST reader. Despite the change of the letter *c* into *k*, the reference to *tapiokavanukasta* ‘tapioca pudding’ would most probably have been reversible if the Finnish TT reader had wanted to find out more about tapioca.

6.5 Summary

This section provides a summary of the main cognitive differences detected in the processes and results. The Irish ST reader’s description of prototypes and scripts changed into the Finnish TT reader’s reference establishment, problem solving and guesswork based on Finnish prototypes, word association, the context and cotext. The Finnish TT reader was ready to do a considerable amount of processing and accepted a great deal of strangeness and vagueness. Only twice did he assume that his Finnish prototypes could be used as such. Familiar, specific and detailed Irish food frames changed into Finnish food frames, Finnish food frames from which he cotextually and contextually adjusted ‘Irish’ food frames, food frames which combined word association and Finnish food frames and an American food frame which happened to be very close to the Irish equivalent.

Although the Finnish TT reader’s frames were partly very vague and even strange, and there were significant changes in implications, connotations and textual functions, the majority of the translations of references to food were relevant and coherent parts of the TT to the Finnish TT reader. In many

extracts, it appears that almost any cake, dessert or reference to food would have fulfilled the necessary textual functions. There were, however, cotexts in which the function of the reference to food or the coherence of text extract depended on some specific details associated with the original reference to food.

This was the case with three of the nine extracts. Processing the extracts depended on some specific details which were part of the prototypical frames associated with the original culture-specific terms. The chosen translation equivalents, which were cultural equivalents, direct equivalents and a cultural-functional equivalent, did not evoke prototypes with the necessary details. To interpret the extracts, the Finnish TT reader had to change the prototype the reference to food activated in his mind completely, or partly, or he had to abandon trying to create a connection between two references to food.

In this small amount of data, there were some interesting findings about processing different types of translations of culture-specific terms. The way the Finnish TT reader processed translations into cultural equivalents suggests that he tried to adjust Irish frames from them. Although functional equivalents change the word level from subordinate level to basic level, they were either specified by the cotext and as specific as subordinate-level terms, or allowed the reader to have a wide range of specific prototypes to choose from. In addition, they were not always functional equivalents in that they did not necessarily fulfil the necessary textual functions. The processing of direct translations, on the other hand, seemed to depend a great deal on the Finnish TT reader's knowledge of the source culture references. When he was not familiar with the source culture reference, he constructed a frame using word association and a Finnish prototype and the evoked frames were very vague and even unappetising. The only complete omission in the data seemed to be TT reader-oriented in that it appeared to be used to remove elements which might have been hard to connect.

7 CONCLUSION

In this chapter, I shall present a summary of the objectives of this study, discuss the main findings, the advantages and disadvantages of the method, the data, and the analytical framework. I shall also suggest a practical application of the method and analytical framework in translation processes, and propose ideas for further research.

7.1 The objective of the study

The objective of this study was to demonstrate cognitive changes between culture-specific terms and their translations in a concrete manner, and discuss what types of changes and contexts could create interpretation problems for the TT reader and what types of changes and context did not create such problems in a small amount of data. Earlier studies had shown that all translations of culture-specific terms manifested some changes of meaning. Postulated reader reactions had also suggested that some changes of meaning might create interpretation problems (see for example Taraman 1985 and Kujamäki 1993), such as difficulties in establishing reference and situational coherence (see Matter-Siebel 1995: 129-131) and having to process the references more than a ST reader (see Calzada Pérez 1995: 90). Nieminen (1996: 73), on the other hand, had suggested that the reader might accept a considerable amount of strangeness which the numerous loan translations created in her data. However, as the researchers had evoked and described the images associated with culture-specific terms and their translation themselves and/or concentrated on classifying the differences in ready classifications of changes, they could mainly speculate on or describe the changes, evoked images and problems.

