

UNIVERSITY OF JYVÄSKYLÄ

***WINNIE-THE-POOH* THROUGH DECADES AND
ACROSS CULTURES**

Translation of culture-bound features in children's literature

A Pro Gradu Thesis

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Kirjallisuuden kääntämisen tutkimus ei ole uusi ilmiö. Sitä vastoin uutta on tutkijoiden kiinnostus kulttuuriin liittyvien ilmiöiden kääntämiseen. Matkustaminen maasta toiseen on helpottunut huomattavasti viime vuosina. Saatavilla on yhä enemmän tietoa ympäröivästä maailmasta ja kulttuurirajat ovat murtumassa. Vieraista maista ja kielistä tiedetään yhä enemmän eikä kiinnostuksessa niihin näy sammumisen merkkejä. Nykyään tunnustetaan yleisesti myös lastenkirjallisuuden kääntämisen tärkeys lasten luku- ja kielitaidon kehitykselle.

Tutkielman tarkoituksena on selvittää kuinka kulttuurisidonnaisia ilmiöitä käsitellään lasten klassikkokirja *Winnie-the-Pooh*in käännösversioissa. Vertailun kohteena on kaksi suomalaista, yksi ruotsalainen sekä yksi italialainen käännös. Tutkimuksen tarkoituksena on selvittää miten kulttuuriin liittyviä ilmiöitä käännetään eri kieliin sekä ottavatko kääntäjät töissään huomioon kohdeyleisönsä nuoren iän asettamat rajoitukset. Lisäksi pohditaan ajan vaikutusta kulttuuriin ja käännösstrategioihin.

Tutkimuksessa *Winnie-the-Pooh*-kirjasta kerätyt 30 esimerkkiä luokitellaan viiteen peruskategoriaan: ruoka ja syöminen, mittailmaukset, luontoaiheiset termit, sanaleikit sekä laulut ja laululeikit. Käännösten välisiä eroja selvitetään vertailemalla niitä sekä alkuperäistekstiin että toisiinsa. Materiaalin analysointi tapahtui kääntämistä, kulttuuria ja lasten kirjallisuutta käsittelevän teoriataustan pohjalta. Koska tutkimuksessa halutaan päästä mahdollisimman luotettaviin tuloksiin, myös Iso-Britannian, Ruotsin, Suomen ja Italian syntyperäisiä edustajia on haastateltu.

Tutkimuksen tulosten perusteella voidaan todeta, että käännöksissä havaittavat erot eivät näytä johtuvan niinkään niiden eri kulttuureita edustavasta lukijakunnasta, vaan ennemminkin niiden syntyajankohdasta. Vanhemmissa käännöksissä havaitaan enemmän kulttuurisidonnaisten ilmiöiden sopeuttamista kohdekulttuuriin sekä yleisestikin näiden ilmiöiden kääntämisen välttelyä. Vaikuttaa myös siltä, että nykypäivänä lasten kykyihin ymmärtää vieraan kulttuurin ilmiöitä luotetaan enemmän, sillä uusimmissa käännöksissä lähdekielen kulttuuria on pyritty säilyttämään enemmän kuin niitä edeltävissä versioissa.

Asiasanat: translation. source language. target language. children's literature. culture

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1 INTRODUCTION

Traditionally, translation studies have concentrated on the semantic and syntactic features of language and the importance of the source text being or not being equivalent with the target text. Nowadays, however, also other aspects of translation have begun to gain interest among the scholars. One area of translation studies that is discussed more and more, is the study of culture-bound features. This phenomenon has undoubtedly been encouraged by the fact that the world is becoming more internationalized all the time. Aided by the development of transportation systems and different agreements between countries, it is made possible for many people to cross border and be part of another culture. Improvements in educational systems have also included emphasizing the importance of teaching foreign languages and distributing knowledge about foreign cultures. The effect of the media on increasing cultural awareness should not be forgotten either, nor should the amount of literature translated every year. It is said that the world is becoming smaller, which could be interpreted also to signify the fact that by being in contact with other cultures people nowadays know more about foreign languages and customs and thus understand each other better.

The aim of the present study is to cast some light on translating culture-specific features into different languages, which, at least to the knowledge of the writer, has not been studied much before. The study is based on a sample of four different translations of the classic *Winnie-the-Pooh*. In addition to the original English version, four different languages and cultures, Swedish, Finnish and Italian, are involved. The fact that so many languages and cultures are studied offers a wide range of possible research questions. Culture studies on one hand, and children's literature on the other hand provide alone a great deal of interesting topics. Furthermore, the present study concentrates on comparing how different culture-bound features have been translated into the three target languages and thus discusses the possible

reasons for the solutions the translators have made during the translation process. Moreover, it will be studied to what extent the translators take into consideration their young target audience's limitations in cultural knowledge and general abilities, and how they do it. In addition, the importance of time in relation to cultural changes and translation strategies will be discussed.

The theoretical background for the study is presented in the second and third chapters. The second chapter aims at giving the reader a general picture of some widely accepted theories in translation, while the third chapter concentrates on culture. In the second chapter, special consideration is given to the views of scholars on cultural matters as a part of translation in general. Translation studies in relation to cultural aspects seem to be an area studied from many different viewpoints and by many scholars around the world. Thus, the present study aims at presenting briefly the most well-known theoretical approaches. There might be some overlapping between the second chapter and the following one that concentrates on culture, but this minor overlapping was found inevitable during the research process because the main ideas and theories of researches on translation had, almost without exceptions, also to do with culture specific features and it seems that they are an inseparable part of translation studies. The analysis will also be supported by background information and discussion of the importance of time in the second chapter. Dealing with the aspect of time was found inevitable and justified in the context of culture studies because time has a clear connection with culture, which, with all the surrounding world, changes when time passes. Furthermore, the present study sets to examine the effect of time on the four translations, because at different times, different translation strategies are used.

In the third chapter, an attempt will be first made to define the concept 'culture'. Secondly, it will be presented how culture can be translated. Then, cultural categories are briefly discussed and finally, some light is cast on how

cultural features are translated. The question of the possibility to convey, by means of translation, the culture of the source language to the readers with different cultural background and different mother tongue will be taken up.

In the fourth chapter the data and background of the study will be briefly presented. Moreover, there is a discussion about the hypotheses and problems the writer of the present thesis had in the beginning of the project. In addition, the methods that were used in the study are viewed.

Chapter five consists of analysis of the culture-bound features in *Winnie-the-Pooh*. The analysis is divided into five sub-categories according to the type of the features. After the analysis, the results will be summarized, followed by a brief discussion in chapter six. Finally, in the same chapter, the major findings are reviewed, the significance of the present study is discussed and some topics for further study are suggested.

2 TRANSLATION AND TRANSLATING

In the present chapter, a theoretical context for the study will be presented. First, some well-known views and translation theories will be looked at. The researchers are grouped according to the main ideas in their theories. The theories discussed are those by Nida, Newmark, Reiss and Vermeer, Lefevere and Bassnett as well as House. When their theoretical approaches are treated, an attempt is made to emphasize especially the cultural aspect of each theory. Secondly, the overall view of today's situation of children's literature and its translation will be looked at and there will be a discussion about how translating children's literature differs from translating in general. Finally, the importance of time in translation will be dealt with.

2.1 Theoretical Approaches

Newmark (1981:19) defines translation theory as being "neither theory nor a science, but the body of knowledge that we have and have still to have about the process of translating". Also Bell (1991:22) emphasizes the importance of studying the translation process. He argues that it is the process which creates the product, and thus only by understanding this process something will be learnt about the product itself. Bassnett-McGuire (1980:37) defines the purpose of translation theory as an attempt to understand the process undertaken in translating, not to provide norms for a perfect translation. Newmark (1981:19) claims that the main function of a translation theory is to determine appropriate translation methods for every text-category. He adds that a translation theory should provide a framework of principles, rules and hints for both translating text and criticizing translations. Lefevere (in Bassnett-McGuire 1980:7) suggests that the goal of translation studies is to "produce a comprehensive theory which can also be used as a guideline for the production of translations". Bassnett-McGuire (1980:7) adds that the need for systematic study of translation arises directly from the difficulties encountered during the actual translation process and it is essential for those working in the field to bring their practical experience in theoretical discussion. As stated by Newmark (1981:19), translation theories often attempt to give some insight into the relation between thought, meaning and language and this is done in order to make it easier for the translator to notice the cultural aspects of language and behaviour as well as understand the cultures themselves.

According to Hatim and Mason (1997:11), most of the translation theories have to do with translators' orientations, whether translations should be literal or free, or whether concentrated on form or content. There are various studies made and debates centred round these and other subjects of translation. Although some of the theories below date back to the 1960-

1980s, it can be considered justified to include them in the present study because they have had such an important role in the area of translation studies and thus many of the more recent theories are based on the former ones. In the following sub-chapters some of the theories mentioned briefly above will be presented.

2.1.1 Nida: formal equivalence vs. dynamic equivalence

Eugene Nida (1964:159) distinguishes two types of equivalence, *formal* and *dynamic*. *Formal equivalence* focuses attention on the message itself, in both form and content. According to the *formal equivalence* theory, the structure of the message should be emphasized. Therefore, the message in target language should match as closely as possible to all the elements in the source language structure. Thus, for example a wordplay in the source language should be made to work as a wordplay also in the target language. Consequently, Nida (1964:159) explains, in order to acquire the most correct translation, the message in the target culture has to be constantly compared with the one of source culture.

According to Nida (1964:159), *dynamic equivalence* is based on the principle of equivalence, i.e. that the relationship between the target reader and the target language message should aim at being the same as that between the audience of the original language culture and the source language message. Nida (1964:166) states that *dynamic equivalence* in translation aims at finding the closest natural equivalent for every meaning. By a natural equivalent Nida (1964:167) refers to a meaning that fits into the target culture and its language as well as into the context of the message. Thus, the translator here is not concerned with getting two similar translations but creating a dynamic relationship between the two cultures. Nida (1986:36) further suggests that the reactions of the readers of the target

language text should be just about the same as the reactions of the source culture audience. He further claims that this type of translation allows the reader to understand as much of the source language context and culture as possible.

Nida (1982:1) sees focusing on the form of the message as an outdated view. The focus today is on the meaning, i.e. on the response of the target culture audience to the translated message. According to Nida (1982:1), this response should then be compared to that of source culture readers in order to evaluate the correctness of the translation. Furthermore, Nida (1982:5) points out that because all languages differ from each other in form, it is quite natural that the translator has to change the form if he/she wants to preserve the content. Therefore, in order to be faithful to the text of the source language, the form has often to be sacrificed at the expense of preserving the content. Nida (1982:5-6) adds, however, that the extent to which the form must be changed in order to preserve the meaning will depend on both the linguistic and the cultural distance between the two languages.

2.1.2 Newmark: semantic vs. communicative translation

Peter Newmark (1981, 1988, 1991) distinguishes between *semantic* and *communicative* translation. Newmark (1981:39) states that *semantic translation* belongs more in the area of equivalence: it attempts, by preserving the semantic and syntactic structures found in the source text, to render the exact contextual meaning of the original version. Hence, claims Newmark (1981:47), the words in the source text are considered 'sacred', not because they are more important than the content, but because form and content are one. However, according to Newmark (1988:46), *semantic translation* takes into account also the aesthetic value of the source language

text and thus permits the creativity of the translator. Therefore, *semantic translation* theory sometimes has to compromise on meaning so that for example no 'badly' translated wordplay disturbs the reader. Newmark (1988:46) further states that according to *semantic translation* theory, less important cultural features can be translated by culturally neutral or functional terms but not always by cultural equivalents which will make it easier for the target language audience to understand the meanings. According to Newmark (1988:49), cultural concessions, for example shifts from a specific term to a more general one, are possible only where the cultural word is marginal, not important for local colour, and has no relevant connotative or symbolic meaning in the context.

Newmark (1988:49) comments that *communicative translation*, by contrast, is more or less equivalent to a cultural adaptation of the source text, so that readers in the target culture find it easier to read. Newmark (1981:43) points out that while *semantic translation* often is in contradiction both to the culture of the transmitter and to his/her norms of the language, *communicative translation* is mainly concerned with the target readers, usually in the context of their language and cultural variety. Newmark (1981:46) adds that normally in *communicative translation*, it is assumed that the audience of the translation identifies with that of original text. According to Newmark (1981:39), there can be a generous transfer of foreign elements into the target culture as well as into its language when necessary. Newmark continues that in fact, a *communicative translation* of a text written hundred years ago gives the reader an advantage over the audience of the source language text: the inevitably simplified translation in modern language will be easier to understand than the original. According to Newmark (1988:47), *communicative translation* attempts to convey the exact contextual meaning of the original in the way that both content and language will be acceptable and comprehensible to the target language readers. Therefore, it can be claimed that *communicative translation* allows

more freedom for the translator than does *semantic translation*. Consequently, Newmark (1981:42) suggests that a *semantic translation* is always inferior to its original because it often involves a loss of meaning while a *communicative translation* often gains in force and clarity what it loses in semantic content.

Newmark (1981:62) admits that all translation must be in some degree both semantic and communicative, adding (1991:10) that in both theories, the literal word-for-word translation is the only valid method of translation provided that the equivalent effect is preserved. Newmark (1988:47) also claims that *semantic* and *communicative translations* fulfil the two main aims of translation: accuracy and economy. He further defines that in general, a *semantic translation* is based on the author's linguistic capabilities while a *communicative translation* is based on the cultural knowledge of the target language readership. Newmark (1988:48) summarizes the discussion stating that the role of *semantic translation* is to interpret while *communicative translation* explains. However, according to Newmark (1991:10), *communicative* and *semantic translation* may well coincide, especially when the text conveys a general rather than a culturally and temporally bound message. In fact, he argues that there is no one communicative or one semantic method of translating a text. A particular passage or even a sentence can be treated more communicatively or more semantically.

2.1.3 Reiss and Vermeer: the skopos theory

According to Katharina Reiss and Hans J. Vermeer (1986:67), translating is always some kind of action that has an aim, a meaning, i.e. a *skopos*. Reiss and Vermeer (1986:67-68) emphasize the importance of the *skopos* as the functional goal of the translation. They claim that what the translation is like depends on its *skopos*. Therefore, the process of translating should always

lead to a result, a new situation or a new event.

Reiss and Vermeer (1986:67-68) define translation as a target culture and target language version of the source culture and source language original. Thus, a translation can be considered as a text created for a new culture and new readers and these new readers will interpret it according to how it is presented to them. Reiss and Vermeer (1984), as quoted by House (1997:12-13), claim that it is the way target culture norms are heeded that is the most important aspect when assessing the quality of translating. The function of a translation will always depend on the target readers and their cultural environment.

Reiss and Vermeer (1984), as quoted by House (1997:12-13), distinguish between *equivalence* and *adequacy* where the first term refers to the relationship between the original and its translation and if they both fulfil the same communicative function, while the second one describes the relationship between the source text and translation where the *skopos* has been consistently attended to. According to Reiss and Vermeer (1986:67-68) they are, in fact, the translators who decide which function they select for their translations, they work as a 'second author'. The function chosen by the translator may be different from that of source text. This means that although the target text is coherent with the source text, it might be impossible to translate the new text back to the original language without changing the content and the form of it. Reiss and Vermeer (1986:79) claim that sometimes the aim of the translation is, in fact, not to reach the same type of audience in the target culture as the original text was intended to, and in this case the *skopos* of the translation is to intentionally change one or more of original culture features. Moreover, Reiss and Vermeer argue that, despite possible changes, there is no harm done because readers of the target culture will usually not compare the translation to the original one, but interpret it like an independent whole.

It can be summarized that according to the *skopos* theory (Reiss and Vermeer 1986), a translator has a more important position than is normally given to him/her. This approach, compared to the theories in which the translator attempts to be as invisible as possible, emphasizes the role of the translator and thus accepts some manipulation of the source text. According to Reiss and Vermeer (1986), translation is thus a new text, made for a new culture.

2.1.4 Lefevere and Bassnett-McGuire: the manipulation theory

According to the manipulative approach (Susan Bassnett-McGuire 1980 and André Lefevere 1992b), translators do not aim at equivalence, but instead they manipulate the text keeping in mind their object and their target audience. The norms of a certain society of certain time have an influence on how the translation is done. For 'manipulationists', translation does not mean creating a whole new source text without deleting anything from it or adding something to it. There is no need to make the target text equivalent to the source one.

Bassnett-McGuire (1980:25) points out that translation involves far more than only replacement of lexical and grammatical items between languages. Bassnett-McGuire (1980:29) further suggests that equivalence in translation should not be approached as "a search for sameness" since, she claims, sameness cannot even exist between two target language versions of the same text, let alone between the original text and its translation. According to Bassnett-McGuire (1980:30), we should thus accept that there are no two similar languages. She points out that a translator can 'manipulate' the source text by enriching and clarifying it during the translation process. For example, something that seems to be 'lost' in the original text may then be replaced by a clearer expression in the translated version.

The task of the translator is more to interpret the original text than to translate it directly into the target language. According to Lefevere (1992b:10), when dealing with cultures outside their boundaries, translators attempt to make texts accessible by manipulating them. Lefevere (1992b:4) states that liberties on the purely linguistic level will be often tolerated when they are seen as potentially refining, improving or extending the language of the target culture. Translators attempt to communicate to their readers the same impression that their knowledge of the source language and its culture has allowed them to acquire of the original text. However, Lefevere (1992b:5) admits that translators are responsible for the integrity of both their native cultures and the texts they translate. Thus, translators should always carefully consider how much of the 'foreign' in the original language text should be naturalized for the target language readers. Lefevere (1992b:8) claims that to make a foreign work of literature acceptable to the target audience, translators often adapt it to the literature of its own culture.

Lefevere (1992a:87) mentions that the translation should not be in conflict with the ideology of the target culture. Consequently, if there is a clash between the source text and the ideology of the target culture, translators may have to manipulate the text so that the offending passages are either strongly modified or totally deleted. Lefevere (1992a:19) points out, that translators translate not for all potential readers but an audience likely to be interested in a given translation. Therefore, the translation can be manipulated in order to be in line with the requirements of the readers for understanding for example the culture-bound features of the text. Lefevere (1992a:125-127) mentions that some translations have significantly changed the image of cultures in them leading to a clash between two cultures, which can result in various forms of misunderstanding and acculturation. Thus, Bassnett-McGuire (1980:79-80) adds that the translator should handle his/her freedom of vision responsibly and take into full account the overall structuring of the work and its relation to the time and place of its

production.

2.1.5 House: overt and covert translation

According to Juliane House (1997), a translation should function as the equivalent of its source text in a different culture or situation and the translation should use equivalent pragmatic means to achieve this functional equivalence. House (1997) suggests a basic division into two major translation types: *overt translation* and *covert translation*. According to House (1997:30), this division is based on the equivalence of preserving meaning in the translated texts. House (1997:29) points out that the idea of *overt translation* is to enable its readers to understand the function of the source text in its original linguacultural setting through another language. She continues that an *overt translation* allows the target language reader a view of the original text through a foreign language but operating in a different discourse world. House (1997:66) explains that in an *overt translation*, the source text is tied in a specific manner to the source language community and its culture. Thus, House (1997:67-69) argues that a direct match of the original function of the source language text is not possible in this type of translation. She continues that especially in historical texts, culture specificity and uniqueness is more strongly marked than in timeless, often fictional works. Therefore, the translator should not always adapt the culture-bound features into his/her own culture, but instead preserve the cultural markedness on the language and provide explanatory notes to the members of the target culture when necessary.

