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English language and translation

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**(RE)VISITING RETRANSLATION HYPOTHESIS: THE CASE OF
MARY POPPINS**

MA Thesis
April 2014

ITÄ-SUOMEN YLIOPISTO – UNIVERSITY OF EASTERN FINLAND

Tiedekunta – Faculty Philosophical Faculty		Osasto – School School of Humanities	
Tekijät – Author Karjalainen Jenni Maria			
Työn nimi – Title (Re)visiting retranslation hypothesis: the case of <i>Mary Poppins</i>			
Pääaine – Main subject	Työn laji – Level	Päivämäärä – Date	Sivumäärä – Number of pages
English Language and Translation	Pro gradu -tutkielma	x	73 + Appendix + Finnish summary
	Sivuainetutkielma		
	Kandidaatin tutkielma		
	Aineopintojen tutkielma		
<p>Tiivistelmä – Abstract</p> <p>This MA thesis is based on my BA thesis (Karjalainen 2012) which focused on the strategies used for translating character names in all three Finnish translations of <i>Mary Poppins</i> first published in 1936, 1981 and 2010. More specifically, the aim of the study was to investigate the strategies used for translating names in the three translations of <i>Mary Poppins</i> and test the retranslation hypothesis. The results showed that based on character names, the retranslation hypothesis does not apply. In this study, the aim is to study the strategies used for translating all kinds of culture-bound elements in the three translations of <i>Mary Poppins</i> to gain a more comprehensive picture. In addition, this study is contrasted to a recent study by Heino (2013) from University of Vaasa. This is because according to Heino (2013), the retranslation hypothesis does apply based on food, drink, proper names and the custom of having tea. Thus it is important to analyze possible reasons for our conflicting results.</p> <p>The culture-bound elements found in the six chapters of the novel studied have been classified according to Nedergaard-Larsen (1993) into four main categories and various subcategories adapted for the purposes of this study. The main categories are geography, history, society and culture.</p> <p>The strategies used for translating culture-bound elements have been classified according to a compiled classification that is based on Davies (2003) and Nord (2003). The strategies used are labelled as preservation, addition, calques, established equivalents, globalization, transformation, localization and omission. Furthermore, these strategies have been classified into five larger categories according to their degree of domestication, foreignization or neutrality. These five categories are based on Van Poucke's (2012) classification of translation shift fields and they can be placed on a foreignizing-domesticating scale.</p> <p>The results have been analyzed both qualitatively and quantitatively. Before the retranslation hypothesis is tested, the results of my BA thesis are integrated into this study. The retranslation hypothesis is tested by using Van Poucke's (2012: 150) equation for calculating the degree of foreignization for the three translations</p> <p>The results show that the retranslation hypothesis does not apply to the three Finnish translations of <i>Mary Poppins</i> based on character names and culture-bound elements. It is suggested that one possible reason for the differing results of me and Heino (2013) is our differing interpretations of the retranslation hypothesis itself.</p>			
<p>Avainsanat – Keywords retranslation, retranslation hypothesis, translating children's literature, culture-bound elements, translation strategies, <i>Mary Poppins</i></p>			

Contents

1. Introduction	4
2. Retranslation.....	5
2.1 Research on retranslation.....	5
2.2 Retranslation hypothesis and Mary Poppins.....	8
3. Translating children’s literature.....	12
3.1 Domestication and foreignization.....	12
3.2 Translating children’s literature and translating for children	12
4. Translating culture-bound elements	15
4.1 Defining culture	15
4.2 Defining and classifying culture-bound elements	16
4.3 Strategies used for translating culture-bound elements	20
4.4 Van Poucke’s scale of translation shift fields	24
5. Material.....	31
6. Methods	33
6.1 Classification of culture bound elements.....	33
6.2 Classification of translation strategies used for translating culture-bound elements.....	35
7. Analysis	40
7.1 Qualitative analysis.....	40
7.1.1 Geography	40
7.1.2 History.....	42
7. 1. 3 Society.....	44
7.1.4 Culture.....	52
7.2 Quantitative analysis.....	54
7.3 Integrating the results of my BA thesis to the current study	56
8. Discussion.....	60
8.1 The retranslation hypothesis and nature of translation	60
8.2 Concepts of culture and culture-bound elements.....	62
8.3 Classifications of translation strategies.....	63
8.4 General discussion	66
9. Conclusion.....	69
References	71
Appendix	
Finnish summary	

1. Introduction

This study is based on my BA thesis (Karjalainen 2012) which focused on the strategies used for translating character names in all three translations of *Mary Poppins*. More specifically, the aim of the study was to investigate the strategies used for translating names in the three translations of *Mary Poppins* and test the retranslation hypothesis. According to Chesterman (2000: 23), the retranslation hypothesis is basically a claim that the first translation is domesticating while the subsequent ones are more foreignizing. In the analysis all the strategies used for translating names were divided into foreignizing or domesticating. Then the retranslation hypothesis was tested by comparing the number of foreignizing and domesticating strategies used in the three translations. Surprisingly, the results showed that the retranslation hypothesis did not apply to my material. Even though the first translation was (at least according to the strategies used for translating names) domesticating and the second one more foreignizing, the third one was possibly even more domesticating than the first translation.