To obtain more authentic data and show connections between changes and interpretation problems, this study set out to compile a way of showing

and analysing context-dependent concepts associated with culture-specific terms and their translations, and examining what types of changes and cotexts would be problematic for the TT reader, and what types of changes would not cause problems or would be accepted by the TT reader. As Kujamäki (1993: 196) suggested using the knowledge of real readers to shed new light on culture-specific terms, this study involved planning and performing two reader interviews to show context-dependent concepts associated with references to food and their translations, and compiled a set of analytical questions using ideas from Fillmore's (1975, 1976, 1977, 1985, 1992) frame semantics, prototype theories and Schank and Abelson's (1977) scripts, goals and obstacles.

7.2 The main results

The comparison of the Irish ST reader's and Finnish TT reader's reactions with the help of the set of analytical questions based on Fillmore's (1975, 1976, 1977, 1985, 1992) frame semantics, prototype theories and Schank and Abelson's (1977) scripts, goals and obstacles made it possible to show what types of cognitive changes and cotextual aspects created the types interpretation problems that, for example, Matter Siebel (1995), Calzada Pérez (1995) and Nieminen (1996) refer to. It also showed what derived the interpretation problems, and what the TT reader did when he encountered interpretation problems.

The main result of this study is that the reader reactions and cognitive way of approaching culture-specific terms and their translations enabled one to show and analyse the concepts associated with culture-specific terms and their translations. This approach made it possible to show those parts of the ST frames that were necessary to the textual functions of the culture-specific terms in their cotexts. There was a clear connection between interpretation problems and cotexts requiring the activation of specific details to establish a coreference or connect specific details with the activated prototype. It was not

the extensiveness of the changes which caused interpretation problems but rather the textual function of the term being connected with some culture-specific features of the ST frame which were not evoked by the translation equivalents. Although the specific results of this small-scale study consisting of nine extracts with references to food have to be treated as just examples of this particular data, the analysis of the Finnish TT reader's reactions provided interesting differences between the way the ST and TT reader processed the references to food, interpretation problems and problematic cotexts and new aspects of some of the translation procedures.

The analysis showed very clearly that the TT reader had to process the references more than an ST reader, as Calzada Pérez (1995: 90) suggested would be the case, and it also showed how the TT reader's and ST reader's interpretation processes differed. The main reason why the Finnish TT reader had to process the references to food more than the Irish ST reader was that his prototypes were not part of the Irish context of the text and he had to rely on the cotext, temporal and spatial context of the novel, general knowledge and a goal to change and adjust his Finnish prototypes or to create frames. While the Irish ST reader used prototypes and scripts as reference points which could be evoked and used as such or with some cotextual adjustments and from which he activated automatic connections, the Finnish TT reader often constructed "Irish" frames using his prototypical Finnish frames and/or word association, general knowledge, the cotext and the context. When no prototype was available, he used general knowledge and a goal to process a reference to food. While the Irish ST reader described the end results of the processes, the activated prototypes and scripts and automatic connections, the Finnish TT reader often seemed to carry out the process at the same time as explaining the frames or the frames being constructed.

The acceptance of vagueness and foreignness, which Nieminen (1996: 73) suggested might be the case especially with loan translations in her study, manifested in the following ways in reference establishment: the Finnish TT reader accepted very strange frames as Irish food frames, he used his Finnish

prototypes as such only twice, and often left some room for local differences by leaving subordinate-level terms less specific than they usually are. Specific, detailed, familiar and interconnected Irish food frames mostly changed into Finnish food frames from which the Finnish TT reader cotextually and contextually adjusted 'Irish' food frames and food frames which combined word association and Finnish prototypes.

Although the extracts with the most changes and possible interpretation problems were selected, only three of the nine extracts proved to be very difficult or impossible for the TT reader to interpret. As in Taraman's (1985: 294) study, the majority of the translation procedures helped to maintain situational understandability. Despite changes in connotations, textual functions, implications and specific details, six of the nine extracts were coherent and relevant pieces of text to the TT reader. The function of the ST references in these six extracts was not tied to any specific details connected with the associated prototypes and scripts. It seemed that almost any cake, reference to food or dessert would have made it possible for the Finnish TT reader to interpret the extracts.