By contrast, House (1997:29) states that a *covert translation* should imitate the function of the source language text in a different discourse frame. House (1997:69) defines this type of translation as *covert*, because it is not marked pragmatically as translation, but could have been created in its own right.

Equivalence and the function of the original text in *covert translation* are sought by the help of the target language. According to House (1998), the equivalence on *covert translations* can be acquired by using a *cultural filter*, which transforms culture-bound features of the source language into the form that makes them easier to be understood from the target culture point-of-view. Thus, a *covert translation*, according to House (1997:69), is a translation whose original text is not particularly tied to the source language and culture. Both the source text and its *covert translation* have similar purposes: they are based on the contemporary needs of the readers in source language culture as well as those of target language culture. Therefore, it is possible to keep the function of the source text unchangeable in the translated version. Finally, according to House (1997:30, 77-78), it should be noted that the above presented distinction between *overt* and *covert translation* is no an 'either-or' situation but it rather describes the relationship between the translation and the original text, i.e. whether the translation leans more towards the source language culture or that of target language.

To summarize, it can be said that although the terminology used by the above mentioned researchers differ from one to another, they all treat basically the same topics and they all emphasize the impact of culture on translation. In addition to taking into consideration the cultural aspects, translators should also keep in mind the audience they are translating for. Translating a children's book, for example, often requires different kind of translation strategy than when the target readers will be adults.

2.2 Children's literature and translating for children

According to Puurtinen (1995:21), there have been indications of a growing interest in children's literature in recent years. She states that it is a deplorable fact that translations and especially Finnish translations of children's literature have suffered from the lack of interest among scholars although more than 65% of the children's books published each year in Finland are translations, half of them from English. Therefore, it can be justified to claim that translations must have a significant effect on children's reading experiences and to some extent also on their language skills.

Oittinen (1993:37) states that children's literature can be defined in two different ways, either literature produced and intended for children or literature read by children. However, Oittinen refers also to Klingberg (1972), who argues that with the concept of children's literature is meant especially literature produced and intended specifically for children and not so much the texts read by children. Children's literature is clearly directed at young readers and usually the original author has, from the very beginning, aimed it at children. Furthermore, it has different functions and different purposes compared to the literature in general, although sometimes there is a message to adults, too.

Puurtinen (1995:22) claims that although contrary to common belief, translating for children may be even more difficult than translating for adults. Firstly, for a child reader, there may be many language or culture barriers in the text that make it hard for them to understand the message. According to Puurtinen (1995:22), examples of such barriers can include foreign names, titles, terms of measurement, complex syntax or allusion to cultural heritage or common knowledge unfamiliar to a young member of the target culture. Secondly, the need of the translator to aim his/her text to both adult and children audience may cause problems. Thirdly, the various norms and

ideologies regulating what kind of literature should be provided for children are constantly changing and thus the translator must always be aware of the current didactic, moral, ethical and religious principles. As Katan (1999:63) reminds us, the translator must not forget that well before school-age, children have already some knowledge of culture-bound beliefs or principles.

Oittinen (1993:39-40) mentions that some authors consciously direct their messages to both children and adult readers. Thus, children's literature often has double audience. In this case, it is as if the translations existed at two levels of which one is directed to children and the other one for adults. However, Oittinen (1993:40) remarks that adult audience pays attention to different aspects of the text compared to young readers. More specifically, adults concentrate on the logical levels of the story while children take notice of the nonsense and comedic parts of the text or recognize a song or poem familiar to them.

According to Oittinen (1993:17), the modern concept of childhood is different from earlier ones. Furthermore, today children and adult cultures seem to have more and more in common and children's culture is nowadays taken more seriously, also by scholars. In fact, Oittinen (1995:24) points out that a significant part of children's literature has been born by changing adults' books into children's editions. As examples of such books, originally made for adults but later modified to fit in the category of children's literature, Oittinen mentions *Robinson Crusoe* and *Gulliver's travels*.

As stated by Lefevere (1992a:115), different audiences need translations for different reasons. Nida (1981:9) points out that no translation is possible without knowing something about the general as well as linguistic background of the target audience. It can be considered quite obvious that children do not need the same kind of translations as adults. According to Oittinen (1993:15-17), the question For whom? is especially important when

translating for children. The adults are 'the authority', the ones who decide what is translated, where and why, by whom and for whom. As Oittinen (1993:4, 86) points out, children's books are often illustrated and often also meant to be read aloud. Hence, translation can be seen as communication between adults and children. In addition, when dealing with translations for children, the translator must be able to interpret both texts and illustrations and must also take into consideration the relationship between those two. Thus, reading and the whole imagined reading-aloud situation are often considered to be the key issues in translating for children. Oittinen (1993:4) mentions that often the readability of the target language text is considered important, giving the priority to the child as a reader. This claim originates from the fact that translators must always be loyal to their audience.

When the source text is aimed at children or young people, it presupposes that the translator has to consider the presumptive readers, their interest, ways of experiencing, knowledge, reading ability and so on. Klingberg (1978:86) discusses the relevance of adaptation in the context of words like personal and geographical names and measurements which are often explained to the children, who, due to their lack of experience, may not understand the foreign or otherwise unfamiliar information found in the books. Also Pakkanen (1985:70-71) agrees that in many cases foreign names should be modified to better correspond the target culture and thus to be easier for the young readers to pronounce, read and understand. Pakkanen adds that the translator should, however, attempt to keep them as similar to the original terms as possible. Klingberg (1978:86) divides the concept of adaptation into subcategories like deletion, addition, explanation, simplification or localization. In localization, the whole text is transferred into a country more familiar to the young reader. On the contrary, by anti-localizing all the information is retained in the original. Thus, the translator emphasizes the fact that the story is really situated in a foreign country, in a foreign culture and lets the child readers learn new things about new

cultures.

Oittinen (1993) and Klingberg (1974, 1978) deal with adaptation for children, which is often considered a key issue in children's literature. As Oittinen (1993:87) states, texts have been adapted as long as there has been literature. According to Oittinen (1993:4), an adapted text is often defined in the terms of how it is different from the original one. As translation should be the same as the original, an adaptation deviates from that. Oittinen (1993:95) argues that adaptation and translation cannot actually be separated as two different issues, but instead they should be considered as terms on different levels: according to Oittinen, adaptation is always part of translation, not a parallel process. When texts are translated, it is always done for some specific purpose and for a certain audience. Thus, every time there is a translation, there is also adaptation. Consequently it can be claimed that if the translation fulfils its purpose, the adaptations in it seem justified.

Klingberg (1978:86) claims that if the degree of adaptation is high, the text is usually easy to read while, if it is low, there are more difficulties in interpreting it. Thus, it seems that according to Klingberg, the adaptation in children's literature should be rather high to make it more readable. Klingberg (1978:86) remarks that when the source text is a work for children or young adolescents, it means that the author has in some way considered the future readers, their interests, ways of experiencing, knowledge, reading ability and so on. Therefore, the translation should not be easier or more difficult to read, more or less interesting than the characteristics of the young readers permit it to be. Also Nida (1981:79) states that no excessive explanations are necessary – all that is required is that the reader is able to understand the principal characteristics or features of the text.

Oittinen (1993:88) mentions that adaptations are made for several reasons, and House (1988) points out that in texts for children, especially culture-

bound features are often adapted in order to make it easier for the young readers to understand the complex concepts. It is as if the translator was guiding the child readers and helping them to read and understand the story in a particular way. However, sometimes these adaptations are considered unnecessary. Oittinen (1993:102) argues that they may show that adults do not have enough faith in their children to find knowledge and information by themselves. According to Oittinen (1993:88, 102), adaptation also reflects the authoritative will of the adult to 'educate' the child: adults worry about children not learning enough. Oittinen (1993:93-94) also mentions that for centuries adult pedagogic ideas have been in conflict with children's likes and needs and this has been the reason for many adaptations.

Purification and *modernization* are central concepts for Klingberg (1978:86-87). *Purification* is modifying the values in translations, through deletions and additions, so that it would better correspond to the values of the target group, in this case children, while *modernizing* means modernizing texts as a whole. The purpose of *purification* is to protect the child from anything that is considered unsuitable, for example ideological, religious or frightening objects or events. Also death, violence, bad manners or adult faults can be considered taboos in children's literature. *Purification* can be carried out by either changing the unsuitable passages of the text into more acceptable ones or just by deleting them totally. However, Klingberg (1974:2, 124, 128) points out that this protectionism may prevent the child from obtaining knowledge from the world around him/her. Moreover, modernizing often involves adapting archaic language to reflect current usage. Klingberg (1978:86) claims that *modernization* can sometimes be in conflict with the aims of translation.

There are further strategies translators use in order to facilitate the reading or listening experience of their young audience. According to Oittinen (1997:102-118), the readability of the text can be improved concretely if the

sentences and chapters are shorter, if conjunctions are preferred to participial phrases, and there are many verbs, nouns and pronouns instead of adjectives and adverbs. In short, the story is easier to understand if it is presented with simple constructions in general. Oittinen (1997:113) claims also that the text is rhythmically more effective and thus easier to read if there are more commas, stops and other punctuation marks.

It can be summarized that when translating for children, translators have to find the children in themselves, revive their childhood memories and thus create the image of childhood. Furthermore, in order to create texts that will be suitable for the abilities of the young readership, translators have to understand how children think and what kind of knowledge they have. In addition, translators should concentrate on the differences in culture as well as on the relationship between the text and the illustrations. Moreover, the rhythm of the translation must be taken into consideration, because the texts are often read aloud. In other words, in order for the translation to be successful, it has to be interpreted both as a whole and in parts. As Klingberg (1974:1) sums it up, the goal of the translators should be to give the children new literature of top quality, and, in addition to this, also provide them with the knowledge of foreign people and international understanding.

2.3 Translator and time

According to Nida (1964:147), if intercultural factors are described, in addition to the cultural differences also the differences in time have to be considered. As Newmark (1981:35) states, translation is normally written in modern language, which is in itself a form of interpretation and at least lexically a reflection of the target language culture. Newmark (1981:35) continues that this interpretation presents the translator with a challenge, because when faced with documents of a past age and maybe also of a

remote culture, only a precise ethnological and linguistic knowledge can assist the translator with his work.

As stated by Nida (1981:11-12), sometimes when dealing with texts from a period remote in time, the most disturbing factor for the translator during the process is the loss of background information. Nida continues that the original authors and target audiences shared much background data and thus the message was considered meaningful. However, much of this information may no longer be available for today's translators and that is why some texts cannot be properly translated. Also Bassnett-McGuire (1980:83) argues that the greatest problem when translating an old text is not only that the author and his/her contemporaries are dead, but the significance of the text in its context might be dead, too. However, Koskinen (1981:52) claims that nowadays it is taken for granted that texts going back hundreds of years, for example the Bible, are translated into a comprehensible modern language. There is no attempt made to make them archaic, at the most the most strikingly modern anachronisms are avoided.

According to Oittinen (1995:9), translations should always be looked within the total framework - the situation and the time as well as the history - that affected them when they were created. If one of these aspects changes, the change modifies the whole translation. Oittinen (1997:13) continues that when time passes, views, people, cultures and languages change with it and the same holds true also for the texts. Oittinen (1997:138) reminds us also of the fact that in the past, translations may have had a different function than they have today. They reflected the different views of literature and translation in general. Furthermore, they may have responded to the questions arising in their times and fulfilled different purposes. However, Oittinen (1997:139) emphasizes that this does not mean that the old translation, long after being published, would not have anything to offer for the modern reader.

Porter and Samovar (1997:19) mention that a culture's concept of time can be considered its philosophy toward the past as well as present and future. Furthermore, the intensity of the relationship a culture has with time can be studied according to how important a factor time seems to be for the culture. According to Sajavaara et al (1978:22), it is a part of language character that it is 'on the move' all the time and adopts new features in order to be able to respond to the needs every particular time has. Sajavaara et al. (1978:10-11) claim that most of the differences between different translations are caused by the fact that the target readers, as well as the translator him/herself, today accept the foreign material more unreservedly. As an example, Sajavaara et al. (1978:11) point out that in Finland so much is known today about English that some foreign concepts can be transferred directly from original texts to Finnish ones.

According to Lefevere (1992), the translator always makes choices, on one hand from his/her point of view, but then again on the other hand according to the situation and the prevailing norms. As Oittinen (1997:133) states, if there are two translations of the same text, it makes a difference what version has been published first, because rather often the first translation has at least some influence on the latter one(s). Bassnett-McGuire (1980:1-11) and Lefevere (1992) point out that earlier translators "served their master" and "approached their master in a humble way". More recently the trend among translators has been to "make him/herself visible" by rewriting the original text, by positively manipulating it.

New translations are always needed so that the story would be conveyed to the reader of that time. It has to be remembered that even those who have read the first or the second version of the translation of a certain same text, do not experience the book in the same way as did the readers at the time when the original work was published. As Oittinen (1995:32) states, new time, place and society bring with them new kind of interpretations also

when the book is read in the original language. Every era has its own problems to solve as well as its ways of using language and words. One translator will emphasize a certain passage in a text and another, thirty years later, maybe considers the same piece of text irrelevant enough to be totally deleted.

Oittinen (1995:9) mentions that in different times different translation norms rule. In some translations these norms are consciously broken while in others they are obeyed. In addition, in different times translations are expected to be different. Klingberg (1978:86) claims that modernizing texts can sometimes be in conflict with the aims of translation. Lefevere (1992:62) adds that sometimes words also change their meanings or at least their connotations with the passage of time. Especially when older texts are considered, it is quite common to attempt to make the target text of more immediate interest to the presumptive readers by moving the time nearer to the present time or by exchanging details in the setting for more recent ones.

To conclude the present chapter, it can be stated that translating literature is a human activity which reflects the world and the conception of that world in the time when it is written. Oittinen (1997:139) summarizes the concept nicely: "Translation is always a journey which everyone experiences differently".

3 CULTURE

As background information for the following analysis, the present chapter discusses the aspect of culture. First, an attempt will be made to define the term 'culture'. In addition, the two important aspects of culture: its relationship with language and that with people, will be introduced. Secondly, it is speculated if culture and the many features related to it can be

translated. Then, some suggestions of cultural categorisation as well as cultural terminology are presented. After that, the different techniques that translators use when they deal with culture-bound features will be briefly described.

3.1 What is culture?

First of all, it can be stated that defining the concept of culture is not an easy task. In order to be able to discuss culture, this chapter begins by introducing some definitions on and discussion of the many aspects of culture.

One of the aspects of culture is its relationship with people, another one is the relationship between culture and language. According to Argenton and Kellet (1983b:1), the idea that there exists a strong tie between people and language as well as language and culture has fascinated many great thinkers through the ages and led to the formulation of philosophical theories. However, Collier (1997:37) claims that culture is not the people but the communication that links them together. She further claims that it is not only speaking a language and using its symbols that is considered a culture, but interpreting those symbols consistently. Bassnett (1997) in her preface points out that someone who is born into a culture and grows in it will necessarily have a different perspective from those who learn about that culture in their adult life. Also Porter and Samovar (1997:13) emphasize culture's relationship with people. They define culture as the sum of knowledge, experience, beliefs, values, attitudes, meanings, hierarchies, religion, notions of time, roles, spatial relations, concepts of the universe as well as material objects and possessions acquired by a group of people in the course of generations.

Hall (1976:16) describes culture as being people's medium. He continues

that there is not one aspect of human life that would not be touched and altered by culture. Hall (1976:17) further points out that it is often the most obvious and taken-for-granted and thus the least studied aspects of culture that influence the behaviour of certain settings and situations in the most subtle ways. According to Hall (1976:129), some common culture-specific settings include greeting, working, eating, bargaining, governing, cooking and serving meals and the like. Also Williams (1981) suggests that culture involves the whole way of life and is so complex a concept that no individual can ever grasp it in its entirety. Thus, culture can always be considered partly unknown and partly unrealized.

Punter (1997:69) claims that people usually take it as a conscious or unconscious axiom that a culture can best and most fittingly be described in the terms and in the language of the culture being described. Also according to the point-of-view presented by Argenton and Kellet (1983a:5), a certain nation in a certain climatic and economic situation develops a certain type of cultural and social organization and they express it by a certain language. Argenton and Kellet continue that the structure of this language can be considered as the "key to the letters of reality". They further state (Argenton and Kellet 1983b:1) that the language-culture link has for a long time been the concern of anthropologists and psychologists who study culture transmission from parent to child, generation to generation and through language. Also Newmark (1981:183) remarks that a language is partly a reflection of a culture. He also suggests that the ancient features of the culture lie in the aspects of grammar associated with entities like male/female (nouns), with processes (verbs) such as time (present/past/ future), and with deictics (for example pronouns) like space (eg. here/there in relation to the topic). According to Argenton and Kellet (1983a:1), it could be claimed that language is a cultural and a social product at the same time. It is an instrument through which reality can be analyzed and the ideas of its users expressed thus influencing this way the culture as well as the society.

Argenton and Kellet (1983a:2) further argue that language expresses the contents of the culture it belongs to. Also Bonino (1980:112) mentions that the language and culture of one nation are two aspects of the same phenomenon. Through the expressions of the language as well as its products (scientific and literary works, laws, religious texts and every kind of documents) are reflected the distinctive characters of the culture whose representatives speak this language.

Oittinen (1997:14) claims that when we refer to words and subjects, we refer also to the world to which they belong. Language and culture are always a part of some situation where they are proportioned to some other language and culture. Oittinen (1997:14) refers to Bakhtin (1990) when stating that people are always examining the world from a certain point-of-view, and in addition to their personal characters and location, this point-of-view is affected also by the situation, time and many other factors. Nida (1975b:229) introduces the term *cultural context*. According to him, it is the context which includes both the total culture where the communication takes place as well as the specific non-linguistic circumstances of the communication.

According to Sajavaara (1986:65), language reflects in various ways the human social behaviour typical for each culture. Since language and culture are closely connected, it is obvious that changes in culture have an impact on language. Sajavaara et al. (1978:3) mention that for example the Finnish language is changing due to the impact of the English language and English culture. Also Ljung (1986:369) remarks that ever since the 1940's, Sweden, like the rest of the world, has been influenced by the English-speaking world and culture. Dardano (1986:231) mentions that after the World War II, the impact of English language and culture has intensified also on Italian.

Newmark (1988:283, 1991:73) defines culture as objects, processes, institutions, customs and ideas that are peculiar to one group of people as

well as to their particular environment. Newmark (1988:94) further describes culture as the way of life and its manifestations that are peculiar to a community that uses a particular language as its means of expression. According to Hatim and Mason (1997:127), texts can be seen as carriers of ideological meanings which makes them vulnerable to the changing socio-cultural norms. Lefevere (1992a:8) states that a text is not seen as an isolated verbal construct but as an attempt of communication that functions in a certain way in a certain culture and may not work in a similar way in another culture. However, Lefevere (1992b:8) points out that when culture is discussed, it must be remembered that cultures are not monolithic entities, but there are always different groups and individuals inside it. Also Hatim and Mason (1997:127) warn that the term 'culture' should not be defined too restrictively: cultural variation should be seen in both linguistic and social terms.

Finally, having illustrated situations in which language is influenced by culture, it would seem appropriate to briefly mention also a different point-of-view of the case, the one which is contrary to the earlier ones. That is the so-called Sapir-Whorf hypothesis of linguistic relativity. According to Sapir-Whorf theory (Sapir 1949), it is our language system which represents the reality and thus moulds the culture and not vice versa. Therefore, how we perceive the world is profoundly influenced by the structure of the native culture language we use to express ourselves. However, Katan (1999:74) among others, remarks that this view has few supporters today. If language determined culture, the concept of language change would be impossible. If the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis was true, it would mean that people would not be able to perceive new cultural features if there were not words for them in their language.