To make the situation even more puzzling, a recent MA thesis by Heino (2013) from Vaasa University also tested the retranslation hypothesis on the three translations of *Mary Poppins* and came to the conclusion that it *does* apply. This raises many questions. How is this possible? Can both results apply? In the light of these conflicting results, it appears that the case of “*Mary Poppins* and the retranslation hypothesis” is not closed, but demands further investigation.

Heino’s (2013) study is limited to examining three kinds of culture-bound elements: food and drink, proper names and the custom of drinking tea. My BA thesis (2012) was limited to strategies used for translating character names. To gain a more comprehensive picture, in my MA thesis, I plan to study the strategies used for translating all kinds of culture-bound elements in the three translations of *Mary Poppins*. However, I will limit the number of chapters included in this study. There are 12 chapters in *Mary Poppins*, but only six will be included in this study.

Besides widening the scope of the culture-bound elements studied, the aim of my present study is to find possible explanations for our differing results. Do our methods differ significantly? Do our definitions for foreignization and domestication differ substantially?

What is the effect of our differing theoretical frameworks? Or could it be that there is something wrong with the retranslation hypothesis itself?

For example, one of the major differences in Heino's study (2013) and my BA thesis (2012) is that we seem to have differing interpretations of the retranslation hypothesis itself. This is very interesting. Are there actually two, or even more, possible ways to interpret the retranslation hypothesis, and if so, are both of them accurate? Are both of our results valid? Can the retranslation hypothesis both *apply* and *not apply* to the same translations of the same novel?

In the following chapters 2–4 I will discuss previous research on retranslation, translating children's literature, and translating culture-bound elements. Chapter 5 introduces the research material. Research methods are presented in chapter 6, and the results are analysed in chapter 7. In chapter 8 this study is contrasted with Heino's (2013) study and potential differences that might affect our results are analysed in more detail.

2. Retranslation

2.1 Research on retranslation

Traditionally, it has been assumed that the first translation of a novel is more target culture oriented and thus uses more domesticating strategies than the retranslations that follow. Within translation studies, this assumption is known as the retranslation hypothesis (RH). According to Chesterman (2000: 23), RH is simply a descriptive hypothesis that claims: “[l]ater translations (same ST, same TL) tend to be closer to the original than earlier ones”.

However, RH has been challenged by several researchers, including Koskinen and Paloposki. Koskinen and Paloposki (2004: 27) argue that RH should be further tested as there is not enough evidence supporting the hypothesis. In their study, Koskinen and Paloposki (2004: 36) have come to the conclusion that “there are no inherent qualities in the process of retranslating that would dictate a move from domesticating strategies towards more foreignizing strategies.” They also suggest that the hypothesis may have been affected by the historical and ideological observation point of the researcher: particularly what has been considered faithful at given time.

Koskinen and Paloposki (2004: 27) trace the basis of the retranslation hypothesis back to Berman (1990) and Bensimon (1990). According to them, based on ideas presented by Berman (1990), Bensimon (1990) has claimed that the first translations tend to be “naturalizations” that introduce one culture to another. Moreover, naturalization is needed to ensure positive reception in the target culture. However, after the work is introduced, naturalization is no longer needed and the following retranslations may be foreignizing (Bensimon 1990, quoted in Koskinen and Paloposki 2004: 27). This is the basic idea of the retranslation hypothesis.

The other core idea of the retranslation hypothesis is the idea of *progression*. Susam-Sarajeva (2003: 2) states that “for the majority of translation scholars, retranslations are things that come up as time passes, and *succeed* the previous translation(s) in linear fashion”. She specifies that by *succeed*, she means both proceeding and being more successful. According to Brownlie (2006: 148), this idea is also clearly presented in the original hypothesis. Brownlie (2006: 148) argues that Berman (1990) sees retranslation as “a process of improvement from one retranslation to the next”. In addition, Brownlie (2006: 148) notes that in Berman’s (1990) view “the improvement in retranslations is realized as the successive translations come closer to conveying the essence of the source text, to revealing the truth of the being of the source text”. This happens after a series of events is played out by retranslators:

puis vient le temps d’une courageuse introduction sans prétention littéraire (destinée généralement à ceux qui étudient cette œuvre) ; puis vient le temps des premières traductions à ambition littéraire, généralement partielles et, comme on sait, les plus frappées de défektivité ; puis vient celui des (multiples) retraductions, et, alors, celui de la traduction de la totalité de l’œuvre. Ce processus est accompagné, soutenu par tout un travail critique. Puis vient – *peut venir* – une traduction canonique que va s’imposer et parfois arrêter pour longtemps le cycle des re-traductions. (Berman 1995: 57)