In the three problematic extracts, the TT reader had problems similar to the ones Matter-Siebel (1995: 129-131) describes in her study: he had problems establishing references and situational coherence. The reason for these problems was that the function of the reference to food or the coherence of the text extract depended on some specific details associated with the original reference to food, and the translation equivalents did not evoke those details. The problematic cotexts included establishing coreferences to the references to food or connecting specific details or other frames with the evoked frame. Thus, what created interpretation problems was not the extensiveness of the changes but the connection of the textual function with some culture-specific details of the ST frame which the translation equivalent did not evoke.

In the problematic extracts, translations into cultural equivalents, cultural-functional equivalents and direct translations did not evoke

prototypes with the necessary details to make it possible for the TT reader to interpret the extracts without changing prototypes or abandoning to create a coherent whole in his mind. To interpret the extracts, the Finnish TT reader resorted to three different types of strategies: he changed the prototype the reference to food activated in his mind completely or partly, or he abandoned trying to create a connection between two references to food. Having to change a prototype completely or partly, or not being able to create a connection, made him suspect that there was a translation mistake, that something had gone wrong in the translation, or that the prototype associated with the ST reference was very different from his prototypical frame. Thus, although he accepted a considerable amount of foreignness and was ready to adjust and even change his prototypes to a certain extent, he did not expect to have to disregard his prototypical frames or change relevant parts of them and expected to be able to create connections between coreferences.

The reader-evoked frames helped to show the specificity of the terms and how the translation procedures functioned in the extracts. Some new features of processing different types of translations of culture-specific terms were found in the small-scale data of the study. The most interesting one was that the Finnish TT reader tried to construct Irish frames from the translations into cultural equivalents. In the extracts where specific details associated with the original reference to food were necessary parts of interpreting the extract, the inaccuracy and non-equivalence, to borrow Williams' (1990: 57) terms, of this translation procedure were problematic. As the advantages of this procedure, Williams (1990: 57) lists their accessibility and comprehensibility, and Kujamäki (1993: 194) pointed out that they helped to preserve the realistic aspect of the text in his data. In the data of the present study, however, the realistic aspect of the evoked frames was very far from the frames evoked by the original references to food. They were Finnish prototypical frames which the TT reader either left vague enough to allow for local variations or from which he adjusted Irish prototypical frames.

As for translations into functional equivalents, their main disadvantage, which is the loss of cultural connotations and many details associated with the original culture-specific terms (see Kujamäki 1993: 194 and Newmark 1988: 194), was evident in the problematic extracts of the data of this study. However, what was striking in the data of this study was that although functional equivalents changed the word level from subordinate level to basic level, they were either specified by the context and as specific as subordinate-level terms, or allowed the reader to have a wide range of Finnish prototypes to choose from. While the surprising specificity of a basic-level functional equivalent in one extract prevented it from fulfilling the necessary textual functions, the connection to a wide range of prototypes made functional equivalents very adaptable in other extracts.

The processing of direct translations, on the other hand, showed that the direct translations could transfer local colour and relevant meaning components, and evoke connotations which are not part of the original cultural context, as Kujamäki (1993: 194) suggests. One direct translation transferred local colour and relevant meaning components, while the other direct translations evoked connotations which were not part of the original cultural context. However, what was interesting in the data of this study was that the processing of direct translations seemed to depend a great deal on the Finnish TT reader's knowledge of the source culture references. When he was familiar with a similar reference to the source culture one, he evoked a frame which was very close to that of the Irish ST reader. On the other hand, when he was not familiar with the source culture reference, he constructed a frame using word association and a Finnish prototype and the evoked frames were very vague and even unappetising.