To summarize, it seems impossible to find one definition of culture which would cover all its aspects. However, although none of the definitions

presented above can be considered concise enough on its own, they all present important aspects that should be taken into account when the concept of culture is discussed. Hence, the final definition of culture would be broad enough to embrace all its aspects. However, it can be stated that the aspects of culture studied most and thus found important are its relation to language as well as to people.

3.2 Translating cultures

According to Lefevere (1992a:6), translation of literature does not take place in a vacuum in which two languages meet, but in the context of the cultures of the two literatures. Lefevere (1992a:86) continues that writers are born into a certain culture at a certain time and thus, in addition to that culture's language, they inherit also its literary traditions as well as its material and conceptual characteristics. Seen in this way, as stated by Lefevere (1992b:10), translation could be studied as one of the strategies cultures develop to deal with what is outside their boundaries, maintaining their own character at the same time.

Nida lists (1964:160) three types of relatedness between the source text and the target text, determined by the cultural and linguistic distance between the codes used to convey the messages. Firstly, both the languages and the cultures may be closely related, for example Spanish and Italian. Secondly, the translation may involve two cultures comparatively related to each other although their languages are very different, eg. a translation from Swedish to Finnish. A third instance may involve both different languages and diverse cultures, like an Australian aboriginal language compared to a European language. One would think that the third instance would present most difficulties for the translation, but according to Nida (1964:160), closely related languages and cultures can easily deceive the translator by their superficial similarity. When the cultures between the two languages resemble

each other, but the languages are different, the translator has to make many formal changes with the language, but in this case the cultural features are, of course, easy to convey from one language into other. Nida's point-of-view can be summarized by saying that diversity between cultures causes many more problems for the translator than do the differences between the languages.

Newmark (1993:35) introduces the aspect of universal language. According to him, the translator uses both the universal language of deep structures and that of non-cultural features as a mental criterion when he/she compares source and target language texts. Newmark (1993:35) points out that since cultures have their good and bad sides, bad ones are often exposed in the light of the universals. Hence this kind of translation can be considered as one form of deculturalizing the text. Newmark (1988:94) continues by distinguishing 'cultural' from 'universal' language. Mauranen (2000) defines translation universals as those characteristics of translated language that do not depend on where, when or between which languages the translation is done. According to Newmark (1988:94), 'swim', 'star' and 'table' are universals and usually there is no translation problem there, while 'monsoon' and 'tagliatelle' are cultural words and there will be problems in translation unless there is a cultural overlap between the source and the target language and its readership. Newmark (1988:94, 1991:73) continues that universal words like 'breakfast' or 'sea' often cover the universal function, but not the cultural description of the referent. Breakfast, for example, can in Britain mean toast and marmalade, in Finland or Sweden a plate of porridge and in Italy a cup of cappuccino and a French roll. However, a word meaning 'breakfast' is used in every one of these cultures. Ingo (1991:18) presents another example of this type when discussing the difficulty of translating the Finnish word 'baari' since although there exist words with partially the same meaning in Swedish ('bar'), English ('bar') and Italian ('bar'), the food and drink available in the 'bars' of the above mentioned cultures, are different in

every one of them. However, Newmark (1991:73-74) claims that translation is always more or less possible due to the universal and culturally overlapping language.

According to Heilbron (1999:431), considered from a sociological point-of-view, translations are a function of the social relations between language groups and their transformations over time. He further states that to understand the role of translations in a target culture, it is by no means sufficient to analyze them as being part of only their own literary system but it is essential to consider target cultures as a part of an international system, of a global constellation of language groups and of national or supranational cultures (Heilbron 1999:430-431, 440). Nida (1975b:70) mentions that there is often a tendency in translating to attempt to indicate the same environmental feature in both source and target language, but to overlook the different cultural significance involved in their respective cultures. Nida (1975b:76) continues that the problems of equivalence and adaption between languages are greatest in the case of lexical items, because the meaning of a word in one language is never completely similar when compared to a corresponding word in another language. Therefore, as proposed by Nida (1975b:77), in order to translate correctly into another language, the translator should study the actual usage of each word on the basis how native speakers use them and not how the investigator thinks they should be used.

Lefevere (1992a:118) mentions that at certain times certain cultures are considered more prestigious and authoritative than others. Hence, if a certain culture occupies a central position, it has acquired more comparative prestige than its neighbouring or successive cultures. Therefore, if, for example a source language culture generally believes it has much to learn from the target language culture, there might be more cultural adapting in the translation or if the prestige situation is the other way round, in the target text there would most probably remain more terms untranslated. However,

Nida (1981:1) claims that the translation across cultures always requires certain adjustments in the form of the message if the content is to be accurately and faithfully transmitted. Thus, he argues, strict word-for-word translations tend to change the source language meaning.

According to Nida (1975b:66), language is best described as a part of culture and therefore the person translating from one language into another should be constantly aware of the contrast in the entire range of culture represented by the two languages. Also Klajn (1978:16) suggests that the cultural features should not be analyzed and translated in isolation but in their cultural and linguistic context. Moreover, Even-Zohaar (1990) and Toury (1995) argue that translations need to be understood in relation to the system in which they function, in relation to a particular set of translation norms, for example, or, when literary texts are concerned, in relation to the literary system of the target culture. Toury (1995:29) further defines translations as being facts of target cultures; sometimes of a special status and some other times even constituting identifiable systems of their own, but of the target-culture in any event.

Nida (1975b:68) states that words are fundamentally symbols for features of the culture. Therefore, the translator has to be familiar with the cultural situation in both the source language and the target language. Also Lefevere (1992a:25) mentions that cultural allusions require from translators a more than superficial familiarity with the source language culture. Lefevere adds that when this information is found lacking, it can be supplemented by encyclopedias or, even better, by educated native speakers of the target language culture. Nida (1975b:78) summarizes his ideas by stating that, as languages are basically a part of culture, words cannot be understood correctly apart from the local cultural features for which they are symbols. Thus translators should investigate the significance of various cultural characteristics and the words signifying them before an attempt is made to

translate them. However, as Nida (1975b:66) points out, the problems in translation are seldom studied from the cultural point-of-view.

According to Oittinen (1997:55), it is always the translator's duty to decide what is the point-of-view or the connecting thought he/she is going to stick to. The translator has to decide on one hand what can be left out if necessary and on the other hand what is absolutely essential in order to preserve the idea of the original text. Furthermore, the translator has to think how much background knowledge his/her readers have of the source culture and if additional explanations are needed to clarify the situation. As mentioned before, some features can be so culture-bound that the readers need the translator's help in order to be able to understand them. Also Nida (1981:21) suggests that the most difficult task for the translator often is to think the meaning he/she is translating in terms of the target language frame of interpretation which is based on the presuppositions and values of the target language culture. Therefore, due to the fact that the target culture readers are not familiar with the source language, they have to interpret the meaning in the frame of their own culture.

As Nida and de Waard (1986:41) mention, cultural reinterpretations involve transferring the cultural setting from one language culture context to another. Katan (1999:154) argues that one of the aims of the translator as cultural mediator is to help the readers of the target language culture gain an insight into another culture. Katan (1999:154-155) further states that the translator should always be careful to keep the information focus in the target language text as it was in the source language one. Thus the construction of reality is retained as the author of the original text has seen it. Newmark (1991:74) claims that in addition to contributing to understanding as well as transmitting knowledge between individual groups and nations, one of the tasks of the translator is to mediate cultural features. He continues that these cultural items should be transferred not so much in terms of target

language cultural features but in terms of universal knowledge. Also Heino (1981:55) mentions that the translator has an important role as a medium of transferring cultures. When the reader already has the basic knowledge of the source language culture, it is easier for the translator to transfer additional information about that culture. According to Heino (1981:56), the translator is able to deliberately either promote or hinder the two cultures approaching each other.

As stated by Nida (1964:145), the principles and procedures of translation cannot be treated apart from the translator him/herself, because he/she is not able to be completely objective, since the translator is always part of the cultural context in which he/she lives. Oittinen (1995:145) points out that translators as readers of the original text will always 'leave their traces' on the text. Oittinen (1995:146) thinks that with their translations, considered as processes of rewriting and positive manipulation of the text, translators do not aim at equivalence at all, but try to create an appropriate text from the point-of-view of their target audience. Oittinen (1997:14) further claims that translators are using power side by side with the original authors and by doing so, interpreting the world and changing it.

3.3 Cultural categories

According to Nida (1975b:68), translation problems emerge especially with the cultural aspects relating to 1) ecology, 2) material culture, 3) social culture, 4) religious culture, and 5) linguistic culture. The category of ecology includes among others the names of flora and fauna, the seasons and topographical features. In material culture Nida (1975b:68-69) includes concrete items, for example those used in agriculture, as well as words related to habitation, while under the theme 'social culture' are the features of social organization and social practice. Within the aspects of religious

culture, the titles for deity as well as the terms related to sanctity and holiness are included. However, Nida (1975b:74) claims that the group which presents most difficulties for translators is the one of linguistic culture. He states that language is part of culture and, in addition to the other cultural problems, translation from one language to another includes the special characteristics of both languages. Nida (1975b:76) further divides the features of linguistic culture into 1) phonological, 2) morphological, 3) syntactic, and 4) lexical factors and adds that the problems of equivalence and adaptation between different languages are greatest in the last group.

Newmark (1988:95-102), using Nida's ideas, categorizes cultural words into those related to 1) ecology, 2) material culture, 3) social culture, 4) organisations, customs, activities, procedures, concepts and 5) gestures and habits. The groups four and five differ from those of Nida. According to Newmark (1988:100), in group four are included modern or historical institutional terms, as well as those describing artistic or religious features. For gestures and habits in group five, there is a distinction between description and function which can be made where necessary in ambiguous cases, for some of them occur in one culture but not in other.

Klingberg (1978:86) introduces the concept of *context adaptation*. *Context adaptation* signifies the adaptation of the cultural context of the source language to that of the target language. This means that for example the whole story will be transferred into another time and place. Klingberg (1978:86) continues that the most common categories of *context adaptation* he has found are personal names, titles, geographical names, names of plant and animal species, measurements, concepts concerning buildings and home furnishing, meals and food, customs and practices, the play and games of children, wordplays, homonymous or similarly spelled words and newly-created words.

Argenton and Kellet (1983b:5-6) divide culture-bound terms into two types: *culture specific terms* and *culture gaps*. By *culture specific* they mean the terms which can be translated since equivalents do exist, even though they may refer either to a different reality or to a reality viewed differently by the members of the source language and target language respectively. By *culture gap* they signify words for which no true equivalent exists, because they represent either institutional or non-institutional cultural aspects typical of the source language. Argenton and Kellet (1983b:5) mention that most examples of *culture specific terms* are those linked to everyday situations. As examples of single words they give 'butter', 'tea', 'home' and 'law'. *Culture gaps*, on the contrary, are, according to Argenton and Kellet, (1983b:9) very frequent in texts dealing with politics and institutions in general. In addition to these, *culture gaps* can often be found also when attempting to translate traditions and customs, festivals, foods, costumes and local art forms. Examples of *culture gaps* given by Argenton and Kellet (1983b:9) are the festivals Halloween and Fell Running.

3.4 Some suggestions for translating culture

According to Newmark (1988:96), there are two translation procedures available for cultural words. The first is *transference*, which, usually in literary texts, offers local colour and atmosphere. Newmark (1988:96) claims, however, that *transference* blocks comprehension emphasizing the culture and excluding the message. The second procedure is called *componential analysis*, which excludes the culture and highlights the message. *Componential analysis* is based on a component common to both the source language and the target language. To this component extra contextual information is added for the target culture readers to understand the meaning. However, Newmark (1988:96) points out that the translator of a cultural word, which is always less context-bound than ordinary language,

has to bear in mind the motivation, the cultural knowledge and the linguistic level of the readership.

According to Argenton and Kellet (1983b:9-13), there is no easy solution for translating any *culture specific* terms and *culture gaps*. The possible translation procedures are numerous, but in order to choose the appropriate one, the translator will have to take into account the reader's expectations and the type of text he/she is dealing with. As Newmark (1991:74) states, the problem is the degree to which cultural features are to be explained in the translation. Newmark (1991:74) argues that there is a whole range in this degree: at one end explaining nothing at all and counting on the knowledge of the target language culture readers, while at the other end giving a full explanation in terms of neutral or even target language cultural equivalents. Argenton and Kellet (1983b:9-13) continue that while an expert will in fact be interested in the source language term, a less informed reader may require a cultural equivalent and for a layman an explanation in the target language is often needed. Moreover the relevance of the term in the context should be considered as well as the importance it may have in the target language. Thus the same term may be translated differently according to both the reader and the text.

Argenton and Kellet (1983b:10) emphasize that no definite rules for translating culture-bound terms can be given. However, the most used translation procedures relevant to all culture-bound terms according to Duff (1981), Newmark (1981), and Argenton and Kellet (1983b) are *transcription*, *literal translation*, *cultural equivalent*, *translation label*, *translation couplet*, *embedded explanation*, *footnotes* and *glossary*. When there is no well-established accepted translation for a culture-bound term, it has become an accepted loan word or does not hold any weighty significance to the meaning of the text, it can be *transcribed*, i.e. retained in its original form with no additional explanations. According to Ljung (1988:72), the

words that are borrowed describe often the source culture's way of interpreting the world and naming things in it. *Literal translation*, instead, can be used when the meaning in a translated version is clear, eg. the English *police* compared to Swedish *polis*, Finnish *poliisi* and Italian *polizia*. However, Argenton and Kellet (1983b:11) point out that very often the total equivalent meaning of the terms is lost as their functions may differ (eg. the American *Senate* vs. Italian *Senato*). Furthermore, Newmark (1991:75) points out, that as culture is often mindlessly accepted within the source language, it may cause a shock in the target language readers if translated literally since culture is expressed in 'universal' as well as 'local' words. According to Newmark (1981:183), *literal translation* often throws some light on the relation between one language and other as well as one language and its antecedents. In addition, *literal translation* can be used for intercultural comparison. If, instead, there is a good degree of cultural correspondence, the term defining a similar institution in the target language culture, i.e. the *cultural equivalent*, can be employed. Examples of the *cultural equivalents* of British *higher secondary school* in Swedish, Finnish and Italian respectively are *gymnasium*, *lukio* and *liceo*. Moreover, for a feature very specific to the source language culture, an approximate translation can be given either by finding the nearest equivalent in the target language culture (eg. from British *job centre* to Finnish *työvoimatoimisto*) or by the creation of a new term (eg. *Scuola Secondaria Selettiva* from British *Grammar school*). These translations are called *translation labels*. However, as stated by Newmark (1988:81), when translators have to decide whether or not to transfer a word unfamiliar in the target language culture and peculiar to the source language culture, the word can be complemented with a second translation procedure. A term in *translation couplet* is retained in its original form followed by its official or accepted translation in brackets. An example of this kind of *translation couplet*, given by Argenton and Kellet (1983b:12), is the following British term and its Italian explanation in brackets: *Appeal Court Criminal Divison (corte d'appello per processi penali)*. Sometimes it

can be a good idea to add a brief *embedded explanation* of a term which is given, however, without breaking the natural flow of the text. The following example of an *embedded explanation* is given by Mauranen (2000): "Hän lähetti poikansa *Etoniin, kalliiseen yksityiskouluun*", i.e. He sent his son to *Eton, an expensive private school*. *Footnotes*, on their part, can be used when the explanation required is rather long. The term is first transcribed and then an explanation added at the foot of the page or end of the chapter. The last solution explained here is the use of *glossary*. When there are many source culture terms in the text, they can be explained in a *glossary* at the beginning or end of the translation and thus they can be preserved in their original form in the text. However, Duff (1981:11) adds that *footnotes, embedded explanations* and *source language words in brackets* often impede the flow of writing and thus wherever possible, the 'untranslatable' should be translated. Furthermore, Argenton and Kellet (1983b:12-13) admit that the above suggestions cannot solve all problems, because each translation will produce new doubts and dilemmas as the handling of culture-bound terms is not yet a well documented subject.

Newmark (1988:102) summarizes the translation of cultural words by stating that the most appropriate solution depends not so much on the collocations or the linguistic or situational context as on the readership and on the setting. The foregoing discussion on the links between language and culture should make it clear, that anyone attempting to translate, must be aware of this dynamic relationship and not simply be concerned with finding the best or nearest equivalents, but the true significance. Lefevere (1992b:5) mentions, however, that a translation should sound 'foreign' enough to its readers for them to discern the workings of the original language that expresses the culture of which the original was a part. Lefevere (1992b:7-8) continues that not all the features of the original are always accepted by the receiving audience and thus translators often adapt their translations to the source culture. Moreover, Lefevere (1992a:125) remarks that adapting these

features into another culture or omitting them can also be considered as protecting the target culture readers against images that are too radically different from those of their own.

Sometimes translators encounter so many difficulties that it can be speculated if it is at all possible to translate everything. Bassnett-McGuire (1980:31) refers to Catford (1965), who distinguishes two types of untranslatability: *linguistic* and *cultural*. *Linguistic untranslatability* occurs when there does not exist any lexical or syntactical substitute in target language for a feature from source language, whereas *cultural untranslatability* is due to the absence in the target language culture of a feature for the source language text. Also Ingo (1991:18) mentions that sometimes the culture of the target text can be so different from that of the original text that a certain concept just does not exist in the target language and thus at least literal translation is impossible. Therefore, the translator has to preserve the term in its original form followed by an explanation in target language. According to Lefevere (1992b:4), liberties on the purely linguistic level are often allowed for translators if these improvements and extensions of language will help the translator to represent the source culture for the target culture readership. In addition, Newmark (1981:147) claims that translators should not reproduce allusions, especially if they are peculiar to the source language culture, which the target language readers are unlikely to understand. Newmark (1981:147) further suggests that if the allusions are not important for understanding the text, they should be omitted.

After the above discussion, it should appear clear that anyone attempting to translate, should be aware of the links between language and culture. No translation is written in a vacuum, but in the context of all the aspects of the two cultures. Therefore, both cultures have always an effect on the solutions the translator decides to make. These solutions often present many problems and it can be summarized that translators must not simply be concerned with

finding the best or nearest equivalents for the culture-bound features, but their true significance. As stated by Heilbron (1999:429), the translation of literature may be considered as constituting a whole new cultural world-system.

To summarize the background section of the present study it can be stated, that there are many aspects translators have to take into account when translating literature. Cultural features may cause different kinds of translation problems, and translators of children's literature in addition have to consider the general reading abilities as well as the knowledge of the outside world of their young target audience. Furthermore, in different times different strategies have been used when dealing with translation of culture-bound features. In the present study, translation of culture-specific features in *Winnie-the-Pooh* will be examined paying attention to all the aspects presented in the foregoing background material.

4 PRESENT STUDY

In this chapter, the research design of the study will be presented. The chapter first includes a description of the data and the data collection process. Next, a more detailed portrayal of the primary material for the study, *Winnie-the-Pooh*, is given. In addition, the four translations of *Winnie-the-Pooh* are briefly introduced. The chapter also discusses the reasons for choosing the present material for the focus of the research. Furthermore, the research questions of the study as well as the choices made during the process are described. Finally, the methods used when analysing the material will be briefly described.