[First there is a courageous ‘introduction’ without literary pretension (usually for those studying the work); then comes the time of the first translations with literary ambition – they are generally not complete translations, and as is well-known, full of flaws; then come the (many) retranslations... Eventually a canonical translation may be produced which will stop the cycle of retranslations for a long time. (Berman 1995:57, quoted in Brownlie 2006: 148, Brownlie’s translation)]

In other words, Berman (1995) would seem to suggest that every subsequent retranslation will be closer to the original than the (re)translation they are following. However, it should be noted that this interpretation has been published 5 years after Berman’s article (1990) in

Palimpsestes to which the origins of the retranslation hypothesis have been traced back to. Unfortunately I have no access to the original French journal published in 1990, so I will have to rely on Susam-Sarajeva's (2003), Koskinen and Paloposki's (2004) and Brownlie's (2006) statements about which aspects of the retranslation hypothesis Berman intended to be essential from the very beginning. This also raises a question: how many translation scholars have actually traced the retranslation hypothesis back to Berman (1990) and Bensimon (1990), and how many rely on Chesterman's (2004: 8) vague presentation on the subject matter?

The retranslation hypothesis has also been criticized of being too simplifying and general. It ignores a substantial set of factors that may have an effect on retranslation. One of these factors is why retranslations are made in the first place. According to Berman (1990: 1–7, quoted in Koskinen and Paloposki 2004: 27), there is a need for retranslations simply because translations date. However, Koskinen and Paloposki (2004: 28) pose a further question: do translations date, or do domesticating translations date? Koskinen and Paloposki (2004: 29–36) also point out that variations between retranslations may be influenced by other factors including: stage in the development of a literature, translator's profile and view of translation, historical and ideological context, publisher's requirements, intended readers (children/adults), illustrations and the relationship between target culture and source culture.

Brownlie (2006) agrees with Koskinen and Paloposki (2004). In her research, Brownlie (2006: 167) has also come to the conclusion that there is no “natural progression from target-oriented to source-oriented translations”. Furthermore, Brownlie emphasizes that retranslations are not forever improving versions that would over time produce “a great (canonical) translation” (Brownlie 2006: 167).

Desmidt's research supports Koskinen and Paloposki's claim that RH should be further tested. In her research, Desmidt (2009) has come to the conclusion that the hypothesis is only valid to some extent and should not be formulated in absolute terms. In addition, Desmidt (2009: 669) argues that “[w]ithin peripheral forms of literature, like children's literature, as well as within classical literature, less prototypical (re)rewriting has proven to be more than the exception and target norms continue to clash with fidelity to the original source text.” In other words, it is the view of Desmidt that RH is unlikely to apply to children's or classical literature as the target norms continue to affect the process of retranslating. This is in direct conflict with the retranslation hypothesis.

Based on this review of previous research on retranslation and retranslation hypothesis, it is difficult to understand, why RH was ever considered a truth universally acknowledged in the first place. I suspect that the discussion about translation universals could have something to do with this matter. According to Chesterman (2004: 8), the retranslation hypothesis (a claim that succeeding translations tend to be closer to the source text than the first translation) is a descriptive hypothesis often regarded as a translation universal even though the claim itself is a mere hypothesis. As Chesterman (2004: 1) points out, it should be remembered that a hypothesis “is not a statement of fact, but a claim that something might be true or worth considering”. A hypothesis needs evidence to support it. In addition, it should be noted that “closer to the source text” can be interpreted differently by scholars with different backgrounds. For example, if I was not familiar with research on retranslation hypothesis, I could not be certain whether it meant more foreignizing or more faithful to the source text. ‘Faithful’ in turn is a vague concept addressed more thoroughly in chapter 3.2.

Even though RH has been discussed, and during the last decade even tested, it has rarely been tested twice on the same material by separate researchers. In my opinion, if the aim of two separate studies using valid methods is to test the retranslation hypothesis on the same material, the results should not contradict each other. Otherwise the hypothesis will be falsified. Thus the aim of my research is to test RH on the three Finnish translations of *Mary Poppins*, even though Heino (2013) has already performed such a test. Moreover, as Karjalainen’s (2012) BA thesis had already come to opposite conclusions, I find it necessary to conduct further research.

The following subchapter discusses retranslation hypothesis in Heino’s (2013) research.