There was only one descriptive equivalent, transference combined with a classifier and complete omission. The problem with the descriptive equivalent in the data of this study was that there was also a partial omission in the extract. The Finnish TT reader found it impossible to evoke a prototype of any kind for it. To establish reference he used word association, a goal and

the cotext to construct a vague frame. The partial omission, on the other hand, involved creating crucially different connections to ones the Irish ST reader made. The transference combined with a defining word the Finnish TT reader processed using word association and a prototype. Although there was no word-level change, the Finnish TT reader's frame was more general and vague than that of the Irish ST reader, but as Newmark (1988: 96) points out, the reader would have the possibility of identifying similar referents in other texts or search for more information on the transferred term. The complete omission, on the other hand, omitting the reference to *barm brack ring*, removed culture-specificity and a possible interpretation problem.

To summarise, this approach provided a method and analytical framework for showing concepts associated with culture-specific terms and their translations. It showed very clearly that, in addition to being cognitive and cultural gaps, culture-specific terms refer to something, are connected to prototypes and scripts and some of the specific details connected with them may be essential parts of their textual function in a cotext. It also showed that the TT reader was very flexible to the point of accepting everything, but having to change or radically alter his prototypes and not being able to create coherent entities of the extracts in his mind. This approach made it possible to show changes between the processes and results in a TT reader's and an ST reader's reactions, analyse three examples of extracts with interpretation problems and the processing of some examples of the main translation procedures. A larger amount of data would be needed to see whether the differences in processes and results are common to different readers and how common the types of interpretation problems and new features of the translation procedures detected in this study are. A larger-scale study would also help to see whether the textual function of a culture-specific term being connected with specific features of the associated ST frame is a common feature behind many problematic translations of culture-specific terms. Although in this study all interpretation problems involved translations into cultural equivalents, cultural-functional equivalents and direct translations, other translation procedures may be just as prone to interpretation problems.

7.3 The method

This study used a qualitative semi-structured interview method of collecting reader reaction data. It used a set of questions developed from Fillmore's account of prototypical frames and larger frames and Nida's (1975: 169-171) and Wierzbicka's (1985) ideas on how to determine the meaning of lexical units referring to objects with the help of informants. First the Irish ST reader read *The Country Girls* and the TT reader read *Maalaistytöt*. During the interviews, the Irish ST reader was asked to reread the chosen 15 extracts of food and describe the images they evoked in his mind, and the TT reader was asked to reread the corresponding translations and describe the images the TT references to food evoked in his mind. This method made the interpretation processes and the results of the processes visible and accessible. The questions which were asked during the interviews ensured that one obtained comparable aspects of the evoked frames, such as the size or the higher-level category if necessary.

However, there were three main problems with the method. Firstly, although the questions made it possible to show and compare the evoked and constructed frames, the problem with this way of collecting data was that the Finnish TT reader most probably had to take his interpretation of some of the references, such as the reference to *hiutaleita* 'flakes' and *erilaisia lihalaatuja* 'different types of meat', further than he would otherwise have taken them. Secondly, the second reading of a text is usually different from the first one, which is why the evoked frames may have been slightly different during the first reading of the texts. Thirdly, as this study followed the orientation that the meaning of words is context-dependent, the readers should have been asked to evoke the frames of all the examined references to food in each extract even though they might have activated the frame for a similar reference in an other extract.

7.4 The data

For the two reader interviews, 15 extracts with references to food from Edna O'Brien's *The Country Girls* and its Finnish translation, *Maalaistytöt*, were chosen. The final data comprised nine of the extracts. The extracts showing the biggest changes of meaning, different types of changes and procedures and all the ones which displayed interpretation problems after the reader interviews were chosen. The data included an example of each of the main translation procedures (a transference, translations into a cultural equivalent, descriptive equivalent and functional equivalent, a direct translation and an omission). The small amount of data allowed detailed and in-depth analysis of the data.