4.1 Data

The primary sources for the present study are A. A. Milne's children's book *Winnie-the-Pooh*, written in English, and its four translations: two into Finnish, one into Swedish and one into Italian. *Winnie-the-Pooh* is considered suitable as the focus of the study, because it is a famous children's classic and at the same time represents British culture and thus includes features typical for that culture. Also the fact that it is already over seventy years old, makes it possible to examine the effect of time on the features studied. Furthermore, it is considered intriguing that, although *Winnie-the-Pooh* has long been the focus of research, there do not seem to exist any previous studies on the culture-bound features in it.

The reason for choosing the above mentioned languages was that the present writer has studied them at the university. Moreover, the choice has also been influenced by the writer's strong personal interest in these languages and cultures, intensified by several contacts to these cultures mainly through residence in Great Britain, Sweden and Italy. The decision to include the three languages into the study was also motivated by a practical aspect: the wish to gain information about translating in general and to learn how different target language cultures affect the decisions the translator makes during the process.

In studying both translations and cultures, time is an important factor. In fact, it can be claimed that differences in translating culture-bound features cannot be studied without considering the effect of time on these differences at the same time. Thus, investigating how time has affected the translations of *Winnie-the-Pooh* is the main reason for including both of the existing Finnish versions in the study. In Swedish and Italian, as far as it is known to the present writer, only one translation has been made of *Winnie-the-Pooh* and thus the comparison related to the aspect of time and its effect to

culture-bound features in language can be made mainly by comparing the two Finnish versions with each other. However, due to the fact that there are great differences in age between all the translations, some effects of time on them can be discussed, however, taking into consideration the fact that they all represent different cultural backgrounds.

4.2 A. A. Milne and *Winnie-the-Pooh*

Alan Alexander Milne's (1882-1956) Pooh stories have delighted generations of children since they first appeared over seventy years ago. They were published in the late 1920s at the end of a sixty year period of great children's literature produced in England. As Hunt (1992:112) states, *Winnie-the-Pooh* is among the most famous and successful of children's books and a classic example of the domestic fantasy, a genre that interrelates the adult and children's form of fantasy. Thus, it is no accident that Milne's books have been equally popular with adults and with children because they are far from being 'pure' children's books. According to Hunt (1992:122), there is one extra dimension for adult readers in *Winnie-the-Pooh*, that of nostalgia. Milne "delivers a golden world" by his prose, emphasized by the drawings in the books by Ernest H. Shepard.

Milne has always acknowledged that it was his wife and his son, Christopher Robin, who gave life to the nursery animals which were the inspiration of his stories in *Winnie-the-Pooh* (*Winnie-the-Pooh* 1926 back cover). According to Carpenter (1985:201-202), Milne, when writing about his son's toys, reverts to an old type of animal story, the fable, in which the animals are used as representatives of human character. Pooh, Piglet, Eeyore, Rabbit, Owl, Tigger, Kanga and baby Roo, as described by Carpenter (1985:202), are like a family of children living in the Hundred Acre Wood "under the benevolently watchful eye of a parent-figure, Christopher Robin". *Winnie-*

the-Pooh consists of ten chapters in which Pooh and his friends get into different kind of adventures and often end up in humorous situations.

According to Hunt (1992:112), *Winnie-the-Pooh* has been a bestseller since its publication in 1926: the book sold half a million copies in Britain by 1936. Later on, it has been translated into thirty-one languages (Petäjä 1988). Hunt (1992:112) argues that *Winnie-the-Pooh* has become a part of British culture, in the sense that it is passed along from generation to generation almost as part of a secret code of language. According to Hunt (1992:113), by cutting the usually larger-than-life elements of fantasy down to smaller-than-life animated toys, Milne preserved the power of fantasy and made it accessible to children. Hunt (1992:117) adds that it is commonly held that children are more inclined to attribute human characteristics to inanimate objects – in this case, the animate stuffed toys. Thus, it can be claimed that *Winnie-the-Pooh* brings a very special corner of childhood to life. Together with Shepherd's drawings, the image of *Winnie-the-Pooh* has been immortalized as the world's most beloved bear.

4.3 The translations of *Winnie-the Pooh*

As mentioned above, the present study examines four translations of the English original *Winnie-the-Pooh*: one Swedish, two Finnish and one Italian translation. The Swedish version is the oldest of the translations, made in 1930 by Brita af Geijerstam. Soon after this, in 1934, was published the first Finnish version with Anna Talaskivi as the translator. The second Finnish translation is created by Kersti Juva in 1976. The most recent of the translations included in the present thesis is the Italian version from the year 1993 by Luigi Spagnol. Subsequently WP26 will be used to refer to the original English version of *Winnie-the-Pooh* in 1926, NP30 to the Swedish translation by af Geijerstam in 1930, NP34 to the Finnish translation by Anna

Talaskivi in 1934, NP76 to the Finnish translation by Kersti Juva in 1976, and WP93 to the Italian translation by Luigi Spagnol in 1993.

4.4 Background, hypotheses and problems

The main purpose of the present study is to analyze how the British culture-bound features are translated into other cultures and other languages. More specifically, the following research questions are posed: 1) Are there differences in how the culture specific features are translated in different cultures? 2) How big a role does time play in relation to translating these features? 3) Does the target audience, in the present case children, seem to have an effect on the solutions the translators have made?

The present writer had several hypotheses about the answers before the analysis. Firstly, it was assumed that Finnish and Swedish translations would be similar with each other because of their geographical and historical vicinity, with their cultures resembling each other in many ways. Secondly, it was assumed that the language relations would play a role in the translations. Because language is an essential part of culture, Swedish, being the only language under study that belongs to the Germanic language group with English, is often supposed to share some similarities in cultural features caused by its relatedness with English. Thirdly, it was assumed that the aspect of time and, thus, the changes in the culture would become evident when comparing the older translations (the Swedish one and the first Finnish one) with the more recent ones (the earlier translation in Finnish and the Italian one). As the final hypothesis, it was proposed that the culture-bound features in the older versions would be more adapted to the target language culture, while in the later versions the translators would have more trust in the knowledge and abilities of their target language audience to understand foreign cultures.

Because the data seemed to offer more than enough material, there emerged some problems in deciding which aspects would be the ones for the more profound analysis. However, it seemed sensible to choose only a couple of areas for more thorough analysis rather than deal with more subjects only to be able to scratch their surface and thus study them in rather a superficial way.

4.5 Method

First, the original version of *Winnie-the-Pooh* was carefully read and, based on the background information, the culture-bound features were identified and selected. After that, all the translations, one by one, were analysed, paying special attention to the elements found in the English version.

Secondly, the categories of culture-bound translations were chosen and the examples were grouped under the subtitles 1) food and eating, 2) measurements, 3) themes on nature, 4) wordplays and 5) songs and games. The categorization was made according to the culture-bound features occurring most often in *Winnie-the-Pooh* as well as those studied most in earlier research. Later it was found that these two grounds for selection in fact overlapped. Thus, it was discovered that *Winnie-the-Pooh* presents a great number of culture-bound features belonging to the most researched categories. Therefore, due to the fact that the book offers plenty of material for every category, a selection of the features to be analyzed more closely had to be done. This selection was based on the attempt to choose as different examples from each category as possible in order to give an all-round view of the topic. The analysis was limited to only five main aspects, because they were found to offer more than enough material, and it seemed rational to concentrate on a smaller amount of data and hence make a more

thorough analysis.

A great help for the present study were some native speakers of the source language as well as those representing every target language culture. The material from the persons interviewed was acquired by telephone calls as well as via e-mail. The discussions concerning their native language and culture were used as an additional information source when identifying features typical for each of the cultures studied.

Thirdly, after categorizing the examples, the corresponding paragraphs including culture related features were compared with each other and. Then, based on the theoretical background, the information gained from the native speakers of the source and target language cultures as well as the writer's own knowledge and experience, the results were drawn.

The study is descriptive and does not aim at evaluation. Although with every example, four translations were examined in relation to the source language text, the intention was not to make value judgements on the basis of the potential equivalence or differences found between the original text and the four target language versions. However, when discussing possible reasons for different translation solutions, total objectivity is rarely reached in studies of the present type.

5 ANALYSIS AND RESULTS

As Chesterman (1989:5) states, translating is something that people do with words. Moreover, Nida (1975b:68) claims that words are fundamentally symbols of the culture. Chesterman (1989:5) further mentions that a descriptive analysis of translation should be able to state precisely what translators do with those words, and what are the possible causes and results

of their decisions. In the following chapter, an attempt is made, in the form of descriptive analysis, to present some culture-bound features in *Winnie-the-Pooh*. The culturally dependent meanings are divided into five groups according to the category they belong to. The groups, in the order they will be presented below, are 1) food and eating, 2) measurements, 3) themes on nature, 4) wordplays, and 5) songs and games.

5. 1 Food and eating

According to Katan (1999:51), the variety of drink and food is one of the facets of culture. In the translations of expressions connected with food and eating, the link between time and translation can often be clearly noticed as well as the cultural background of the translator. Newmark (1988:97) states that food is for many the most sensitive and important expression of national culture. He adds that food terms are subject to the widest variety of translation procedures. Various settings contain foreign food terms. Bassnett-McGuire (1980:19) claims that although in the target culture there would be a straightforward substitution for a food product typical for source culture, the words in their separate cultural contexts often cannot be considered as signifying the same. Bassnett-McGuire (1980:19) gives as an example of the word *butter* when translated into Italian *burro*. In Italy, *burro* is used primarily for cooking and carries an association of high status, while *butter* in Britain is used for spreading on bread and less frequently in cooking. Thus, there is a distinction both between the objects signified by *butter* and *burro* and between the function and value of these in their cultural contexts.

According to Oittinen (1993:31), eating and the names of food are very central issues in children's books in general. Oittinen points out that in some famous children's books, like in *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*, the

whole story is based on eating: Alice's eating and drinking make her grow and shrink and thus gives rhythm to the narration. In *Winnie-the-Pooh* the terms relating to food and eating have also a rather strong role, for eating is one of Pooh's favourite things to do. Consequently, there are many words and situations describing meals and mealtimes. Every culture has its own traditions of how, when and what to eat. Also the time has an important role when studying the word choice of the translator, for the contents of dishes as well as eating habits have not remained unchangeable over time. As Oittinen (1997:44, 47) points out, many food related expressions reflect, on one hand the change in the dishes and eating habits, and on the other the living standard and prosperity in general in the culture they belong to. The change in time and from one culture to another can be seen in the many examples found in *Winnie-the-Pooh* and its translations.

Example 1

In chapter six of *Winnie-the-Pooh*, Eeyore pictures to himself a fancy birthday cake:

"Look at the birthday cake. Candles and *pink sugar*." (WP:79)

The translations of the passage are the followings:

"Se på födelsedagstårten. Med ljus och *kanderat socker*." (NP30:70)

"Katso syntymäpäiväkakkua. Siinä on kynttilöitä ja *kuorrutettua sokeria*." (NP34:80)

"Syntymäpäiväkakku. Kynttilöitä ja *vaaleanpunaista sokerikuorrutusta*." (NP76:77)

"Guarda la torta. Candeline e *zucchero rosa*." (WP93:82)

It can be assumed that Milne in the original text here refers to sugar icing, because also in some other passages in the book the same cakes are referred

to, for example in chapter ten in which Pooh asks about "those little cake things with *pink sugar icing*" (WP26:144). It seems that Talaskivi has imitated the solution that af Geijerstam has found. As long time ago as in the 1930s, putting sugar icing on cakes may not have been common either in Sweden or in Finland. In addition, from Geijerstam's and Talaskivi's translation one may get a wrong idea of how the sugar works on the cake, it is not the sugar that is topped with icing, but the icing is made *of* sugar. As the word *kuorrutettu* in Finnish, in the same way is *kanderat* in Swedish used alone to mean 'iced'. Therefore, the meaning of the original text is said twice in both af Geijerstam's and Talaskivi's versions. As can be seen, Juva and Spagnol have translated the meaning more like in the original text. Furthermore, they have not deleted the word describing the colour of the icing as it is done in the preceding translations. Apparently in the 1970s more is known about decorating desserts, because the younger translations, the latter in Finnish and the Italian one, give a clearer picture of the cake.

The changes in time and society become apparent when comparing the four translations: in different times and different cultures children have enjoyed different kinds of delicacies. However, the translators of the more modern versions seem to assume that the reader is able to understand what some special dessert is like, although it would not belong to the most common types of dishes in the native culture of the reader.

Example 2

There is a reference to a cake also in chapter six. The original text goes as follows:

"He had a cake with *icing* on the top, and three candles, and his name in *pink sugar*, and –" (WP26:91).

The four translations of the same phrase in Swedish, Finnish and Italian are presented below:

”Han fick *en tårta med grädde* på och tre ljus och sitt namn *i kanderat socker* och...” (NP30:82)

”Hän sai *kermakakun*, jossa oli kolme kynttilää ja hänen nimensä kirjoitettuna *kuorrutetulla sokerilla* ja...” (NP34:93)

”Hän sai *kuorrutetun kakun* jossa oli kolme kynttilää ja hänen nimensä oli kirjoitettu siihen *vaaleanpunaisella sokerilla* ja –” (NP76:88)

”Gli hai fatto una torta con *la glassa*, tre candeline e il suo nome scritto con *lo zucchero rosa* e...” (WP93:95)

Neither af Geijerstam nor Talaskivi seem to have wanted to deal with the problematic translation of *icing* and have instead adapted the cake into their own culinary culture in which cakes with icing are not so popular and the most common version of a birthday cake is indeed one with whipped cream on it. It seems that the idea of af Geijerstam and Talaskivi has been to describe something that children in their target culture in general consider delicious. Still, both in af Geijerstam’s and Talaskivi’s translations there remains the same problem with *pink sugar* as treated in the example one before. Juva and Spagnol instead have reached a more direct translation without adapting the cake into their culture by preserving the idea of icing although birthday cakes both in Italy and, as mentioned before, in Finland usually are covered with whipped cream instead of sugar icing.

Example 3

When Pooh visits Rabbit in chapter two, Rabbit invites him for breakfast and asks if Pooh prefers *honey or condensed milk* with his bread:

...and when Rabbit said, '*Honey or condensed milk* with your bread?' he [Pooh] was so excited that he said, "Both"... (WP26:37)

This time translations are as follows:

...och när Kanin frågade: ”*Honung eller mjölk till brödet?*” blev han så förtjust, att han svarade: ”Bägge delarna.” (NP30:27)

...ja kun Kaniini kysyi: ”*Hunajaako vai maitoa leivän kanssa?*” oli hän niin ihastunut, että vastasi: ”Molempia.” (NP34:30)

Kun Kani sanoi: ”*Otatko hunajaa vai hilloa leivän kanssa?*” Puh oli niin innoissaan, että vastasi: ”Molempia”... (NP76:31)

...e quando Coniglio chiese: ”*Preferisci miele o latte condensato con il pane?*” Puh si lasciò trascinare dall’entusiasmo e rispose: ”Tutt’e due”... (WP93:36)

In the 1930s Rabbit’s offer has been translated in a similar way, i.e. honey or milk, both in Swedish and in Finnish: *honung eller mjölk*, (af Geijerstam) and *hunajaa vai maitoa* (Talaskivi). In the 1970’s Finnish translation the word milk has been avoided totally and translated instead as *hunajaa vai hilloa* (Juva), i.e. honey and jam. Af Geijerstam, Talaskivi and Juva seem to have felt that, for a Swedish or a Finnish child of the time, condensed milk would have been a difficult concept to understand. However, af Geijerstam and Talaskivi have preserved the milk unlike Juva who has replaced it with the word meaning jam in English. Perhaps she has thought about the most common products British people eat with bread and one of these would, of course, be jam.

In the Italian version, Spagnol has translated the terms word for word from English into *miele o latte condensato*. In today’s Italy, although condensed milk is not as common a product as it was twenty years ago, it is still used, for example for making ice-cream. Therefore, the translator has felt no need to change the words. He must have thought that the audience of his target language culture is able to understand the meanings without any alterations.

Example 4

The names for meal times differ greatly from one culture to another. Furthermore, although the meal time, when translated, would have the same name as in the original language, the time of day when it is served might not be the same in every country. Here is an example from chapter three of *Winnie-the-Pooh* where, after an exciting afternoon of hunting Heffalumps, Pooh feels a bit hungry:

"Anyhow", he [Pooh] said, "it is nearly *Luncheon Time*." (WP26:51)

The followings are the four translations of the same passage:

"Det är i alla fall *lunch* strax", sa han. (NP30:41)

"Joka tapauksessa on pian *aamiaisaika*". (NP34:47)

"Joka tapauksessa", hän sanoi, "kohta *on ruoka-aika*". (WP76:46)

"In ogni modo" conclude, "è quasi *Ora di Pranzo*". (WP93:52)

The direct translation for *luncheon* would in Finnish be *lounas*. However, Talaskivi as well as Juva have not preserved the expression. Juva has preferred the more general term referring to a meal time in general, while Talaskivi has turned the hands of the clock back some hours and thus refers to breakfast. Based on today's eating habits, her solution could be considered quite strange taking into account that earlier in the chapter it was told that it was already noon. However, in the earlier times in Finland, the first proper meal of the day was eaten considerably later than nowadays and thus it was also sometimes called *aamiainen*, i.e. breakfast. Thus, it can be claimed that in every culture there are different traditions behind the terms related to mealtimes.

In *The Oxford English Dictionary*¹ it is stated in that *luncheon* is "a slight repast taken between two of the ordinary mealtimes, especially between breakfast and mid-day dinner". Whereas both Finnish translators have changed the term, one to a more general term and the other referring to earlier time of the day, the Swedish af Geijerstam and the Italian Spagnol have translated the idea more precisely, using the exact corresponding words for *luncheon*, i.e. *lunch* and *pranzo*. Hasselmo (1974:203) claims that the word *lunch* in Swedish is actually a direct loan from English and, according to an etymological Swedish dictionary, the meaning of *lunch* in Swedish is approximately the same as that of *luncheon* in English, i.e. "a mealtime in the middle of the day"².

The reasons for the kinds of differences between the translations presented above may be traced back to cultural differences. At least in Finland, breakfast is considered one of the main meals of the day while in Italy it can often be ignored and thus the first meal of the day is eaten at noon. While also in today's Finland, the meal times are most often referred to only as *ruoka-aika*, i.e. mealtime, instead of specifying if it is lunch or dinner we are talking about, in Sweden it is still common to refer to *lunch* or *middag* i.e. lunch or dinner, depending on the time of the day when the meal is served. However, it seems to be the case that neither in Sweden nor in Italy, the words corresponding *luncheon*, i.e. *lunch* and *pranzo*, have a longer history in their cultures than the word *lounas* has in Finnish, but *lounas* has not been used so often in Finland compared to the two others in their cultures. According to an etymological Finnish dictionary, the Finnish word *lounas* in earlier times had also the general meaning 'mealtime'³, which would explain Juva's word choice. Based on the above mentioned facts, in this case it can be supposed that the choice between the terms can be traced back to the

¹ *The Oxford English Dictionary* 1989. 2nd edition. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

² *Prismas främmande ord* 1990. Stockholm: Bokförlaget Prisma.

³ *Suomen sanojen alkuperä. Etymologinen sanakirja* 2 1995. Helsinki: SKS.

cultural background of the translators as well as to the time when the translations were made.