2.2 Retranslation hypothesis and *Mary Poppins*

In the light of previous research on retranslation hypothesis, there seems to be two possible ways of interpreting RH. As mentioned earlier, Chesterman (2000: 23) defines RH as a descriptive hypothesis that claims “[l]ater translations (same ST, same TL) tend to be closer to the original than earlier ones”. However, in a later article, Chesterman (2004: 8) shortens this definition in to “later translations tend to be closer to the source text”. Thus based on this vague presentation of RH by Chesterman (2004: 8), it can be understood that RH applies if the first translation is target-oriented and the later ones are *closer to the source text than the*

first translation. Thus the idea of progression is ignored. This is also Heino's (2013: 7) interpretation of RH. From now on, this interpretation will be called the vague interpretation of RH.

However, based on Susam-Sarajeva's (2003), Brownlie's (2006) and Desmidt's (2009) interpretations of the original hypothesis presented and discussed by Berman (1990) and Bensimon (1990), the idea of progression is essential to the hypothesis. Thus my interpretation of the hypothesis is that it applies only if the initial translation of a novel is target-oriented and the retranslations that follow are *closer to the source text than the (re)translation they are succeeding*. From now on, this will be called the extensive interpretation of RH.

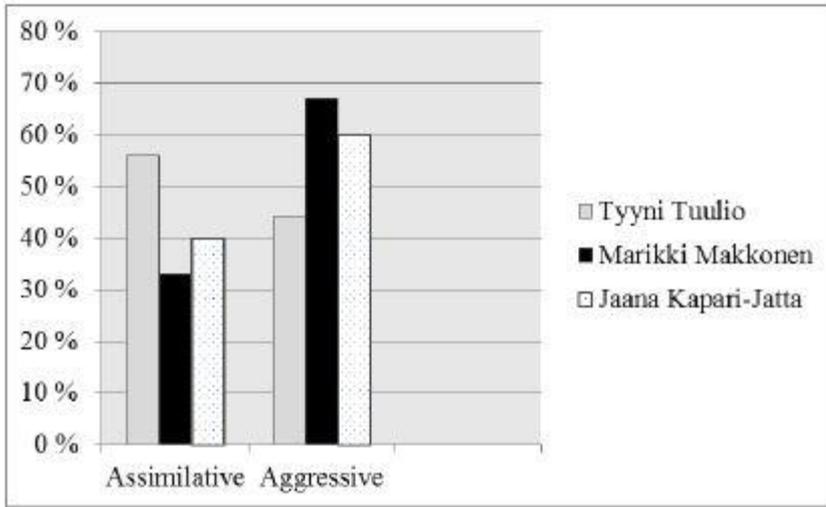
Then there are the interpretations and definitions for target-oriented and source-oriented. In this study, target-oriented has been interpreted as domesticating and source-oriented as foreignizing. According to Davies (2003: 69), the goal of foreignization is to preserve the cultural elements of the source text as far as possible, even though they might seem exotic or strange to the target audience. The aim of domestication is to bring the source text closer to the target culture by adapting and omitting elements that are unfamiliar to the target audience. In Heino's study (2013: 9), target-oriented is interpreted as assimilative and target oriented as aggressive. *Assimilative* and *aggressive* are defined as follows:

when a translator brings the source text closer to the reader by fading out the culturally unfamiliar elements and changing them into something more familiar and more easily recognizable for the target text audience, he/she is practicing an assimilative strategy. In using an aggressive translation strategy, on the other hand, the source text's unfamiliar elements are left in the target text and the reader is brought closer to the source text (Heino 2013: 14).

In other words, Heino's (2013) definition of assimilation would seem to match the definition of domesticating used in this study, and the definition of aggressive the definition of foreignizing. These definitions are further discussed in Chapter 3.

As already mentioned, Heino's (2013) interpretation of RH is the vague one. This becomes clear when Heino (2013: 15) states that "the main purpose of the analysis was to examine if the initial translation is more assimilated than the two retranslations". In other words, Heino (2013) ignores the idea of progression and does not consider it necessary to compare the degree of foreignization (or aggression) of the two retranslations. This becomes even more evident when discussing Heino's (2013: 88) results:

Table 1. Summary of the global translation strategies by Heino (2013)



when the results of the analysis of all the global translation strategies used in the three translations are put together, the final conclusion is indisputable. The two retranslations are less assimilated than the initial translation. In other words, they are closer to the source text than the first translation, which means that in this particular material and case study, the retranslation hypothesis is valid. (Heino 2013: 89).