The realistic novel proved to be the appropriate genre in this study. It did not have lengthy descriptions, explanatory glosses or footnotes of the culture-specific terms, as Reiß (1971: 79) points out is the case with typical literary texts, but relied on translations, transferences and omissions and provided many changes and some interpretation problems. The advantage of the chosen category of culture-specific terms, references to food which belong to the category material culture, was that they were cotext- and context-bound and concrete. They conjured up concrete prototypes which could be compared with the frames evoked by their translations.

The interviews provided reader-evoked frames for the references to food. They were descriptions of the evoked frames which helped to infer the type of process which took place to activate or construct the actual frames and examine the final frames. The descriptions of the evoked frames were, however, only mere reflections or indications of what the actual interpretation processes in the readers' minds must have been like. The interviewees being of the same gender, educational background and roughly of the same age made the interview data comparable. In addition, the Finnish interviewee's lack of English made him an ideal TT interviewee, as he did not try to think of the corresponding references to food in the ST extract.

7.5 The analytical framework

Looking at reader reactions to culture-specific terms and their translations from the point of view of prototypes, scripts and goals provided a cognitive way of approaching changes of meaning and problems in translations of culture-specific terms. The method of analysis combined Fillmore's (1975, 1976, 1977, 1985, 1992) frame semantics with Ungerer and Schmid's (1996) connection between word levels and different types of prototypical frames and the main ideas of Schank and Abelson's (1977) scripts, automatic connections, goals and obstacles. This approach made it possible to analyse and compare the processes and results of the interpretation processes of the Irish ST reader and the Finnish TT reader. The script and goal theory, on the other hand, helped to discuss the interpretation problems the TT reader encountered with three extracts of references to food.

The analytical framework was divided into three stages each of which included specific questions: 1) the interpretation process (prototype, script and/or plan level), 2) the result of the interpretation process (final frames created or solely described during the process) and 3) the differences detected between the processes and the results including word-level differences, possible effect of the translation procedure and problems in interpretation. In spite of the tentative nature of the analysis of interpretation problems, the set of analytical questions helped to analyse the data in a systematic way and identify prototype-, script- and non-frame-level processing in the data.

Although the data did not manifest any detailed plan-level processing with goals and plan boxes and the Finnish TT reader did not have problems with scripts, the Finnish TT reader resorted to using goals, general knowledge and word association when there was no prototype available. The concepts obstacle and interpretation loops, on the other hand, proved to be useful when examining conflicting prototypes and other problematic extracts. Thus, only a small part of the detailed-plan level process was used and the problems with prototypes had to be described by applying the ideas of plan-level processing very loosely. The most important observation is that Schank and Abelson's

(1977) concepts goals, obstacles and interpretation loops, intended for examining problems with scripts in a computer programme, could be used in analysing the processing of problematic prototypes and when there was no prototype available. Large-scale data with problematic extracts might make it possible to simplify the model of plan-level processing for the purposes of examining translations of culture-specific terms and specify it to include terminology for examining problems with activated prototypes or activating prototypes.

The term word association was used whenever the Finnish TT reader seemed to be connecting less structured and more random images with the words than prototypes. A large-scale study might help to specify it.

The analysis of this tentative case study cannot be repeated as such, because people have slightly different prototypical frames and would most probably interpret textual references differently. In addition, the analysis of qualitative data is a form of interpretation in itself (see for example Hirsjärvi et al. 1997: 161).

7.6 Future research

Using the interview method and the set of analytical questions as applied in this study, there are a number of directions further research could take. This section proposes a practical application of the interview method and analytical questions, and a suggestion of what the next step could be.

A practical application of the method and the analytic framework of this study would be to use the interview questions of the reader interviews and the analytical framework as a practical tool when translating texts with many culture-specific terms. Interviewing an ST reader on culture-specific terms could be used to find out the relevant parts of the associated prototypes and scripts from the point of view of the textual function of the terms. The reactions of the ST reader could also be used to unveil the possible culture-

specificity of references which are potential culture-specific terms and help to avoid problematic translations. Interviewing a TT reader, on the other hand, could be used to test how the chosen procedures and translation equivalents function in their cotexts. A TT reader's reactions would show the evoked or constructed prototypes and whether or not they fulfil their necessary textual function(s). They would also help to decide whether the translation equivalent evokes or makes the reader construct too strange or vague a frame or there are too big changes in connotations and implications. Thus, they would make it possible to track interpretation problems.