Example 5

In another situation, there is again talk about the mealtimes. This happens in the second chapter, where Pooh goes visiting Rabbit:

Pooh always liked to eat a little something at *eleven o'clock* in the morning... (WP26:37)

The translations for this sentence are:

Puh tyckte alltid om att äta litet grand klockan *elva* på morgonen... (NP30:27)

Puh söi aina mielellään hiukkasen kello *yhdentoista aikaan* aamulla... (NP34:30)

Puh nautti aina mielellään jotakin pientä aamulla *kello yksitoista*... (NP76:31)

A Puh faceva sempre piacere qualcosina da mandar giù *alle undici* di mattina... (WP93:36)

In this case the time of the day is expressed in the original English version. Hence, no one of the translators has changed it, although *eleven o'clock* may not be a common meal time in any of the target language cultures. It seems that when in the original text there are no specific terms, like the word *lunch* in example four, but instead a more general term, like the clock-time in the present example, the translators more easily transfer the exact meaning to their target languages without making any changes. This is done although the more general expression, like having a meal at *eleven o'clock* here, would actually, as an event, be as culture specific as the exact term, in this case the name of the mealtime *lunch*.

Example 6

A third example of the translation of mealtimes is, as well, a more or less direct one in all the translated versions. In chapter nine of the original text the tired Pooh is having *supper*:

...but he [Pooh] was so tired when he got home that, in the middle of his *supper*, after he had been eating for little more than half-an-hour, he fell asleep in his chair... (WP26:131)

The translations are the following:

...men han [Puh] var så trött, när han kom hem igen, att mitt under *kvällsmaten*, när han bara hade ätit en halvtimme eller litet längre, somnade han i sin stol... (NP30:121)

...mutta hän [Puh] oli niin väsynyt, että hän nukahti tuoliinsa kesken *illallistaan* syötyään vain puoli tuntia tai vähän kauemmin... (NP34:137)

...mutta kotiin palattuun hän [Puh] oli niin väsynyt, että hän nukahti tuoliinsa kesken *illallisen* syötyään vasta vajaat puoli tuntia... (NP76:129)

...ma [Puh] era tanto stanco quand'era tornato a casa che, a metà della *cena*, dopo neanche mezz'ora che mangiava, si era addormentato sulla sedia... (WP93:138)

As can be seen, the corresponding word for *supper* is used in every translation. Hence it seems that, compared to *lunch*, *supper* is considered to be a more common aspect in all the target language cultures and thus there has not been any need for adaptations and word changes and *supper* is translated Swedish, Finnish and Italian respectively as *kvällsmat*, *illallinen* and *cena*.

Example 7

In chapter eight there is a description of Pooh's breakfast:

At breakfast that morning (a simple *meal of marmalade spread lightly over a honeycomb or two*) he [Puh] had suddenly thought of a new song. (WP26:109)

The Swedish, Finnish and Italian versions of the above passage are:

Vid frukosten samma morgon (ett enkelt *mål bestående av marmelad, bredd på ett par honungskakor*) hade han [Puh] plötsligt kommit att tänka på en ny sång. (NP30:100)

Aamiaista syöessä samana aamuna (yksinkertainen *ateria johon kuului marmelaadia, kahden tai kolmen hunajakakun päälle levitettyä*) hänen [Puh] päähänsä oli yht'äkkiä pälkähtänyt uusi laulu. (NP30:113)

Hän [Puh] oli samana aamuna aamiaisellaan (yksinkertainen *ateria joka käsitti pari ohuesti marmelaatilla päällystettyä hunajakakkua*) keksinyt uuden laulun. (NP76:107)

Quella mattina a colazione (un semplice *pasto di marmellata d'arance lievemente spalmata su un paio di favi di miele*) gli [Puh] era venuta improvvisamente in mente una nuova canzone. (WP93:115)

As shown by the quotations, af Geijerstam, Talaskivi and Juva have preserved the "English breakfast" without adapting the food products into the Swedish and Finnish culture respectively and changing *honeycombs* and *marmalade* into for example a plateful of porridge and a glass of milk, which would correspond to a typical Finnish or Swedish morning meal.

Spagnol, instead, seems to have thought that the food articles need to be defined more closely to make it clear for children, who maybe have no idea what a *honeycomb* is, what kind of food products is referred to here. Hence,

he has added the word *miele* 'honey' although *favo* alone includes the meaning of a honeycomb. In the Italian version, there is also an extra element added: Spagnol has specified that the marmalade is *marmellata d'arance*, i.e. orange marmalade, although in the original text Milne does not mention which kind of marmalade Pooh had on the honeycombs. Like in Britain, also in Italy orange marmalade is the most common type of jam put on the bread, so maybe this has been the reason for Spagnol's addition.

5.2 Measurements

Translating the weights and measures from one language into another often causes problems. Traditionally Britain has used its own weights and measures which differ from the 'continental' ones of Finland, Sweden and Italy. Although in the 1970's the metric units have been officially adopted also in Britain, in everyday life people still use the old units. When dealing with measurement systems different from those used in the translator's own culture, he/she has to make a decision of whether to change the whole system to correspond the ones belonging to the system of his/her own country or to transfer the cultural aspect of the source language by preserving the measurement units used in the original text. Newmark (1988:217) points out that the decision will depend on the setting of the terms and the implied readership: the most important aspect to take into account is, of course, the capabilities and general knowledge of the target audience to understand the terms. Newmark (1988:217-218) mentions that while dealing with specialised articles or professional magazines, the measurement terms are usually transferred while in translating fiction the decision on whether to adapt or transfer depends on the importance of retaining local colour. As can be seen later, the translations of measurements in *Winnie-the-Pooh* are very different, from the original, and from each other.

Example 8

Chapter six of *Winnie-the-Pooh* begins with a description of Eeyore's gloomy place by the stream:

He [Eeyore] turned and walked slowly down the stream for *twenty yards*, splashed across it, and walked slowly back on the other side. (WP26:76)

The Swedish, Finnish and Italian translators have dealt with the measurements in the following way:

Han vände om och gick långsamt längs ån *en tio meter*, plaskade över den och gick långsamt tillbaka på den andra sidan. (NP30:67)

Hän kääntyi ja asteli hitaasti jokivartta *kymmenisen metriä*, molskutti joen poikki ja asteli hitaasti takaisin toista puolta rantaa. (NP34:76)

Hän kääntyi ja asteli hitaasti myötävirtaan *parikymmentä metriä*, kahlasi joen yli ja käveli takaisin toista rantaa. (NP76:73)

Si girò e fece *qualche lento passo* lungo il fiume, lo attraversò e lo risalì dall'altra parte. (WP93:79)

As shown above, there are some differences in translating the unit of measure *yard*. In the original version, Eeyore walks down the stream for *twenty yards*. The translations in Swedish and Finnish versions are quite similar when compared with each other: Juva has translated the meaning as *parikymmentä metriä* (some twenty metres), while the other Finn, Talaskivi, has made it even shorter with *kymmenisen metriä* (some ten metres), as well as af Geijerstam, *en tio meter* (about ten metres). *Twenty yards*⁴ is about eighteen metres, so Juva is quite near to the truth, but Talaskivi and af

⁴ "A yard is a unit of length equal to thirty-six inches or approximately 91,4 centimetres" (*Collins Cobuilt Dictionary* 1995. London: HarperCollins Publishers).

Geijerstam leave the length to half of the original. The Italian Spagnol, instead, has not wanted to express the distance quite so precisely and has replaced the metres with an approximate expression *qualche lento passo*, a couple of footsteps.

Example 9

The solutions which the translators have for expressing the length of a *yard* can be discussed also by studying chapter seven of *Winnie-the-Pooh*, in which Piglet is hurrying home:

But when he [Piglet] was *a hundred yards* away he stopped running, and rolled the rest of the way home... (WP26:108)

The different translation solutions are shown below:

Men när han [Nasse] hade *en trettio meter* kvar, stannade han och rullade hem resten av vägen... (NP30:99)

Mutta kun hänellä [Nasu] oli *kolmekymmentä metriä* jäljellä, hän pysähtyi ja kieritteli loppumatkan kotiin... (NP34:112)

Vähän matkan päässä kotoaan hän [Nasu] hiljensi vauhtia ja kieri loppumatkan... (NP76:105)

Ma *un centinaio di metri* dalla porta [Porcelletto] si fermò e si rotolò per il resto della strada... (WP93:114)

In the original version there is talk about a distance of *a hundred yards*. The Italian Spagnol has reached the most precise translation with his *un centinaio di metri*, that is, more or less hundred metres. As was mentioned above, one yard is approximately ninety centimetres and that makes *hundred yards* ninety metres. Thus, it is difficult to guess why af Geijerstam and Talaskivi have come to the conclusion to translate *hundred yards* into *trettio meter* and *kolmekymmentä metriä* respectively, ie. thirty metres. In the 1930s the

translators must have already had the possibility to get information over the culture borders and thus clear up how much *hundred yards* are in metres, so here the aspect of time cannot explain of Geijerstam's and Talaskivi's word choices. Therefore, it can be hypothesized that they simply have not had time, possibility or interest in clearing up this problem. As has been speculated before, Talaskivi seems to have, at least sometimes, used the earlier Swedish translation as a support when making her Finnish version, which would explain her 'error'. The translator of the later Finnish version, Juva, has instead solved the problem by eliminating totally all the precise numbers and replacing them with a more vague expression *vähän matkaa* (a short way).

Example 10

In chapter four, Pooh is going for a visit at Owl's. In the original text, it is told that Owl lives in the forest of hundred acres:

For it was in the *Hundred Acre Wood* that Owl lived. (WP26:55)

In the four translations, there are great differences in the size of the wood:

För det var i *Sjumilaskogen Ugglan* bodde. (NP30:45)

Sillä *Seitsemänpeninkulmanmetsässä* asui Pöllö. (NP34:52)

Sillä *Puolen Hehtaarin* Puistossa asui Pöllö. (NP76:51)

Perché era nel Bosco dei *Cento Acri* che abitava Gufo. (WP93:56)

In the English text, the unit of measurement *acre* is used. It can be seen that the Italian Spagnol is the only one who has translated the meaning as it really is, without changing the unit of measurement. All the others have probably assumed that their readers are too young to understand the terms of measurement in another culture and therefore they have used the vocabulary

of their own culture, ignoring the fact that the terms of their own language do not coincide with those in English. For *hundred acres* certainly is not the same thing as *sju mil*, ie. seven miles (af Geijerstam), *seitsemän peninkulmaa*, also seven miles (Talaskivi), or *puoli hehtaaria*, half a hectare (Juva). The area of *hundred acres*⁵ is about eighty times bigger than the area of *puoli hehtaaria*⁶. In addition *mil*, same as *peninkulma*⁷ in Finnish, is not comparable with the measurements mentioned before. The corresponding unit of measurement for *mil* or *peninkulma* would in English be *mile*. However, the word choices made by af Geijerstam and Talaskivi can be justified if the aspect of style is considered, because according to the Swedish dictionary *Bonniers Svenska Ordbok*⁸, *sjumilaskog* (which is the Swedish correspondent of the Finnish *seitsemänpeninkulmanmetsä*), can have a meaning of 'a very deep and wide forest'.

Example 11

However, in another instance in *Winnie-the-Pooh*, the old British units of measurement are changed correctly into metres in the target languages. This example is from the first chapter where Pooh, tempted by the smell of the honey, climbs into a tree but does not succeed in reaching his goal:

"Oh help!", said Pooh, as he dropped *ten feet* on the branch below him.
 "If only I hadn't", he said, as he bounced *twenty feet* on the next branch.
 (WP26:20)

The translations of the foregoing passage are presented below:

"Hjälp!" skrek Puh, när han ramlade ner på en gren *tre meter* under
 honom. "Om jag bara hade låtit bli att...", sa han, just som han dunsade

⁵ "An acre is an area of land measuring 4840 square yards or 4047 square metres" (*Collins Cobuilt Dictionary* 1995. London: Harper Collins Publishers).

⁶ Hehtaari is 10 000 square metres (*WSOYn Iso Tietosanakirja vol. 3* 1995. Juva: WSOY).

⁷ Peninkulma is a unit of distance equal to 10 kilometres (*WSOYn Iso Tietosanakirja vol. 7* 1995. Juva: WSOY).

⁸ *Bonniers Svenska Ordbok* 1998. Stockholm: Bokförlager Bonnier Alba AB.

mot nästa gren, *sex meter* längre ner. (NP30:11)

”Apua”, huusi Puh, kun hän kierähti *kolme metriä* alempana olevalle oksalle. ”Jollen vain olisi...” sanoi hän, juuri kun hän tupsahti seuraavalle oksalle, *kuusi metriä* alemmas. (NP34:13)

”Apua!” sanoi Puh pudotessaan *kolme metriä* alempana odottavalle oksalle. ”Kunpa en olisi –” hän sanoi kiittäessään *kuusi metriä* kohti seuraavaa oksaa. (NP76:15)

”Oh, aiuto!” disse Winnie Puh, *cadendo sul ramo tre metri* più in giù. ”Se solo non avessi...” disse, *rimbalzando sei metri* più in basso su un altro ramo. (WP93:19-20)

This time there is talk about *feet* in the original text. *Ten feet*⁹ is indeed approximately three metres, which will, of course, make *twenty feet* six metres. No one of the translators comes from a culture where the measurement unit *foot* is in use. Thus they all use the metric system and, when taking into account also the restrictive fact their target audience’s age causes, it is understandable that all four of them have made their texts easier to read by this cultural adaptation. However, this time the adaptation is done carefully, transferring the correct information of the length of Pooh’s fall.

Example 12

Later on in the same chapter there is again talk about *feet*:

”You see what I meant to do”, he explained, as he turned head-over-heels, and crashed on to another branch *thirty feet* below, ”what I meant to do -” (WP26:20)

This time the translations are the followings:

⁹ ”A foot is a unit for measuring length, height, or depth, and is equal to 12 inches or 30,48 centimetres” (*Collins Cobuilt Dictionary* 1995. London: HarperCollins Publishers).

”Ser du, min mening var”, förklarade han medan han gjorde en kullerbytta och slog mot en gren *tio meter* längre ner, ”min mening var att...” (NP30:11-12)

”Näes, tarkoitukseni oli”, selitti hän tehdessään kuperkeikan ja kopsahtaessaan *kymmenen metriä* alempana olevalle oksalle, ”tarkoitukseni oli...” (NP34:13)

”Nimittäin aikomukseni oli –” hän selitti kääntyessään ylösalaisin ja törmätessään seuraavaan oksaan *metriä* alempana, ”aikomukseni oli –” (NP76:15)

”Cioè, quello che volevo fare” spiegò, girando su se stesso e schiantandosi contro un altro ramo *nove metri* più sotto, ”quello che volevo fare...” (WP93:20)

The Italian translation is again the most precise one. Spagnol has changed the feet to metres and thus translated *thirty feet* to nine metres which, in this case, is more or less equivalent expression in the metric system. Af Geijerstam and Talaskivi have arrived at a round figure and changed *thirty feet* to ten metres. Juva instead has made quite a radical change and reduced the distance from nine-ten metres to one metre. Maybe she has again thought about her target audience and children’s limited abilities and thus given up all the precise numbers. Also Newmark (1988:218) mentions that when the numbers in the source language text are considered approximate, they can be translated with correspondingly approximate figures. It is possible that, according to Juva, the distance is not crucial to the story, or that she has considered the length of *ten metres* to be rather an unbelievable distance between two branches and maybe also too terrible a fall for the poor bear.

Example 13

The term *foot* is used again in chapter five, where Pooh and Piglet are making a plan for catching a Heffalump:

Piglet said that the best place would be somewhere where a Heffalump was, just before he fell into it, only *about a foot* further on. (WP26:65)

This time there is a little more variation in the translations, as can be noticed when comparing the Swedish, Finnish and Italian versions of the same passage of the text:

Nasse sa, att den bästa platsen vore någonstans, där en Heffaklump höll till alldeles innan han trillade ner i den, bara *omkring en meter* längre fram eller så. (NP30:56)

Nasu sanoi, että paras paikka olisi siinä lähetyvillä, missä Möhköfanti jo oleskeli juuri ennen kuin hän vierähtäisi siihen, vain *noin metrin* päässä siitä tai niillä vaiheilla. (NP34:63)

Nasu sanoi, että paras paikka olisi sellainen missä Möhköfanti olisi juuri ennen putoamistaan, *noin puolen metrin* päässä siitä. (NP76:61)

Porcelletto disse che il posto migliore sarebbe stato dove c'era un Effalumpo, subito prima che ci cadesse dentro, solo *circa un metro* più in là. (WP93:67)

As was said above, one foot adapted into the metric system is about 30 centimetres. Here the Finnish translator Juva has come nearest to the original with her *noin puoli metriä*, about half a metre. All the others have translated the measure being about one metre. However, it can be claimed that here the question is of approximation, *about a foot*, and it really does not make such a difference if the distance is one metre or half of it.

Example 14

There is still another unit of measurement that belongs specifically to the British culture, the *inch*. In chapter ten, Pooh is admiring his present, a "Special Pencil Case":

There was (...) a ruler for ruling lines for the words to walk on, and *inches* marked on the ruler in case you wanted to know how many *inches* anything was... (WP26:153)

The translations of the preceding passage are the followings:

Det fanns (...) en linjal för att göra linjer, som orden skulle stå på, och med *millimeter* på, ifall man skulle vilja veta, hur många *millimeter* någonting var... (NP30:142-143)

Siinä oli (...) viivoitin, jolla voi tehdä viivoja, joille sanat piti kirjoittaa, ja siinä oli *millimetrimitat*, jos tahtoi tietää, kuinka monta *millimetriä* jokin oli... (NP34:161)

Siinä oli (...) viivoitin viivojen vetämistä varten niin että kirjaimet tietävät missä kävellä, ja viivoittimessa oli *sentit* sitä varalta että halutti tietää montako *senttiä* jokin oli... (WP76:152)

C'era (...) un righello per tracciare delle righe su cui le parole potevano passeggiare, e c'erano anche *centimetri* segnati sul righello in caso che si volesse sapere quanto *centimetri* era lungo qualcosa... (WP93:161)

Here the translators can be divided into groups of two according to their solutions. Af Geijerstam and Talaskivi have again solved the problem in quite a similar way. They have both deleted British inches, adopting instead the more continental metric system while the other two, Juva and Spagnol, have also moved from the British system to their own one, but instead of millimetres chosen centimetres. Although neither a millimetre nor a centimetre corresponds to an inch¹⁰ in length, the translators have thought about what the rulers in their home countries are like and thus translated inches as they most likely are better understood by their target culture

¹⁰ "An inch is an imperial unit of length, approximately equal to 2.54 centimetres" (Collins Cobuilt Dictionary 1995. London: HarperCollins Publishers).

audience. However, it is difficult to speculate why two of the translators have used centimetres while the two others millimetres. Maybe some have thought that a centimetre is a more common unit of measurement for young readers while the others have considered a millimetre to be a more familiar term for them.

5.3 Themes on nature

According to Newmark (1988:96), geographical features are usually value-free, politically and commercially. He adds that their diffusion depends on the importance of their country of origin as well as their degree of specificity. Furthermore, Nida (1975b:68) mentions that the extremity of ecological variation from territory to territory is wide and there are often considerable difficulties in equivalents for terms which designate ecological features. Newmark (1981:82) claims that general cultural words for ecological features are usually retained: areas have their own winds, lakes, moors and types of accommodation. As an example, he mentions that many countries have 'local' words for plains – 'prairies', 'tundras', 'pampas' – all with strong element of local colour. Newmark (1988:96) further states that all these words are normally transferred, with the addition of a brief culture-free third term where necessary in the text. Nida (1975b:70) adds that although in target language culture an attempt is often made to indicate the same environmental feature that exists in the source language culture, their different cultural significances are easily overlooked.