Based on Table 1, Heino (2013: 89) argues that the retranslations hypothesis is valid as “the two retranslations are less assimilated than the initial translation”. This is correct if the retranslation hypothesis is vaguely defined as a claim that the initial translation is more domesticating (or assimilative) than the retranslations that follow, and the idea of progression is ignored. However, if the retranslation hypothesis is understood as a more extensive claim that the initial translation is always domesticating and the retranslations that follow are more and more foreignizing than the (re)translation they are succeeding, Heino’s (2013) results do not support the retranslation hypothesis. Even though Table 1 shows that the second translation is in fact more aggressive (or foreignizing) than the initial translation, the third translation in turn is more assimilative (or domesticating) than the second translation.

In addition, it should be noted that Heino (2013) and I use different tools to test the retranslation hypothesis. Heino (2013) has examined the validity of the retranslation hypothesis using Maria Tymoczko’s idea of “the metonymics of translation”. According to Heino (2013: 8), the metonymics of translation includes the idea that translation is an act of rewriting and selection. Heino (2013: 8) explains that

Because texts are filled with various kinds of information, such as various types of cultural references, it will be impossible to translate all the aspects of the source

text comprehensively, otherwise the translation would contain too much information.

In my opinion, translating is not essentially an act of rewriting and selection but an act of transferring meanings. I am basing this opinion on Hatim and Mason (1990). According to Hatim and Mason (1990: 3), the translator is a mediator in a “communicative process which takes place within a social context”. More specifically,

Translators mediate between cultures (including ideologies, moral systems and socio-political structures), seeking to overcome those incompatibilities which stand in the way of transfer of meaning. What has value as a sign in one cultural community may be devoid of significance in another and it is the translator who is uniquely placed to identify the disparity and seek to resolve it (Hatim and Mason 1990: 223–224).

Thus the translator is a communicator and a mediator between two cultures.

Moreover, Heino (2013) and I have classified strategies differently. Even though we would seem to have several identically labelled strategies, there are cases where a strategy considered domesticating (assimilative) in the classification used by Heino (2013: 14-15) is considered foreignizing in the classification compiled for my study. Heino’s (2013) classification would seem to include strategies proposed by Newmark (1988a) and Tymoczko (1999a). My classification is based on Davies’ (2003) and Nord’s (2003) classifications. All in all, both of our methods would seem to be valid, yet there might be significant differences. It is interesting to see, whether this shows in our results.

Furthermore, if the comparison of Heino’s (2013) study and mine proves to be difficult, it raises a question: how can we compare already existing studies on the retranslation hypothesis that use different material when it is difficult even when the studies use the same material? If there is no consensus on the tools used for testing the hypothesis, or even the core of the hypothesis itself, how should we operate? Even though this question is out of the scope of this study, it might be worth further investigation in the future.

The following chapter will look more closely into domestication, foreignization and the norms and conventions of translating children’s literature.

3. Translating children's literature

3.1 Domestication and foreignization

Domestication and foreignization, which appear to be a major aspect of RH, are also a relevant issue when it comes to translating children's literature. According to Davies (2003: 69), the goal of foreignization is to preserve the cultural elements of the source text as far as possible, even though they might seem exotic or strange to the target audience. The aim of domestication is to bring the source text closer to the target culture by adapting and omitting elements that are unfamiliar to the target audience. The terms *domestication* and *foreignization* can be traced back to Schleiermacher (1838 [1813], quoted in Mäkisalo 2012: 63), but for the purpose of this study, the definitions of these terms are based on Venuti's (1995) interpretation. According to Venuti (1995: 20), domestication is "an ethnocentric reduction of the foreign text to target-language cultural values, bringing the author back home", whereas foreignization is "an ethnodeviant pressure on those values to register the linguistic and cultural difference of the foreign text, sending the reader abroad". In other words, opting for a foreignizing strategy is the translator's attempt to move the reader closer to the author and the source culture, whereas opting for a domesticating strategy brings the author closer to the reader and the target culture.

I am aware that there are other ways of defining the concepts of domestication and foreignization (see Mäkisalo 2012: 63–77), but for the purpose of this study, Venuti's definitions are used. As this study focuses on culture-bound elements, and Venuti has defined these concepts from the viewpoint of cultural studies, it seems fitting. In addition, Venuti's definitions are widely used by scholars studying translation of children's literature. For example Davies (2003), Čičelytė and Jaleniauskiėnė (2009: 32) and Petrulionė (2012: 45) use them, although Petrulionė refers to Davies instead of Venuti.

In the next subchapter, approaches to translating children's literature are discussed.