The next step for studying cognitive changes between culture-specific terms and their translations and contextual effects of the cotext could be to create a think-a-loud method to provide reactions to culture-specific references during the first reading of a text and interview several ST readers and TT readers on different types of translations of culture-specific terms. Comparing the frames of different TT readers would help to see whether the same kind of processes, changes and interpretation problems would be found in the processing of translations of culture-specific terms as detected in this study. It would also most probably help to find interpretation problems with all the main procedures and identify new types of challenging cotexts. The TT readers' interpretations of translation of culture-specific terms and different procedures could be used to redescribe procedures of culture-specific terms in textbooks of translations. Examples of how TT readers interpret different procedures in different cotexts and examples of problematic translations and their cotexts would, on the other hand, help to understand the most common types of problems with translations of culture-specific terms better than lists of disadvantages and advantages of different procedures.

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APPENDIX – Rough translations of the Finnish TT reader’s reactions

5.1.1 Well, there seems to be a division to male and female roles, and the mother has the madonna’s role, and she in a way sacrifices her own slice for the others to emphasise her mother as a role. And this is done in front of the others; in other words, this is a perfectly conscious sacrifice here. And I think that Catholicism also partly comes up strongly here, but also this kind of patriarchal culture, which the men seem to take advantage of to a considerable extent. The comment “All the more for us” is especially something along these lines. (Well, how about looking at some of the details of this extract? What kind of an image does this *jälkiruokakakku* ‘dessert cake’ bring to your mind?) Well, let’s see, it was served in a glass oven dish, which was half full of dessert cake, and this *kakku* ‘cake’, well it has been translated as *vaaleanpunainen kakku, jonka päällä oli persikanpala, sokeroitu kirsikka, epätasaisia sokerikakun palasia* ‘pink cake, which had a slice of peach, glacéd cherry, uneven sponge cake chunks on top.’ Well, this makes me think that it has been tossed somehow. It has been cut into pieces, because it is described in the form of a list like this. Thus, it is a ready-sliced, somehow undefined cake which there is an abundant supply of all the same. In a way, this kind of sweet dessert implies prosperity. Yes, implies generosity of some kind. (How big is it in your mind?) Well, it entirely depends on the type of glass oven dish concerned. I see it as kind of square-shaped to some extent, and the base part of it is wide, and the sides are low, maybe 10 cm in height. And it is on this dish that you in a way cut the slices then. The cake is low but wide. (Well, what if you thought of this cake in relation to the dessert cakes you have eaten. Are they similar in any way?) This word *kakku* ‘cake’ causes enormous problems for me in this text. I don’t think *kakku* ‘the cake’

in this context is what *kakku* ‘cake’ is in Finland. I would see dessert cake as something sweet which has cream, and something which looks like *täyttekakku* {a type of Finnish cake} or *hyytelökakku* {a type of Finnish cake}. But this is in a way like some kind of an oven cake or something similar. (Would you say that there are cakes like this in Ireland?) Well, this would possibly be one, one type of Irish cake, but today everything is so international that...