Example 15

The first example from *Winnie-the-Pooh* comes from chapter three where there is a description of Piglet's house in the trunk of a tree:

The Piglet lived in a very grand house in the middle of a *beech-tree*, and the *beech-tree* was in the middle of the forest, and the Piglet lived in the

middle of the house. (WP26:44)

The passage is translated in Swedish, Finnish and Italian as follows:

Nasse bodde i ett mycket fint hus mitt i *ett bokträd*, ock *boken* stod mitt i skogen, och Nasse bodde mitt i huset. (NP30:34)

Nasu asui hyvin hienossa talossa keskellä *pyökkipuuta*, ja *pyökki* kasvoi keskellä metsää, ja Nasu asui keskellä taloa. (NP34:38)

Nasueläin asui hienossa talossa *pyökin* keskellä ja *pyökki* kasvoi Metsän keskellä ja Nasu asui keskellä taloa. (NP76:38)

Porcelletto abitava in una grande casa in mezzo a *un faggio*, e *il faggio* si trovava in mezzo alla Foresta e Porcelletto viveva in mezzo alla casa. (WP93:44)

According to Koskinen (1981:70), the names of flora and fauna often cause difficulties for the translator. Nida (1981:54) claims that due to the obvious differences between cultures in matters of ecology and artifacts, translation is often considered impossible. Koskinen (1981:70) adds that in order to avoid misunderstandings, the Latin name of the plant can be included. However, this procedure can hardly be used when translating fiction. Here all the four translators have transferred the species of the tree as it is in the original text, although it is not a very typical type of tree in any of the target language cultures. The Swede af Geijerstam and Finn Talaskivi have both added the culture-free word *tree* to make it clear for their target audience, i.e. the children, that a *beech* is a tree. Apparently they are not sure that their audience in the target language culture has enough knowledge of the tree species to be able to recognize the word without any explanation.

Juva and Spagnol, instead, have confidence in the abilities of their readers to interpret the meaning of a *beech*. They have not found it necessary to add

any extra information to this term. Moreover, no one of the four translators has adapted the nature related word to their target culture. In every translation there is the word meaning *beech* and not, for example a birch in the Finnish and Swedish version or a cypress in the Italian one although they could be considered far more typical plants of the Finnish, Swedish or Italian target language culture respectively.

Example 16

In the following example, taken from chapter four, there are again some ecological terms. Pooh is on his way to Owl's house:

Through them [clouds] and between them the sun shone bravely; and *a copse* which had worn its firs all the year round seemed old and dowdy now beside the new green lace which the beeches had put on so prettily. (WP26:55)

In the translations below, some differences can be noticed:

Och solen strålade både genom dem [moln] och emellan dem. Och *granarna*, som haft sina barr hela året, såg gamla och ruggiga ut vid sidan av bokarna, som prytt sig med så vackra gröna spetsar. (NP30:45)

Ja aurinko säteili sekä niiden [pilvien] läpi että niiden lomitse. Ja *kuuset*, jotka olivat säilyttäneet neulasensa koko vuoden näyttivät takkuisilta pyökkien rinnalla, jotka olivat koristaneet itsensä niin kauniilla vihreillä pitseillä. (NP34:51)

Niiden [pilvien] läpi ja välissä paistoi aurinko urheasti, ja *metsikkö* joka oli pitänyt neulasia koko vuoden, näytti nyt vanhalta ja kauhtuneelta, vain pyökinoksista työntyi esiin somaa vihreää pitsiä. (NP76:51)

Attraverso di loro [le nuvole] e in mezzo a loro il sole brillante gagliardo; *un boschetto* di pini che durante tutto l'anno aveva indossato *le sue pigne* ora sembrava vecchio e logoro di fianco al nuovo merletto verde che s'erano messe *le betulle*. (WP93:56)

Juva and Spagnol have decided to make a direct translation. The terms most equivalent to *a copse*¹¹ in Finnish and in Italian are *metsikkö* and *boschetto* respectively. Af Geijerstam and Talaskivi have again translated according to a similar model. They both have adapted the landscape into their own, Scandinavian target language culture and instead of using the more general terms meaning *copse*, i.e. *skogsdunge* or *metsikkö*, have chosen the most common tree species in their countries, the spruce.

Spagnol has, however, made some other changes in this passage. Instead of writing of the firs of the trees, as it is in the original text as well as in the other translations, he writes about *le pigne*, i.e. the cones of a pine tree. A pine is a tree which one often sees in the Italian nature while spruces, so typical in Scandinavia, are not common in every part of Italy. In the present passage, Spagnol, unlike the other translators, has also changed the *beech* to a birch (*betulla*). The beech is a more common tree in Italy compared to a birch, so this does not explain why he has made this change now but not in example fifteen examined before. However, Koskinen (1091:71) suggests that different plants have different emotional significances in different cultures. As an example she mentions the acorn and claims that its significance and sentimental value in England is comparable to that of the birch in Finnish and Swedish cultures. Hence, it can be speculated that maybe for Spagnol the birch has a different value from the beech.

Example 17

Another occasion of cultural adaptation occurs in the first chapter of *Winnie-the Pooh*, where Pooh tries to reach a bee-hive and the honey in it up in the tree:

"It all comes, I suppose", he [Pooh] decided, as he said good-bye to the last branch, spun around three times, and flew gracefully into a *gorse-*

¹¹ "A copse is a small group of trees growing very close to each other" (*Collins Cobuilt Dictionary* 1995. London: Harper Collins Publishers).

bush, "it all comes of liking honey so much." (WP26:20)

The Swedish, Finnish and Italian translations are shown below:

"Jag antar, att det här är följdén av", tänkte han [Puh], när han sa adjö till den sista grenen, gjorde tre volter och mjukt föll ner i *en enrisbuske*, "att det här är följdén av att tycka så hemskt mycket om honung." (NP30:13)

"Arvelen, että tämä on seurauksena siitä", ajatteli hän [Puh], kun hän sanoi hyvästi viimeiselle oksalle, teki kolme kiepahdusta ja putosi pehmeästi *katajapensaaseen*, "että tämä on seurausta siitä, että pitää niin kauhean paljon hunajasta." (NP34:13)

"Kaikki kai johtuu", hän [Puh] viimein totesi hyvästellessään alimman oksan, pyörähtäessään kolmasti ympäri ja leijaillessaan sulavasti *piikkipensaaseen*, "kaikki kai johtuu siitä että pitää niin paljon hunajasta." (NP74:15)

"Tutto perché, immagino" decise [Puh], dopo aver salutato l'ultimo ramo, aver compiuto tre giravolte ed essere elegantemente atterrato in *un ginepro*, "tutto perché mi piace tanto il miele." (WP93:20)

According to the Finnish dictionary *Uusi Suomi-Englanti Suursanakirja*,¹² the translation of *gorse* into Finnish is *piikkiherne*. However, in none of the translations this has been the solution. Most of the translators, af Geijerstam, Talaskivi and Spagnol, have chosen the word meaning juniper in Swedish, Finnish and Italian, that is *enrisbuske*, *katajapensas* and *ginepro* respectively. However, Juva has translated the *gorse-bush* as *piikkipensas*, using a more general term that does not refer to any special species of plants and this way she has avoided the problem of translating a culture-bound term.

A *gorse* is a plant that either does not exist or at least is not common in any

¹² *Uusi Suomi-Englanti Suursanakirja* 1993. Juva: WSOY.

of the target language cultures. According to *WSOY:n Iso Tietosanakirja*¹³, the gorse belongs to a family of plants that are found in the heaths and moors of Western Europe, and thus are uncommon in the other parts of the continent. The translation into juniper can be understood from the point of view of the translators, whose young audience most probably is familiar with this common plant, but may have never heard about the *gorse* and what it is like. Nida (1981:54) points out that when the object or event in the source language is relatively similar in form and function to a corresponding one in the culture of the target language, one can often be substituted for the other. Hence, whether *gorse* is translated into juniper or just a plant with prickles in general, the idea that the bush contains prickles and thus is not the most comfortable place to fall on, has been preserved in every one of the translated versions.

Example 18

In chapter eight, Piglet is playing in the front of his house:

Piglet was sitting on the ground at the door of his house blowing happily at a *dandelion*, and wondering whether it would be this year, next year, sometime or never. (WP26:113)

The corresponding translations are as follows:

Nasse satt på marken vid dörren till sitt hus och blåste förnöjt på en utblommad *maskros* och undrade, om det skulle bli i år, någon gång eller aldrig. (NP30:104)

Nasu istui maassa ovensa edustalla ja puhalteli tyytyväisenä kukkinutta *voikukkaa* nähdäkseen, tapahtuisiko se tänä vuonna, joskus tai ei milloinkaan. (NP34:117-118)

¹³ *WSOYn Iso Tietosanakirja vol 7* 1995. Juva: WSOY.

Nasu istui kotiovensa edessä ja puhalteli tyytyväisenä *voikukan* höytyviä yrittäen saada selville, tapahtuisiko se tänä vuonna, ensi vuonna, joskus, vai ei koskaan. (NP76:111)

Porcelletto stava seduto per terra di fronte alla porta e soffiava allegramente *un soffione*, chiedendosi se sarebbe stato quest'anno, l'anno prossimo, una volta o l'altra o mai. (WP93:119)

Here is talk about a very common plant the *dandelion*. Unlike the gorse, the *dandelion* is a plant that can be found in most parts in Europe. Because it is certainly known in all target language cultures, no one of the translators has felt the need to change the flower into something else and the *dandelion* remains in every version as a *dandelion*.

Although dandelions can be found in every target language culture, some of the translators (af Geijerstam, Talaskivi and Juva) have, however, added a word meaning that the flower is already end of bloom (*utblommad, kukkinut, höytyvä*) to clarify Piglet's act of blowing, and this way made it sure that every chold reader will know what kind of flower it is in question.

5.4 Wordplays

In *Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English*¹⁴, the term wordplay is defined as involving making jokes by using words in a clever way. As Oittinen (1997:73) states, in translation of wordplays, especially the functions of the text and its different parts, the meaning of the text, as well as its effectiveness are emphasized. She further poses the question if it is wise to translate a wordplay at all if it will not be a wordplay also in the target culture. Oittinen (1997:73) defines the term wordplay by stating that it

¹⁴ *Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English* 1995. London: Longman Group Ltd.

can be based on pronunciation, way of writing, morphology, syntax or vocabulary of a certain language. Therefore, it can be considered justified to claim that wordplays make part of the group of culture-bound features, for they are always based on the use of the words or sounds of a particular language in a particular cultural setting. According to Ingo, (1991:39) it is thus evident that a text with wordplays is the greatest challenge for the translator: a wordplay that is made to work based on the form and semantics of one language cannot be translated without the form or the content of it being changed.

Oittinen (1997:73) deals with the typical stylistic methods in translating wordplays, which are among others rhythm, rhyme, nonsense language, decorative language, satires, comparisons and especially jokes that are based on the similarities between sounds and words. It does not make any difference in what kind of form the joke is presented, the main thing is that it, in one way or other, makes the reader realize the idea and makes him/her laugh. Ritva Leppihalme (1997:3) explains that, on one hand, culture regulates what is appropriate to joke with and, on the other hand, the understanding of a wordplay often demands culture-bound background information. Readers with different cultural backgrounds react to wordplays according their own personality, their reading and life experience as well as their knowledge of the source language culture.

Oittinen (1997:73-74) has some suggestions for translating wordplays. Firstly, the wordplay in the original language can be replaced by another wordplay in the target language in the corresponding passage of the text. Another possibility is to compensate the wordplay in the original text with some other effect, for example by adding rhymes. A third alternative is to totally give up translating the wordplay in the passage corresponding the one in the original text, and instead add it to some other part of the text.

Example 19

Winnie-the-Pooh is overflowing with wordplays. In the fifth chapter of the book, there is a passage where Pooh and Piglet are wondering what to put as a bait in a trap for a Heffalump, *honey* or *acorns*:

”... What do Heffalumps like? I should think *acorns*, shouldn't you? We'll get a lot of – I say, wake up, Pooh!” Pooh, who had gone into a happy dream, woke up with a start, and said that *Honey* was much more *trappy* thing than *Haycorns*. (WP26:66)

Pooh is so fascinated about the image of honey that, in his mind, the two words *acorn* and *honey* assimilate in one, the result being *haycorn*, a nonsense English word that does not mean anything. According to Lefevere (1992a:76), translators have to find out whether nonsense words and expressions can be used in the target culture. He claims that usually they can and they have also been ritualized over time, as has happened many times in English. This being the case, translators are able to just transpose nonsense words and expressions from one tradition into another. The four translations for the passage above are as follows:

”... Vad tycker Heffaklumpar om? Jag skulle tro *ollon*, eller vad säger du? Vi kan skaffa en massa... Men Puh då, du hör ju inte på.” Puh, som hade försjunkit i lyckliga drömmar, vaknade med ett ryck och sa, att *honung* skulle vara mycket listigare än *hållon*. (NP30:57)

”... Mistä Möhköfantit pitävät? Minun luullakseni *terhoista*, vai mitä arvelet? Voimme hankkia niitä oikein paljon... Mutta, Puh, sinähän et kuuntele.” Puh, joka oli vaipunut onnellisiin unelmiin, heräsi säpsähtäen ja sanoi, että *hunaja* olisi paljon parempaa kuin *perhot*. (NP34:64)

”... Nyt on siis ennen muuta mietittävä mistä Möhköfantit pitävät? Minä vähän luulen että ne pitävät *tammenterhoista*. Hankimme paljon *tammenterhoja* – no mutta Puh, herää!” Puh, joka oli vaipunut onnellisiin

kuvitelmiin, heräsi hätkähtäen ja sanoi että *Hunaja* olisi paljon *Ansakkaampaa* kuin *Tammenperhot*. (NP76:62)

”... Che cosa piace agli Effalumpi? Io penso che vadano matti per *le ghiande*, non credi? Prendiamo un sacco di... Puh, sveglia!” Puh, che stava facendo un bellissimo sogno, si svegliò con un sussulto e disse che *il Miele* era una cosa molto *più trappolosa delle Ghiande*. (WP93:68)

The corresponding word in Swedish for *acorn* is *ollon*. Af Geijerstam has preserved Milne’s wordplay, based on the assimilation of sounds in the source language culture. As stated by Lefevere (1992a:76), any attempt to translate nonsense words and expressions literally is clearly a waste of time. Thus, when Swedish words *ollon* and *honung* are put together, the result is *hållon*, which, like *haycorn*, is a nonsense word, made up by the translator.

In the older Finnish version of *Winnie-the-Pooh*, Talaskivi has decided not to base the wordplay on the assimilation of sounds but to convey the idea of getting mixed with words in another way. In her translation, *terho*, an abbreviation of the word *tammerterho* in Finnish for *acorn*, becomes *perho*. Although *perho* in Finnish has a meaning of its own, it can be considered to be so far from the context here that the translation is most probably understood by all the readers in the way the translator has intended it to be interpreted: a mixing of words.

In the other Finnish version, Juva, probably imitating Talaskivi’s translation, has made the wordplay work on the same grounds as her Finnish predecessor. However, she does, according to her style, not seem to be sure about her target audience’s cultural knowledge of the meaning of *acorn*. Thus she has wanted to clarify the term by using the longer word *tammerterho* which, in the wordplay, is changed to *tammenperho*. By using this longer word Juva has, in addition to taking into consideration the knowledge and abilities of her readers and thus made it easier for them to

understand the meaning of the word, also excluded the other (an artificial fly used in fishing), in this case false, interpretation of *perho*.

Spagnol in his Italian version has taken a totally different approach when translating this passage. He has ignored the wordplay and used the same word *ghianda*, i.e. *acorn*, all the way through. Maybe it has turned out to be too troublesome to find two words in Italian which would present the kind of wordplay that would work in the similar way than the words in English original.

Making new words could also be considered as being one type of wordplay. In the same passage, Pooh is claiming that honey would be a more *trappy* thing than acorns. Af Geijerstam and Talaskivi have not found an expression having a similar effect in their target cultures and thus ignored this process of creating new words. Instead, they have replaced *trappy* with the common Swedish and Finnish adjectives *listig*, i.e. clever, and *parempi*, i.e. better, respectively. Juva, instead, has imitated the model of the source text and made an adjective *ansakas* from the noun *ansa* (trap). The Italian Spagnol has used the same technique and invented a new adjective *trappoloso* from the noun *trappola*, i.e. trap.

Example 20

Another type of wordplay is presented in chapter eight in which Pooh with all his friends sets for an "Expotition" in order to find the North Pole. During the journey, they come to a stream and in the following example, Christopher Robin is describing the place:

"It's just the place," he [Christopher Robin] explained, "for an *Ambush*."
 "What sort of *bush*?" whispered Pooh to Piglet. "A *gorse-bush*?"
 (WP26:117)

In the original English version, Milne plays with the similarity between the words *ambush* and *bush*. Although both of them have the word *bush* in them, they, of course, have very different meanings. The word *ambush* may be difficult to understand for the younger readers. Hence later in the text (WP26:118) it is made sure that the reader has understood the meaning of the word when Owl explains that *an ambush* is "a sort of Surprise (...) when people jump at you suddenly".

The Swede af Geijerstam and the Finn Talaskivi have here probably found it too difficult a task to create a wordplay that would work in their native language cultures for they both have deleted the whole passage where it is found in the original text. Due to this deletion, approximately one page is totally missing in both translations (NP30:108, NP34:122).

In the more recent versions of *Winnie-the-Pooh*, Juva and Spagnol, for their part, have not found it impossible to translate the passage. However, it can be seen that their translation solutions differ from each other quite remarkably:

"Juuri tällaisessa paikassa", hän [Risto Reipas] selitti, "saattaa väijyä *hunneja*." "Hunajaa?" kuiskasi Puh Nasulle. "Väijymmekö me *hunajaa*?" (NP76:116)

"È il posto ideale" spiegò [Christopher Robin], "per un' *Imboscata*". "Che genere di *boscata*?" sussurrò Puh a Porcelletto. "Una *boscata* di ginepri?" (WP93:124)

Due to the fact that English and Finnish languages differ so greatly from each other, the translation of a wordplay with the words in the target language having the same meaning than those in the source language is often not possible. This is the case also here. However, Juva has decided to keep the idea of a wordplay although she has changed the subjects for it. As *hunni* and *hunaja* resemble each other, they have substituted *ambush* and *bush* in the

English text. However, in the case of the reader of the target language culture not understanding the meaning of the word *hunni* (Hun), the following explanation *arohen kauhu* (The Bear of the Stettes), a Finnish metaphor expressed by Owl in Juva's translation, may not be enough to clear the matter.

Although English and Italian belong to different language groups, those of Germanic and Romanic respectively, there are many similar words and constructions in both languages. Here, Spagnol has been able to base his translation of the wordplay on the same idea as there is in the original Milne's text. *Imboscata* in Italian is the equivalent of *ambush* in English. On the other hand, *boscata* is an archaic word for a "place covered with wood"¹⁵. Although not in use anymore, *boscata*, because being a derivate from a very common term *bosco*, i.e. wood, is certainly understood also by the younger readers of the book. Furthermore, in the Italian translation the idea of referring to spiny plants, as in the original text, is preserved in the following sentence in which Pooh is wondering if the *boscata* is the type of *ginepro*, juniper.

Example 21

In the same chapter eight, Christopher Robin and Rabbit are wondering what *the North Pole* looks like:

"... Rabbit, I suppose you don't know, What does *the North Pole* look like?" (...) "I suppose it's just *a pole* stuck in the ground?" "Sure to be *a pole*," said Rabbit... (WP26:120)

This is a somewhat similar case to the previous one with *ambush*. The English word *pole* has, of course, a different meaning when treated alone and when in the compound *North Pole*. *Pole* can here be considered to be an

¹⁵ *Lo Zingarelli 2000. Vocabolario della lingua italiana di Nicola Zingarelli 1999.*
Bologna: Zanichelli editore S.p.A

example of polysemy, i.e. two meanings in a single word. Polysemy can be often used when creating wordplays, as is done here, when the similar orthography of the two words is taken advantage of. Although all the studied translations represent very different target language cultures, resemblance is still sometimes found in the way the different languages work. The example of *North Pole* can be considered as being a member of this category.