3.2 Translating children's literature and translating for children

There are several scholars who argue that cultural adaptations make children's literature unnatural and overly pedagogical (Oittinen 2000: 74). However, according to Oittinen (2000: 74), this viewpoint is only valid if the process of translation is seen as producing sameness. In

her opinion, translation should be considered as rewriting, and translators should above all be loyal to their target audience. “What really matters here is how well translations function in real situations where the “I” of the reader of the translation meets the “you” of the translator, the author, and the illustrator” (Oittinen 2000: 84). Oittinen’s approach to translation as rewriting would seem to be shared by Tymoczko (1999b) and thus Heino (2013: 8). In this study, translating is seen as transferring meanings and the translator is seen as a mediator between two cultures. This viewpoint is based on Hatim and Mason (1990). Also Shavit’s (2006) view of translating comes close to the viewpoint of this study. According to Shavit (2006: 25)

The act of translation is understood here not in the traditional normative sense but rather as a semiotic concept. Thus, translation is understood as a part of transfer mechanism – that is, the process by which textual models of one system are transferred to another. (Shavit 2006: 25).

In this study, translation is also understood as a semiotic concept and part of a transfer mechanism. However, in this study, translating is seen as transferring meanings. In contrast, by transferring Shavit (2006: 25) is referring to transferring, for example, a children’s novel from the British literary polysystem to the Finnish literary polysystem (Shavit 1981: 171). In addition, Shavit (1981: 171) argues that children’s literature system usually occupies a peripheral position in the literary polysystem. This view I do not share.

Shavit (2006: 26) also argues that there are two important norms applying to translation of children’s literature:

an adjustment of the text to make it appropriate and useful to the child, in accordance with what society regards (at certain point in time) as educationally ‘good for the child’; and an adjustment of plot, characterization, and language to prevailing society’s perceptions of the child’s ability to read and comprehend (Shavit 2006: 26).

In other words, according to Shavit, translated children’s literature is adapted to the target-culture norms that define what is good for the child. It could be argued, that in this case, the translator’s target-audience is not the target-culture child reader, it is the society’s perception of the target-culture child reader. In addition, Shavit (2006) suggests that the translator is free to manipulate the text in various ways as long as the changes are motivated by these two norms. However, for example Rudvin (1994, quoted in Davies 2003: 66) argues that the translator can take liberties and opt for highly domesticating strategies only if translating from a minor culture to a dominant culture.

The two proposed norms suggest that children's literature should never be translated word-for-word, even though word-for-word translation is generally considered "faithful" translation. However, there are scholars such as Oittinen (2000: 84) who argue that when translators of children's literature take their target-culture readers into account, they are ultimately also being loyal to the author of the original text. This notion is supported, for example, by Davies (2003:66) who points out that children are more easily disturbed by obscurities and clumsy phrasing than adults. Consequently, it is important that the translators of children's literature use familiar concepts and fluent target language to ensure that the target-culture reader may have as enjoyable reading experience as the source-culture reader. So according to Oittinen (2000) and Davies (2003), strangeness and foreign elements should be avoided when translating for children. However, I am not sure that they would agree with the norms of translating for children described by Shavit (2006). This is because according to these norms, the translator's target audience should be the society's perception of the target-culture child reader, not the actual target-culture child reader. In my opinion, this is a very pedagogical view. In contrast, Oittinen (2000) and Davies (2003) argue that the actual child reader disturbed by clumsy phrasings, for example, should be taken into account.

There is previous research on the translation and retranslation of children's literature from English to Finnish. For example Oittinen (1997) has studied three different Finnish versions of Lewis Carroll's *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* (1865). The aim of her study was to set the translations published in 1906, 1972, and 1995 against their own time without discussing the problem of retranslation. According to Oittinen (2000: 136), the first translation by Anni Swan (1906) domesticated the story. It seemed to take place in a Finnish setting, the main character *Liisa* seemed Finnish and the story was adapted to Finnish child readers. The second translation by Kunnas (1972) was made for the target-culture children from their viewpoint. According to Oittinen (2000: 139), "Kunnas has made her Alice laugh shamelessly at the adult phenomena of the Finnish 1970s". In addition, Kunnas's translation was carnivalistic and free from the original (Oittinen 2000: 138). The third translation by Martin (1995) in turn seemed to be more foreignizing. According to Oittinen (2000: 139), many scenes omitted by Swann and Kunnas were included by Martin, and her translation seemed to tolerate more otherness. For example, in Martin's translation, the main character's name was not domesticated in to *Liisa*, but preserved as *Alice*.

All in all, Oittinen (2000: 139) seems to have come to the conclusion that the first two translations were domesticating and the third one foreignizing.

While Swann and Kunnas have domesticated their translations and deleted anything strange for Finnish readers, Martin has solved the problem otherwise: she has foreignized her text so that the reader can feel the otherness of the story. (Oittinen 2000: 139).

This implies that her results would seem to support RH. However, after the study was conducted, a fourth translation was published in 2000, and according to Koskinen and Paloposki (2004:33), it was more domesticating than the third translation. Moreover, when Kämäräinen (2004) tested the retranslation hypothesis on the first, third and fourth Finnish translation of *Alice* in her pro gradu -thesis, she came to the conclusion that it does not apply.