5.1.2 Well, I should be able to say what these tomatoes, *makkarasämpylät* ‘sausage buns’, *luumukakut* ‘plum cakes’ refer to. Since it is in the past tense, it does not necessarily have to be the situation in which *piirakka* ‘pie’ was eaten, but I cannot say how these factors are related to each other. As for *makkara* ‘sausage’, in my mind, there are in a way two possibilities: it is either a whole *makkara* ‘sausage’ or a sliced *makkara* ‘sausage’. And in Ireland, they most certainly have something other than Finnish *jauhemakkara* {Finnish sausage made of mainly flour, meat and water}. It is very meaty. Thus, if this has a sliced sausage, then it is a bun cut in two halves horizontally, and on it or in between the two halves there are sausage slices. On the other hand, sausage can also be *ryynimakkara* or *verimakkara* {two types of Finnish sausage}. I don’t know what the most common sausages in Ireland are, but *verimakkara* {Finnish blood sausage} has become a popular commodity at Finnish markets. And, if this was a whole sausage, then it would have to be very narrow, but possibly a long *makkara* ‘sausage’, which would be in between the two halves of a bun. And the bun would be eaten as it is, whole, i.e. not in two parts. (What is the bun like then?) The bun is also in a way... There are two types of buns. There is a kind of a round bun which looks and is similar to *pikku pulla* {little Finnish sweet buns}. And then there is a bun which looks kind of like *ranskanleipä* {white bread loaves made of wheat flour}, but which is

considerably smaller than *ranskanleipä*, i.e. it is quite long and narrow. (Which kind is it in this context?) I would guess that it is the slightly, slightly longer one... (And what about the sausage in between the two halves of the bun?) The sausages are thin, and they are quite meaty. And this is served cool. And the bun is *vaaleata vehnäleipää* ‘white bread made out of wheat flour’. And then this *piirakka* ‘pie’, it chiefly brings to mind that the dough part is soft. It has a filling, but there is no mention of what kind of filling it has, but it is not biscuit-like anyway. And this *piirakka* ‘pie’ is probably something that people generally have at tea time. It is a typical local pie, but not not a *karjalanpiirakka* {Karelian pastry} in any case.

5.1.3 I think that here there is a translation mistake. (What makes you think so?) Because *karamellitölkki* is something high, 15 cm in height, and at the most 10 cm in width. If you put a whole *luumukakku* ‘plum cake’ into it in slices... and the word *tölkki* ‘tin’ already carries the meaning of narrowness. And even if you put *luumukakku* ‘the plumcake’ into it in slices, *tölkki* ‘the tin’ has to be a wide container and come with a lid. It is most probably made out of metal, although it could as well be made of glass. And *luumukakku* ‘plum cake’ is *kuivakakku* {a type of Finnish cake called “dry cake” which has many different variations} which has plum pieces in the filling or in the dough; it is nothing stranger than that. Since a fat woman is referred to by gestures at this point in the extract, *sienikakku* ‘mushroom cake/ sponge cake’ has to be something, if only I could find the right word to describe it: inward, dry, leathery and... (What if you considered this cake in its cotext?) *Sienikakku* as *kakku* ‘cake’? (“Which had been kept for a dessert base”.) Well, this, this is a particularly difficult part for me. As a matter of fact, *sieni* ‘mushroom’ and *kakku* ‘cake’ don’t go together at all in the sense I’m used to thinking of *kakku* ‘cake’. This *sienikakku* ‘mushroom cake’

makes me think of mycelia. And then if it were mycelia-like, *sienikakku* ‘the mushroom cake’ it would be somehow cheesy. (Where you come from do you call *sokerikakku* ‘sponge cake’ also by the name of *sienikakku* ‘mushroom/ sponge cake’?) No.

* *sieni* is a polysemous word in Finnish in that it can either mean mushroom or sponge. However, in the sense of sponge it usually takes the defining part *pesu* ‘washing’, i.e. *pesusieni* ‘washing sponge’.

5.2.1 This is a beef burger. As far as I can remember, in Yorkshire...Well, it has to do with oxen in some way. Some cow breed is called Yorkshire or something like that. That’s where you would find these. And this sharp taste of pepper could in a way refer to a... a beef spice. And roasted meat types refer to that sort of roasted... It is grilled in a special way...It is most probably beef prepared in a different way but roasted all the same...It is probably from a little girl’s point of view, and she reflects herself against her parents or to her parents. And that way these roasted meat types can have some kind of function of authority. They in away go... or parents have the right to eat meat dishes of this kind, because they are parents. This is the way I associate this, it is not children’s food for example.