The solutions which the four translators have made are shown below:

”... Kanin, du har väl inte händelsevis reda på, hur *Nordpolen* ser ut?”
 (...) ”Antagligen är det rätt och slätt *en påle*, som sitter fast i marken?”
 ”*En påle* är det säkert” sa Kanin... (NP30:110)

”... Kaniini, et suinkaan sinä sattumalta tiedä, millaiselta *Pohjoisnapa* näyttää?” (...) Luultavasti se on yksinkertaisesti vain *napa*, jonka ympäri jokin pyörii.” ”*Napa* se varmaankin on”, sanoi Kaniini. (NP34:124)

”... Kani, mahtaisitko sinä tietää miltä *Pohjoisvapa* näyttää?” (...) ”Kai se on jonkinlainen *vapa* joka seisoo maassa.” ”*Vapa* se on ilman muuta”, sanoi Kani... (NP76:118)

”... Coniglio, non è per caso tu sai che aspetto ha *il Palo Nord*?” (...) ”Immagino che sia *un palo* conficcato per terra, no?” ”Sicuramente è *un palo*” convenne Coniglio... (WP93:126-127)

In another Germanic language, Swedish, there is a slight difference between the two words, *pol* and *påle*, which are used in translating the English meanings of *pole*. In addition to the geographical meaning, *pol* signifies also a pole of a magnet or a battery. *Påle*, instead, is a some type of stick. Thus, the difference in meaning of these words is the same in the cultures of both the English and the Swedish language: the first ones, i.e. *North Pole* and *Nordpol*, are used in their own context, and the second ones, i.e. *pole* and *påle*, always as 'concrete objects'.

In her translation, also Talaskivi has taken advantage of the polysemy. As in English *pole* as well as between Swedish *pol* and *påle*, a similar kind of relationship between concrete and figurative use exists in Finnish between *napa* and *Pohjoisnapa*. The word *napa* makes a part of the compound *Pohjoisnapa* as does *pole* in *North Pole*, hence the wordplay works same way in both languages. Also in the Italian version, the name of a concrete object *palo* is in the same relation to *Palo Nord* as the corresponding words in English, Swedish and Finnish in the previous examples. The right word in Italian for *North Pole* would be *Polo Nord*. When forming the compound, Spagnol has used instead *palo*, and thus preserved the wordplay of the original text.

Somewhat different is the translation by Juva. She too, has used two words, *vapa* and *Pohjoisvapa*, of which one makes a part of the other. However, her compound *Pohjoisvapa* is not real, but nonsense, although it can be clearly seen that the word phonologically derives from *Pohjoisnapa*. Changing real words to nonsense ones is one way to deal with wordplays if the translator does not want or do not know how to convey the message from the original text culture into the target language one. In this case, the choice can be understood due to the fact that also Milne himself uses nonsense language in many passages of *Winnie-the-Pooh*. Furthermore, the meaning of *vapa* comes close to that of *pole* in English.

Example 22

In chapter four, Pooh wants to find Eeyore's tail which has mysteriously disappeared. When Pooh asks Owl for advice, he is given quite a complicated answer:

“Well,” said Owl, “*the customary procedure* in such cases is as follows.”

“What does *Crustimoney Proseedcake* mean?” said Pooh. (WP26:56)

All the translators have tried to replace the English expressions with complicated ones also in their native language:

”Tja,” sa Ugglan, ”*de brukliga förfaringsätten* i dylika fall är följande.”
 ”Vad betyder *gruvliga chokladrätten* egentligen?” frågade Puh. (NP30:47)

”Tjaa,” sanoi Pöllö, ”*käytännössä olevat menettelytavat* sellaisissa tapauksissa ovat seuraavat.” ”Mitä merkitsee oikeastaan *käytävissä olevat venyttelytavat*?” kysyi Puh. (NP34:54)

”Hmm”, sanoi Pöllö. ”Tällaisissa tapauksissa *Tavanomainen Proseduuri* lienee seuraava.” ”Mitä tarkoittaa *Tavanomainen Proosakuuri*?” kysyi Puh. (NP76:53)

”Dunque” cominciò Gufo, ”*la prassi ordinaria* in simili casi è la seguente”. ”Che cosa vuol dire *Grassi Di Otaria*?” domandò Puh. (WP93:58)

In every translation, the first meaning, *the customary procedure*, is translated to correspond the literal meaning of the English original. The idea here has been to find a complicated meaning by using 'bureaucratic' language. While the first meaning being understood and thus translated in quite a similar way by the representatives of Finnish, Swedish and Italian cultures, in the second phrase there are differences. In the original version, Pooh hears the sentence as *Crustimoney Proceedcake*. It can be suggested that in addition to phonological similarity, Milne's translation here is based on Pooh's fondness of food: the bear easily interprets the complicated word as signifying something eatable.

The Swedish translation, *gruvlig chokladrätt*, i.e. horrible chocolate dessert, is the only one where both Milne's ideas, the phonological aspect and the reference to food, are conveyed through the translation. In the two Finnish versions as well as in the Italian one, only the aspect of phonological

similarity is present. Moreover, Juva in her version has not changed the first part of the second expression but only the latter one: *proseduuri*, i.e. procedure, to a nonsense word *proosakuuri*. Despite of these differences in meaning, the complicated expression and its phonological similarity with the following phrase can be considered as the most important aspects here from the point of view of the young reader. It may not make much difference what the second expression describes as long as the two other above mentioned features, the complexity of the word as well as the phonological similarity between the two meanings, are being realized.

Example 23

Based on a wordplay is also the following example from chapter seven where Pooh and friends decide to go and meet the new inhabitants of the Forest:

Nobody seemed to know where they came from, but there they were in the Forest: *Kanga* and Baby *Roo*. (WP26:92)

The wordplay here is based on the English word *kangaroo* which is divided into two parts in order to get the mother kangaroo *Kanga* and the baby kangaroo *Roo*. All the translators have used the same technique. However, in some of them the influence of English can be seen:

Ingen tycktes ha reda på varifrån de kom, men där var de i skogen en vacker dag: *Kängu* och Baby *Ru*. (NP30:83)

Kukaan ei näyttänyt olevan selvillä, mistä he tulivat, mutta siellä metsässä he olivat eräänä kauniina päivänä: *Kengu* ja Vauva *Ru*. (NP34:94)

Kukaan ei näyttänyt tietävän mistä he tulivat. Eräänä päivänä he vain olivat Metsässä: *Kengu* ja Pikku *Ruu*. (NP76:89)

Nessuno sapevo da dove fossero venuti, ma un bel giorno comparvero nella Foresta: *Kan* e *Guro*. (WP93:96)

Swedish af Geijerstam has made her translation in the exactly same way as it is done in the original English text. *Kängaru* is the Swedish equivalent of *kangaroo*. Thus *Kanga* is changed to *Känga* and *Ru* stays as *Ru*. Also in the older Finnish version, Talaskivi has imitated Milne and, according the Finnish word *kenguru*, the names are transferred into *Kengu* and *Ru*. However, the other Finnish translator, Juva, has decided to translate the name of the baby kangaroo as *Ruu*, and not *Ru* as it would be right when based on the Finnish spelling *kenguru*. Since the English *Roo* is pronounced as [ˈruː]¹⁶, it can be speculated that in Juva's translation *Ruu*, there is a phonetical adaptation from English. In addition, *Ruu* may sound better as a proper name compared to the short and 'jerky' *Ru*. *Kangaroo* in Italian is *canguro*. In Spagnol's text the only adaption from English is the the initial consonant which in Italian should not be a K but instead a C. However, the same effect is created when for example read aloud to young audience, because in Italian there is no difference between the pronounciations of the letters K and C when they are followed by the letter A. Therefore, the initial letter here can be considered to have only a minor stylistic importance.

5.5 Songs and games

According to Ingo (1991:38), songs belong to the text type in which the form is often as important as the message. Furthermore, Ingo (1991:39) points out that in addition to conveying the content of the text into the target language, the translator has to try to transfer the melody of the song as well. Moreover, Nida (1975b:74) mentions that, especially when translating songs, also the relationship of the phonological systems of the two languages have to be taken into consideration. He adds that if a direct translation of a song is

¹⁶ *Collins Cobuilt Dictionary* 1995. London: HarperCollins Publishers.

wanted, the phonological aspect will cause problems in the end rhymes of each verse.

According to Oittinen (1993:133), songs have to be singable also in their translated versions. Oittinen herself suggests that every time when translating songs, the translator should sing the texts. She adds that if the songs of the source culture are unfamiliar to the translator, he/she should create the tunes of his/her own. Therefore, when working with songs, translators have at least two strategies to choose from: they can either translate the text word for word as it is present in the source language culture or to select an already existing song in the target language culture. If the translator decides to choose a song from the target language culture, it should be familiar to as many people as possible and it should also stand the effect of the time, that is not "go out of fashion", although this is not always easy to predict. The emphasis should be on the idea of the song and not in the word or subject matter of it. Furthermore, there are often games included in songs, especially in those for children. Hence, as stated by Opie (1969:vii), the way a certain game is played is highly relevant in order to achieve the most truthful translation. It should also be realized that any game or play, wherever collected, may often be only a local version of a general stock, the same one existing in a slightly different form in another culture. Also the aspect of time in translating songs and games should be taken into account. As Opie (1969:8) remarks, children's play can be considered as every other social activity: it is subject to continuous change. She further explains that the fact that games are played in slightly different ways in different cultures, and may even vary in name, is itself evidence that mutation takes place.

Example 26

In chapter six, Eeyore is talking with Pooh, hinting to him that it is his birthday that day:

"Gaiety. Song-and-dance. '*Here we go round the mulberry bush*'."
(WP26:76)

Here we go round the Mulberry Bush is an action song played in the playground or playgroup. It is usually not played by children older than those in nurseries or primary schools. According to *The Oxford Dictionary of Nursery Rhymes* (1969:17), dramatic singing games like *Here we go round the Mulberry Bush* are a feature of the play, mainly of school-children. As it is stated in *The Oxford Dictionary of Nursery Rhymes* (1969:17), a verse often emerges as an accompaniment to certain actions. Described by native Britons, in this game all the children stand in a circle facing the middle and holding hands. They walk round to the left singing the chorus "Here we go round the Mulberry Bush". Everybody stands still for each verse and sings with the appropriate actions for each of them, for example "this is the way we wash our face...clean our teeth...brush our hair...".

The four translations for *Here we go round the Mulberry Bush* are as follows:

"Lustigheter. Sång och dans. '*Så går vi runt kring en enebärsbusk*'."
(NP30:67)

"Hauskuutta. Laulua ja tanssia. '*Piiri pieni pyörii*'. " (NP34:78)

"Ilo irti. Laulu raikuu ja pelit soi. *Piiri pieni pyörii, lapset siinä hyörii*."
(NP76:75)

"Gaiezza. Canti e balli. *La vispa teresa avea tra l'erbetta*". (WP93:79)

Af Geijerstam has translated the song directly from English. The Swedish translation was not found in any written source studied, but according to some native Swedes it does exist also in Sweden. However, the song was also known as *Så går vi runt kring ett enebärssnår*. It was referred to as a

traditional song, like the English version. Also in Sweden, it is mainly for children, but it is most often sung and played at festival days like Christmas and Midsummer parties, not in everyday situations as in Britain. The fact that also in *Winnie-the-Pooh*, the reference to *Here we go round the Mulberry Bush* is made in a birthday context, suggests that at least at the time of Milne, the song might have been part of typical birthday activities. The game in *Så går vi runt kring en enebärsbusk* differs from that in the English version. In Swedish, after every chorus, there is a reference made to one day of the week, for example "...så går vi runt en enebärsbusk, tidigt en måndagsmorgon". Thus, after the song has been sung seven times, all the days of the week have been gone through. However, both the English and the Swedish version seem to have a pedagogic function, too: in Britain the song teaches how to keep oneself clean and tidy, while in Sweden one learns the days of the week.

Instead of translating the song word for word from English, Talaskivi and Juva have changed the title and chosen a traditional Finnish children's song and round game *Piiri pieni pyörrii*. *Here we go round the Mulberry Bush* does not seem to have been translated into Finnish. Thus, when a translator does not find an equivalent feature in the target language culture to correspond the one from the original culture, he/she usually tries to come up with one in the target culture that resembles as much the original one as possible. *Piiri pieni pyörrii* is a classic Finnish round game, played by toddlers and young children at the lowest levels of primary school. It is played dancing around in a circle and once in a while stopping to do the actions described in the song. Although these actions are different from those in *Here we go round the Mulberry Bush*, the 'rules' of the play are, in fact, quite similar. The only major difference is the melody that is totally different in the Finnish version compared to the English and Swedish ones.

In the Italian translation *Here we go round the Mulberry Bush* has been

replaced by the song called *La vispa Teresa*. The target group for this song is the same as for the preceding ones in English, Swedish and Finnish, i.e. the children in nurseries. However, according to native Italians, there is not any game for this song. When singing *La vispa Teresa*, the children sit in a circle on the floor but, however, do not have any special game for it.

Example 27

In the same sixth chapter, Eeyore again refers to the birthday activities:

”That’s right”, said Eeyore. ”Sing. Umty-tiddly, umty-too. *Here we go gathering Nuts and May*. Enjoy yourself.” (WP26:79)

No written reference to a song called *Here we go gathering Nuts and May* was found. However, one native Briton suggests that it is sung to the same tune as *Here we go round the Mulberry Bush*. It was mentioned that there is also a game for the song. No one seems to know exactly how the game is played, though.

The translations for *Here we go gathering Nuts and May* are shown below:

”Det är rätt”, sa I-or. ”Sjung bara. Ram-ti tiddeli tam ti ta. *Vi gå över daggstänkta berg, fallera*. Roa dig du.” (NP30:70)

”Se on oikein”, sanoi I-haa. ”Laula sinä vain. Ram-ti, titteli tam ti ta. Huvittele sinä vain.” (NP34:79)

”Oikein”, sanoi I-haa. ”Laula. Tidadimppamppaa. *Juhannus on meillä herttainen*. Pidä hauskaa.” (NP76:76)

”Bene, bene” borbottò Isaia. ”Canta. Trallallera, trallallà. *Giro giro tondo*. Divertiti.” (WP93:82)

This time in the Swedish version, the translator has not chosen to translate

directly but to select another song instead. *Here we go gathering Nuts and May* is replaced by a traditional old Swedish folksong *Vi går över daggstänkta berg*. According to Oittinen (1997:95), folk songs are often excellent choices for translators because in addition to them being known by many target culture readers, they are often also very dear to them. All Swedish natives agreed on the claim that *Vi går över daggstänkta berg* is mainly a children's song. It does not seem to have any game for it. Some also mentioned that it is often sung as 'vandringssång' as you walk, march or hike. *Vi går över daggstänkta berg* was suggested to be a song for both adults and for children, but it is mainly heard in situations where children are around. It was also pointed out that it is not ideal for very young children, because the lyrics are rather difficult to pronounce in Swedish. Moreover, it was commented that, in addition to a scouting expedition, *Vi går över daggstänkta berg* can also be sung in some festivals like in the Midsummer party or at Christmas. However, no one proposed that it is sung in the context of a birthday party.

In the older of the Finnish translations, Talaskivi has come up with a different solution compared to the others. As it can be seen, she has avoided the translation of the song and thus totally deleted that part of the text. This is one solution in a situation when in the target language culture there does not exist an equivalent substitute for the cultural feature mentioned in the source language text.

The other Finnish translator, Juva, has used the same technique as chosen in the Swedish version. *Juhannus on meillä herrtainen* is a traditional Finnish folksong, though not very commonly sung today, so the modern Finnish target audience of *Winnie-the-Pooh* may not recognize it anymore. Moreover, there exists no game or play in the context of the singing of this song. It is not a song especially for birthday occasions or for any other festivals, either. However, according to the title, it is sometimes sung in the

Midsummer party.

Spagnol has in his Italian version chosen another children's round game, *Il Girotondo*, which is a very popular children's song in Italy. As a difference from the songs used in the other translations, there exists a game for *Giratondo*, as there seemed to be for *Here we go gathering Nuts and May*, too. In fact, the song is rarely sung without playing it at the same time. When playing the game, children dance around in a circle and then suddenly, when it is sung *casca il mondo* meaning the end of the world, they throw themselves down on the floor.

Example 28

Here we go gathering Nuts and May is mentioned also in another part of the book, namely in chapter eight in which Christopher Robin leads an 'Expotition' to the North Pole:

"I'm not asking anybody," said Eeyore. "I'm just telling everybody. We can look for the North Pole, or we can play '*Here we go gathering Nuts and May*' with the end part of an ants' nest. It's all same to me."
(WP26:115)

The translations for this passage are below:

"Jag frågar ingen alls", sa I'or. "Jag bara talar om, hur det är. Vi kan söka efter Nordpolen eller leka '*Så går vi runt kring en enebärsbusk*' med en myrstack. Mig gör det detsamma." (NP30:106)

"En kysy keneltäkään", sanoi I-haa.. "Puhun vain siitä, kuinka asia on. Voimme etsiä Pohjoisnapaa tai leikkiä '*Piiri pieni pyörri*' muurahaiskeon ympärillä. Minulle se on yhdentekevää." (NP34:119)

"Minä en kysy keneltäkään", sanoi Ihaa. "Minä kerron kaikille. Etsitään Pohjoisvapaa, *leikitään piirileikkiä* muurahaispesässä. Sama se minulle on." (NP76:113)

”Non sto chiedendo niente a nessuno” lo interruppe Isaia. ”Lo sto solo dicendo a tutti. Possiamo cercare il Palo Nord o possiamo *giocare a giro giro tondo* con le antenne di una formica. Per me è tutto uguale.”
(WP93:121)

This time af Geijerstam has translated the song differently. Instead of changing it to *Vi går över daggstänkta berg* as before, she has decided to use the same translation she used for *Here we go round the Mulberry Bush*. Here the reason for this translation probably is the reference to playing the game at the end of the expression. In the English original version it is especially suggested that *Here we go round the Mulberry Bush* could be *played* instead of going for the 'Expetition'. As mentioned before, there does not seem to exist any play or game for *Vi går över daggstänkta berg* so the translator has decided to go back to the '*Så går vi runt kring en enebärsbusk*' which, as said before, can be played while sung.

Talaskivi has not made any changes compared to her translation before, but has chosen *Piiri pieni pyörii* again for the translation of *Here we go gathering Nuts and May*. Juva, instead, has again used the 'generalisation technique', as some times before: she has not mentioned any special song or game but only the general term *piirileikki*, i.e. a go-round-play. In her translation, the fact that it is talk about a game and not only a song is emphasized, for the word *leikki*, i.e. game, is repeated in *leikitään piirileikkiä*.

Also in the Italian version, the earlier translation for *Here we go gathering Nuts and May* is preserved. Some native Italians referred to *Giro giro tondo* as belonging to both into the category of 'filastrocche', i.e. nursery rhymes, and into the go-round-games. However, the prevailing opinion was that it is an action song and every Italian interviewed remembered it as a game played in the nursery school.