On the whole, even though it seems that there might not be generally applying norms for translating children's literature, most of the scholars argue that the target-reader, or the society's understanding of the target-reader, should be regarded as the highest authority when choosing a translation strategy. Some scholars even argue that this approach is actually more "faithful" to the author of the original text than word-for-word translation, for example. I also suspect that the translators of children's literature are affected by their personal understanding of the nature of translation (and retranslation) which, in the light of Oittinen's (2000) research, might be bound to their time. Thus it is difficult to predict how the three Finnish translators of *Mary Poppins* have chosen their strategies for translating culture-bound elements for children.

The following chapter will discuss strategies for translating culture-bound elements.

4. Translating culture-bound elements

4.1 Defining culture

The concept of culture may have slightly altering meanings in different contexts. As Petrulionè (2012: 43) expresses it "a big variety of definitions of the word culture reflect different understanding and different approaches towards this complex concept". However, according to Petrulionè (2012: 43), all of them include "such notions as customs, traditions, beliefs, habits, environment, geographical realia, national literature, folklore and religious

aspects”. In the context of translation studies, there does not seem to be a consensus about the nature of culture, or even the nature of culture-bound elements. Thus comparing studies on culture-bound elements and strategies used for translating them becomes complex.

For example Newmark (1988a: 94) defines 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”. Newmark distinguishes culture-bound words from universal words and personal language, but states that operationally he does not “regard language as a component or feature of culture”, because “if it were so, translation would be impossible” (Newmark 1988a: 95). Davies (2003: 68) in turn refers to culture as “a set of values, attitudes and behaviours by a group and passed on by learning.” According to Davies (2003: 68), culture can be further divided into inner and outer layers. In the inner layers Davies places beliefs and values, whereas customs, norms, artefacts and symbols belong to the outer layers.

Davies (2003: 68) also suggests that both inner and outer layer cultural manifestations can be found in two levels: at the text level and at the semantic or lexical level. Text level manifestations, such as discourse structure or rhetorical devices, have mostly been studied in the framework of text linguistics and contrastive pragmatics (Davies 2003: 68). They are out of the scope of this study. However, problems at lexical or semantic level are often classified into cultural categories, and possible translation strategies are compiled to lists. This is one of the aims of this study.

All in all, in the present study culture is seen as the setting where the source-culture reader or the target-culture reader acquires his/her mother tongue and the shared “set of values, attitudes and behaviours” Davies (2003: 68) is referring to. The translator’s task is to understand how these values, attitudes and behaviours manifest themselves in different layers of the source culture and the target culture, and function as a mediator between these two cultures and elements bound to them.

The following subchapter will discuss definition and classification of culture-bound elements.

4.2 Defining and classifying culture-bound elements

Classifications of culture-bound elements have been compiled by numerous researchers. However, all of these scholars do not use the term *culture-bound element*. Even Davies (2003)

seems to use the terms *culture-bound element*, *culture-specific item* and *cultural concepts* synonymously. According to Petrulionė (2012: 44), also terms *culture-specific concepts*, *cultural words* and *realia* are used. In this study, I have chosen to systematically use the term culture-bound element.

According to Aixelá (1996: 57), it is common to identify culture-bound elements merely with items that are “especially linked to the most arbitrary are of each linguistic system – its local institutions, streets, historical figures, place names, personal names, periodicals, works of art, etc. — which will normally present a translation problems in other languages”. According to Aixelá, this is not enough because there are also superficially arbitrary elements that constantly appear in the text that may pose a translator problem because of the intercultural gap (Aixelá 1996:57). Consequently, Aixelá gives the term culture-specific item (CSI) the following definition:

a CSI does not exist of itself, but as the result of a conflict arising from any linguistically represented reference in a source text which, when transferred to a target language, poses a translation problem due to the nonexistence or to the different value (whether determined by ideology, usage, frequency, etc.) of the given item in the target language culture (Aixelá 1996:57).

In other words, Aixelá (1996) suggests that when there are culture-bound elements in the original text, translator has to carefully consider the meaning and connotations associated with each element before choosing a translation strategy. For example, “rye bread” does not have the same meaning to Finnish and British audience. For the Finnish audience, it is something plain, common and honest. To the British audience, it is more exotic. Hence the meaning of “rye bread” is culture-bound, and a translator has to make a conscious decision to either preserve the element or the meaning.

However, stating that all culture-bound elements pose translation problems would be quite provocative as the nature of ‘translation problem’ is perhaps more than controversial. Instead I choose to approach the nature of culture-bound elements from the viewpoint of ‘intercultural gap’, or how Nord (1994: 523) phrases it: *cultural distance*.