5.2.2 Well, first of all a sweet is something hard and sweet that you suck, and you buy it either in a bag or individually. I think the sweets in this context are those that are sold individually. And if you think of the time this story is set in, sometime in the 1950’s, back then sweets probably weren’t so commonly available. Some kind of special sweets most probably came from America even to Ireland. But it

could just as well be... Well, it does not belong to that category all the same. All kinds of mariannes plus that sort of sweets belong to that category. In my opinion, chocolate does not belong to this category at all. It belongs to a category of its own. And then there is the category of other sweets. Back then you most definitely did not have any sweet bars so they were individually sold sweets or something similar in paper wrappers. This is the kind of context I pictured.

5.2.3 Well, it resembles *laskiaispulla* {a Finnish Shrove bun}. (And what kind of coating do you see in your mind?) This is a bun which has in a way been cut in the middle horizontally so that the surface of the bun is level, and then on the whipped cream there is this cherry. (Is it one of those ordinary sweet buns we have in Finland?) Yeah, it is one of those, possibly *pikku pulla* {a small bun}. (Second interview Nov 1997.)

This is *kuivakakku* {a type of Finnish cake called “dry cake”}, and it is solid, you can hold it in your hands. I don’t know how it has been flavoured, possibly with a piece of fruit. But it does not have anything runny, it’s a kind of *kuivakakku*, that’s how I reasoned it.

5.2.4 And *rusinakakku* ‘a raisin cake’ is an ordinary *kuivakakku* {a type of Finnish cake with many different variations} of which the dough contains raisins as fruit. It is... resembles and possibly is the same kind of cake as we have in Finland, *rusinakuivakakku* {Finnish *kuivakakku* with raisins}, this is how I see it. It is possibly spiced with cinnamon among other things. Then this pie, it most probably, however, refers to a pie dough and is for the apple pie and the madeira cake. And the apple pie I picture for example as... Is it American apple pie or how is it called? It has these slices, the apples have been cut into slices, and they have been placed to form a topping

where they overlap each other. It is made in the oven, a cake prepared in the oven. As for Madeira cake, madeira makes me think of liqueur. Maybe it is this kind of alcohol-flavoured cake, *kuivakakku* as the other ones. This is how I reasoned this.

Well, ham is probably a lump of pork flesh with an awful lot of fat, and the skin has not been removed. I don't know how it has been garnished, but it would probably be sliced. And... well... the pickles is something a bit brawny but containing many vegetables. It's some kind of trimming, but it is not a salad of any kind. It's maybe somewhat similar to what in Finland is called *Kartanon pikkelsi* 'Pickles of the manor house'. (Yeah, and would this ham be served warm or cold?) Warm, warm. Possibly in the oven, possibly prepared in the oven. I would guess that it has been prepared in the oven. This is the image I get from it. (Yeah, well, I don't exactly know what this *Kartanon pikkelsi* 'Pickles of the manor house' is like.) Well, it's green. It has got small pieces of plants, and it tastes bitter. The taste of this pickles should however go well with the ham. But I guess that this ham contains a lot of fat. (Second interview Nov 1997.)

5.2.5 Well, there was definitely no muesli back then, although it is probably a hundred years old this muesli. But I would guess that corn flakes were emerging around this time. This this would be... is it oat that corn flakes are made of? (Or are they made of corn?) Yes, they are made of corn. (What if we looked at the following sentence?) The mention of teeth emphasises a type of vitality, and you cannot help making the association that these flakes are quite tough because one needs to use teeth.

5.2.6 This will be pure guesswork because I do not know *tapioka*. I would think that it is a type of tropical fruit. Well, let's start to

disentangle this from the word *vanukas* ‘pudding’. It’s something thicker than *vaniljakiisseli* {a Finnish dessert which is similar to pudding but not as thick}. And tapioka is a fruit which has been chopped and mixed with this pudding, this is how I experienced it when I read it.