Example 29

In chapter number six there is again talk about Eeyore's birthday:

"Balloon?" said Eeyore. "You did say balloon? One of those big coloured things you blow up. Gaiety, song-and-dance, *here we are and there we are.*" (WP26:88)

The translations for this song are the followings:

"En ballong?" sa I-or. "Sa du en ballong? En s n d r stor f rggran sak, som man bl ser upp? Lustigheter, s ng och dans, *hej dunkom s  l nge vi levom.*" (NP30:79)

"Ilmapallon" sanoi I-haa. "Sanoitko ilmapallon? Tuollaisen ison v rillisen kapineen, joka puhalletaan t yteen? Hauskuutta, laulua ja tanssia, *hei, ilo ompi meill  ainiaan.*" (NP34:89)

"Ilmapallon", sanoi Ihaa. "Sanoitko ilmapallon? Sellaisen ison v rikk  n puhallettavan? *Ilo irti, keng n kannat kopisee, laulu raikuu ja peli soi, niink ?*" (NP76:85)

"Palloncino? Hai detto un palloncino? Una di quelle cose colorate che si gonfiano? Gaiezza, canti e balli e *тино тино тино телло?*" (WP93:92)

Here we are and there we are was considered as referring to any song with some action in general. There was no suggestion of it being a part of any particular song. It was thought to be "a descriptive addition" to the *song-and-dance* mentioned just before in the original text. However, the possibility of *here we are and there we are* being a part of some song was not excluded by the native speakers of English interviewed.

In the Swedish translation af Geijerstam has chosen a real song to replace the more general *here we are and there we are*. *Hej dunkom s  l nge vi levom* is

a traditional 'svensk folkvisa', i.e. Swedish folksong. According to native speakers of Swedish, it is not a children's song, but one for adults. It was even suggested that it could be an old drinking song. In fact, it was found in some lists of Swedish bar songs, although it was generally agreed that it has not been one originally.

In Talaskivi's Finnish translation, *here we are and there we are* was translated as *Hei, ilo ompi meillä ainiaan*, which seems to be taken from some real song, most probably from an old folksong, although no specific song including the phrase was found in any written or spoken source. However, Juva's translation gives the impression of a song that is danced while singing it.

Juva, loyal to her technique of generalizing, has chosen a bit longer meaning: she has combined the meanings *song-and-dance* and *here we are and there we are* and created a phrase that transfers the idea of singing and dancing to the reader. All the individual meanings: *ilo irti, kengän kannat kopisee, laulu raikuu ja peli soi* can be considered as typical parts of Finnish songs. Moreover, the meaning *kengän kannat kopisee* is a part from the before mentioned song *Piiri pieni pyörii*. Thus, the impression of a children's party is carried over with this translation.

Also Spagnol has chosen to adapt the meaning into his own culture by translating it as *tino tino tino tello*, which is the chorus part of an Italian children's song called *Ma che bel castello*, i.e. 'What a beautiful castle'. *Tino tino tino tello* does not have any special meaning, it is a nonsense phrase, a simple merry line that rhymes with the word *castello*. In addition to *Girotondo*, *Ma che bel castello* is one of the favourite children's songs in the nurseries and primary schools. However, while there is a game for *Girotondo*, nothing similar exists for *Ma che bel castello*. It is considered to be a nursery rhyme as well as a song for young schoolchildren.

Example 30

In the same sixth chapter of *Winnie-the-Pooh*, Pooh is singing a song about *Cottleston Pie*. The first verse of it goes as follows:

Cottleston, Cottleston, Cottleston Pie.
 A fly can't bird, but a bird can fly.
 Ask me a riddle and I replay:
 "Cottleston, Cottleston, Cottleston Pie." (WP26:78)

Above are presented the Swedish, Finnish and Italian equivalents:

Piddel-i, Piddel-i, Piddel-i Pej.
 Lappar på lappar och söm finns det ej.
 Frågar du gåtor, så svarar jag dej:
 Piddel-i, Piddel-i, Piddel-i Pej. (NP30:69)

Rimpa-ti, rimpa-ti, rimpa-ti rei,
 Tilkku tilkun päällä ja saumoja ei.
 Ongelmaa jos utelet, on vastaus, hei:
 Rimpa-ti, rimpa-ti, rimpa-ti rei. (WP34:78)

Piirakkaa, piirakkaa, piirakkaa saan.
 Tipu osaa lentää eikä tipu ollenkaan.
 Jos arvoituksen kysyt, niin minä vastaan vaan:
 "Piirakkaa, piirakkaa, piirakkaa saan." (WP76:75)

Crostata, crostata di dragoncello.
 Perché un pipistrello non è un uccello?
 Troppo difficile, l'indovinello.
 Rispondo: 'Crostata di dragoncello'. (WP93:81)

There is some uncertainty of the origin of the song *Cottleston Pie*. No written information about the author was found. It may be made up by Milne himself, due to the fact that the only context the song was found was always

that of *Winnie-the-Pooh*. Some native Britons had heard it also in other contexts, which, however, does not exclude the fact that it was originally invented by Milne. Furthermore, all the native English speakers that were interviewed, agreed that there exists no game for the song and many remembered only listening to it on a children's music tape.

The Swedish translation tries to follow the original song by, for example, preserving the rhyme and also translating the the third line word for word. *Cottleston Pie*, which is a real British pastry and does not exist in Sweden as such, is replaced by a nonsense word *Piddel-i Pej* which, however, shares phonological similarity with *Cottleston Pie*. Like the British people interviewed, no Swede had ever heard the song in any other context than with *Winnie-the-Pooh*.

Also Talaskivi has preserved the rhyme of the original English version. She seems to have used af Geijerstam's translation as a model and translated the second line according to the meaning in the Swedish version. Juva, instead, has decided to translate the song from English almost word for word. She has also been able to translate the wordplay of the original version into Finnish, yet preserving the reference to the bird. Although the wordplay is not the same, still the function of it is similar and the amusing idea of the original text is not lost. Of the two Finnish versions of *Cottleston Pie*, the first one by Talaskivi seems to be better known and it is still sometimes sung in the nursery schools as well as heard on the radio.

In the Italian translation, Spagnol has 'made his own pie', *crostata di dragoncello*. Both parts of the compound are 'real' words, *crostata*, meaning 'pie', while *dragoncello* is a species of herbs, more specifically 'tarragon', which is often used for cooking in Italy. Spagnol has apparently chosen the word *dragoncello*, because it rhymes with the word *uccello*, i.e. bird, on the next line. Also Spagnol has wanted to preserve the idea of a bird

and although he does not have it making part of a wordplay like it is done in the original as well as in Juva's translation, he is still able to play with the rhymes: *dragoncello*, *pipstrello* ie. bat, *uccello*. As stated by Lefevere (1992a:76), translators often successfully use nonsense words to balance the metre in a line. He further remarks that nonsense words can also serve as a refrain in a song.

6 DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

This concluding chapter is intended to be a brief review of the content of the study. It sums up the main questions, research methods for collecting and analyzing data. Furthermore, the findings are discussed based on the background information. Also the problems and limitations emerging during the research process are introduced. Finally, the importance of the study will be discussed and a few implications for further study will be mentioned.

The primary purpose of the present study was to examine the differences in translating culture-bound features from English into Swedish, Finnish and Italian. The study was premised on the assumption that between the translations there would appear variation based on the differences in the target language cultures. Hypotheses were also made on the impact time has in translating culture. Furthermore, the abilities and limitations of the target audience were expected to have an effect on how the cultural features were translated.

The present study began with an overview of various translation theories and the attitudes they take to culture-bound features and their translation. After this, there was a discussion of what kind of restrictions and prerequisites the process of translating for children presents and how it differs from translating in general. Moreover, some effects of the aspect of time were introduced. In

the following chapter the concept 'culture' was defined and the complexity of defining the term discussed. In addition, there was a brief description of categorizing culture-specific features and also the strategies for translating these features were viewed.

The data for the analysis was collected by comparing the translations with the original text and with each other. Then, the material was grouped according to the categories based on the information gained from the background studies for the present thesis. In addition to the literature on earlier research relevant to the present study, data was acquired also from native representatives of each culture studied. Through a detailed analysis of the material, it was found that the results of the research are in substantial agreement with previous studies on similar topics.

In connection with culture, the word choices related to food and eating turned out to be important in translating *Winnie-the-Pooh*. In different cultures different food products are considered common and thus the translators have to make a solution of whether to preserve the products mentioned in the English text or adapt them into their target language culture. Spagnol seems to have translated most directly without any major alterations. Using the terminology of House (1997), Spagnol's translation can be considered to be the most *overt* one, i.e. the culture-specific features are introduced through Italian but they are at the same time at least to some extent tied to the original culture. This may be due to the fact that for his target audience some of the food products (eg. *condensed milk* of example 3, which is preserved only in the Italian translation) are more common than for the readers of the other target cultures. The older translations are more or less more *covert*, the translators using 'cultural filter' when presenting culture-bound features.

Translating units of measurement was a central feature when studying

Winnie-the-Pooh, for it presented many differences between the versions. The solutions which translators have made tell a great deal about the audience for which the translators have directed their work. Although there are some differences between the translations, it can, however, be claimed that all of them are made for child readers. Thus, according to the theory of Reiss and Vermeer (1986), the *skopos* of all the translators in creating the text has been to aim it at a certain type of audience. However, translators have used different means in order to achieve this *skopos*: af Geijerstam and Talaskivi have been quite precise in their translations while Juva and Spagnol have many times used an approximate figure (eg. *parikymmentä metriä*, *un centinaio di metri* in examples 8 and 9) or replaced the term in the original text with a paraphrase (eg. *vähän matkaa*, *qualche lento passo*, examples 8 and 9). Of all the translators, when translating the measurements, Juva has changed the meanings most from the original ones. The *manipulation* (Bassnett-McGuire 1980 and Lefevere 1992a, 1992b) of the text this way can be due to Juva taking the target audience more into account, i.e. what is appropriate when the text is directed to young audience (eg. changing the distance of Pooh's fall from ten metres to one metre). However, of all the translators, the Italian Spagnol seems to have most belief in the abilities and knowledge of his audience. He has preserved some terms that other translators have changed (eg. *acre* in *Hundred Acre Wood* which is still the same term in Italian in the expression *Bosco dei Cento Acri*, example 10).

In the translation of the terms related to nature, there were not great differences between the texts. Koskinen (1981), among others, wonders to what extent the translation should be 'transparent', i.e. how much it should resemble the target language culture and also, to what extent it should feel like a translation. When reading a 'transparent' translation, the audience of the target language culture can learn something about the culture of the original language, but if the translation is too much tied to the original culture, there can emerge many difficulties in understanding the text,

especially if the readers are young and thus lack knowledge of the foreign culture. Based on Klingberg's (1974, 1978) theory, when translating *a copse* into *kuuset* or *granarna*, i.e. spruce (example 16), af Geijerstam and Talaskivi can be claimed to be resorting to national adaptation, changing the description of the original version to correspond more to the target language culture while Juva's substitution is of different type. Her adaptation, when translating *gorse-bush* with *piikkipensas* (example 17), involves a shift from the more specific to the more generic meaning, which makes it easier for the readers with limited knowledge to understand the meaning. Moreover, in af Geijerstam's and Talaskivi's texts there are some extra additions explaining the meaning of a term, for example the words *puu* and *träd*, i.e. tree, are added to clarify the name of the tree species *beech* (example 15). Referring to Bassnett-McGuire's (1980) and Lefevere's (1992a, 1992b) theory, it can be stated that af Geijerstam and Talaskivi have *manipulated* the text to be in line with the requirements of the target language readers. Furthermore, it can be claimed that in the contexts in which the actual names of the plants are not important for understanding what the features are like, the use of generic terms can often be justified.

Wordplays are, of course, very closely connected with language. Language itself is an unseparable part of culture. Hence, wordplays can definitely be considered as one category of culture-bound features. Although it is claimed that it is not possible to translate wordplays word for word into any target language, it can still be argued that sometimes the process is easier with some languages compared with others. The reason for this can be the fact that languages are related to each other, i.e. belong to the same language group, or that, although today considered as belonging to different language families, they share some historical background. As hypothesized, also based on the research of Nida (1964), the cultural relatedness between Sweden and Finland has led to the fact that there were many similarities in translating especially cultural features in the Swedish and Finnish versions of *Winnie-*

the-Pooh. However, contrary to another hypothesis presented before the analysis, the results also show that language relations do not seem to have much effect on the way language was used in translations of *Winnie-the-Pooh*, i.e. the Swedish translator was not found to have benefited from the fact that Swedish and English belong to the same, Germanic language group. Sometimes there emerged so many difficulties in finding a suitable solution for a wordplay in the target language that the task was avoided: the wordplay was either replaced by a piece of text without the same effect or the problematic passage was simply deleted.

When studying the translations of *Winnie-the-Pooh*, many kinds of translation strategies can be found. For example, in one case where af Geijerstam and Talaskivi have ignored the wordplay and have left the passage totally untranslated, Spagnol and Juva have found solutions for translating it: one playing with the corresponding words in his target language, the other creating a wordplay of her own. Sometimes, however, a wordplay can be formed in the same way although the languages are very different from each other and in this case, in addition to the meaning, i.e. the *dynamic equivalence*, (Nida, 1964, 1982, 1986), also the structure, i.e. the *formal equivalence* of the expression is preserved. In example 21 about *North Pole* and its four translations, it can be seen how similarly different languages can work and thus meet also the requirements of *formal equivalence*. Sometimes meanings in wordplays are translated clearly according to the way they are expressed in the native languages of the translators. As an example of this is the splitting of the word *kangaroo* (example 23) in all the languages studied. There was only little influence from the source language present in this example. When translating wordplays, an important factor is to try to preserve the amusing effect that is often conveyed by the source language expression. In the case of *Winnie-the-Pooh*, all the translators have been aware of the importance of this aspect when for example dealing with the translation of the complicated word

customary procedure (example 22). Furthermore, in example 19 about *haycorn*, the original idea of getting mixed with words and their assimilation as a consequence of this has been successfully transferred to all four target language versions.

While translating wordplays requires understanding the idea that the joke is based on, when working with songs the translator does not only have to take into consideration the content of the song, but also the melody: the song should be singable. Thus, all the translators have translated the song *Cottleston Pie* (example 30) according to the view by Oittinen (1993), so that the words are made to rhyme with the melody of the original version. When translating a song, translators can choose from at least two strategies: the song of source language can be transferred either by an exact translation, or it can be replaced by a song with a similar atmosphere from the translator's own culture.

When the songs of *Winnie-the-Pooh* were studied, it was noticed that on many occasions there did not exist a totally equivalent song in the target language as in the source language culture. Although af Geijerstam was able to find the corresponding song for *Here we go round round the Mulberry Bush* (example 26) in the Swedish culture, the Finnish and Italian translators had to replace the song with another in their respective cultural settings. Based on Newmark's (1981, 1988, 1991) theoretical approach, af Geijerstam's translation is the only one that could be called *semantic translation*. The other translators have used more freedom when adapting the song into their own cultures and thus, according to Newmark's (1981, 1988, 1991) theory, their versions of the song are more like *communicative translations*. When being forced to replace the original song with another, all the translators had in general tried to find a very common song, usually a folk song known by people for a long time. Another solution was to substitute it with a general merry melody, which was at least not found to make a part of

any real song.

Translating songs, especially children's songs, includes often also taking into account the possible games that are played while singing (cf. Opie 1969). If the exactly same source language song cannot be found in the target language, it is even more important to be aware of the possible game rules the original song requires when searching for a replacement for it in another cultural setting. However, many times the games related to the songs for young children do not differ from each other much, and thus they may not have such a strong influence when choosing an equivalent song in the target language culture. In the translations of *Winnie-the Pooh*, the 'genre' of the songs, the term in the present context referring to their presumed target audience, was not every time the same in the target language as in the source language (eg. examples 27 and 29). All the songs of the original text could be considered as children's songs, while some of the target language ones were claimed to be either for adults or for both children and adults.

When the relationship between time and translator is considered, the solutions which the translators have made seem interesting: it was noticed that for example the translations of food terms reflect the change in the content of a dish as well as in the mealtimes in general. In the older translations, i.e. of Geijerstam's and Talaskivi's versions, there was more adaptation into the target language culture than in Juva's or Spagnol's translations (eg. of Geijerstam and Talaskivi in example 2, ignoring the cake with icing of the original text and replacing it with a more typical birthday cake with whipped cream). Also in translating the names of the mealtimes, there were some differences between the translations made in different decades. The changes of the names caused by the time may explain why, for example, Talaskivi had referred to a meal eaten at noon by the term *aamiais aika*, i.e. breakfast time (example 4), while the others had chosen names of other mealtimes. However, when translating descriptions of meals

(eg. Pooh's breakfast with *honeycombs* and *marmalade* in example 7) there was no adaptation into any of the target language cultures, but the original food products were preserved. Furthermore, af Geijerstam and Talaskivi have in general more archaic expressions, like *peninkulma* (example 10), than the translators of the more recent versions. Although there already was a lot of information available of the 'outside world' in the 1930s, the translators of that time may still have been uncertain about their young readers' knowledge of the foreign cultures and hence this doubt has led to the fact that their translations include more cultural adaptation than the later versions. Moreover, as suggested also in the background information of the present paper (cf. especially Oittinen, 1993, 1995, 1997 and Puurtinen 1995), it seems that translators nowadays believe in children's knowledge of outside world and their abilities to understand foreign cultures and thus the cultural aspects of original text are, as far as possible, preserved also in the target language text.

It could be claimed that the role of time proved to be even more essential than it was expected. As suggested also by Lefevere (1992), the translators make their choices according to the situation and time. In the earlier translations of *Winnie-the-Pooh* there were much more adaptations into target language cultures than in the more recent ones. Sometimes the translation of culture-specific topics was even avoided totally by deleting the whole problematic passage. Also Oittinen's (1997) claim concerning the strong impact the older translations often have on the following ones turned out to be true. Talaskivi seemed to have made many solutions according to the preceding translation of af Geijerstam while Juva had taken advantage of Talaskivi's text.

The topic of the study seems to be of present interest as the world is becoming more and more international and the knowing about other cultures and languages is considered more actual and important. In the future there is

likely to be more research done based on cultural features and interaction between people from different cultural backgrounds. Also the interest in children's literature and translating for children can be predicted to acquire more attention. However, more research about translating culture-bound features and more specifically about this process in context of children's literature will be needed in order to facilitate the interaction between different cultures also in the future and to prevent conflicts rising from misunderstandings on this area.

Future researchers could explore the translation of cultural features in a range of different contexts, for example by studying the significance of the target audience on the choices translators make. Furthermore, since limited by the four languages and thus the great amount of material, the present study was not able to cover all the areas of culture related features found in the book. Hence, a more profound future task would be to examine also all the other sub-categories of culture-bound characteristics in order to gain even a wider picture of the problems and questions this type of translation poses. Other limitations of the present study were mainly related to the research on the aspect of time. It was possible to study the changes in respect to time in one and same language and culture only in Finnish, as in Swedish and Italian only one translation of *Winnie-the-Pooh* was available. Thus, the impact of time could be better studied in future by choosing a text where comparing various versions, written in different times and translated into one and the same language, would be possible. In addition, the translations of *Winnie-the-Pooh* could be studied also in relation to the illustrations in the book, which would, however, demand a more expansive treatment of the topic than was possible here.

To summarize, within the limits set by the scope of the research project and restrictions due to the inclusion of as many as four languages, the present study has made an attempt to describe the translation of culture

related features from English to Swedish, Finnish and Italian. Although the results cannot be generalized on the basis of such a small sample, the findings can still be seen as useful information about 'translating culture' as well as a possible basis for more profound future studies.

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