According to Nord (1994: 525), a distinction has to be made between two types of cultural markers that contribute to cultural distance: *behaviour* and *conditions*. Culture-specific behaviour can be either “communicative, i.e. directed at other persons, or non-communicative, i.e. referring to objects or phenomena of the world” (Nord 1994: 525). For example conventions of politeness are usually culture-bound. However, in this study the focus

is on the *cultural conditions*. Cultural conditions also consist of two components: 1) the situation where interaction takes place, and 2) the natural and socio-cultural background of the situation. In this study, the focus is on the natural and socio-cultural background. According to Nord (1994: 526)

The *background* consists of the natural or artificial environment (e.g. landscape, climate, buildings), the characteristics of the way of living or lifestyle (e.g. housing, clothing, meals), the events and phenomena of History, and the cultural heritage (e.g. literature, works of art, language).

In other words, in this study culture-bound elements are defined as the elements that form the natural or artificial environment, the characteristics of the way of life, the events and phenomena of history and the cultural heritage on the background of the novel studied.

To systematically study culture-bound elements, a classification of culture-bound elements is needed. As already mentioned, there are many ways of classifying culture-bound elements. By far the most comprehensive classification has been provided by Nedergaard-Larsen (1993). In addition, it is perfectly in line with this study's definition of culture-bound elements. Nedergaard-Larsen's (1993: 211) classification has roughly divided culture-bound items into four main categories: **geography**, **history**, **sociology** and **culture**. However, each of these four is further divided into numerous subcategories. They are illustrated in the following table.

Table 2. The classification of culture-bound elements by Nedergaard-Larsen (1993).

Main categories	Subcategories
1. Geography	Geography Meteorology Biology Cultural Geography
2. History	Buildings Events People
3. Society	Industrial level, economy Social organization Politics Social Conditions Ways of life, customs
4. Culture	Religion Education Media Culture, leisure activities

In the following paragraphs the four main categories along with their subcategories are presented and examples are provided. All of the examples are mine unless stated otherwise.

According to Nedergaard-Larsen (1993: 211), **geography** has four subcategories. The subcategory **geography** consists of geographical elements such as mountains and rivers. For example *the Amazon*, *the Thames* and *Himalaya* could be cases in point. The subcategory **meteorology** contains elements connected to weather and climate. For example *hurricane Katrina* would be listed under meteorology. The subcategory of **biology** consists of flora and fauna. For example *juhannusruusu* and *ilves* would be placed in this category. The subcategory of **cultural geography** contains regions, towns, roads, streets etc. For example *Yarmouth* and *Robinson road* are listed under cultural geography.

History has three subcategories: **buildings**, **events** and **people**. For example *St. Paul's Cathedral* is a culture-bound building, and under the subcategory of events holidays such as American *thanksgiving* and British *bonfire night* could be placed. The subcategory of people consists of well-known historical persons, such as *Queen Elisabeth* and *Guy Fawkes*.

Sociology is divided into five subcategories. **Industrial level** consists of trade, industry, energy supply etc. For example *euro* and *pound* belong to this category. The subcategory of **social organizations** contains elements that are connected to defence, juridical system, police, and local and central authorities. For example *NYPD* would be classified under social organization. **Politics** consists of ministries, political parties, politicians etc. For example *liberals* and *prime minister* would be listed under subcategory of politics. **Social conditions** is the subcategory for subcultures, groups and social problems. For example *the Finnish war veterans* would belong here. The subcategory of **ways of life** contains customs, housing, transport, food, clothes, articles for everyday use etc. For example *Sunlight soap* and *Barley Water* belong to ways of life.

Finally, the category of **culture** has four subcategories: **religion**, **education**, **media** and **culture**. Religion consists naturally of religious elements such as rituals, churches, saints and morals. For example *the Anglican Church* would be placed in this category. Education contains schools, colleges, lines of education etc. For example *middle school* and *secondary school* would belong to this category. In the subcategory of media, TV, radio, newspapers and magazines are represented. For example *Daily Mail* and *MTV3* would be placed in this

category. Finally, the subcategory of culture holds elements such as museums, works of art, authors, athletes etc. Also leisure activities such as *rugby* would be placed there.

However, as all of these categories are not present in *Mary Poppins*, and some categories were combined for the analysis, I will present a tailored classification of culture-bound elements in chapter 7. However, it should be noted that it is still based on Nedergaard-Larsen's (1993: 211).

Other theorists have of course presented alternative classifications. However, to my knowledge, they are usually covered by Nedergaard-Larsen's. This could be due to the fact, that her classification is probably one of the most recent ones widely used. Newmark's classification, for example, has been compiled in 1988 (Petrucci 2012: 44).

In the following subchapter strategies used for translating culture bound elements will be discussed.

4.3 Strategies used for translating culture-bound elements

There are numerous classifications of translation strategies for culture-bound elements proposed by various theorists. The following classifications have been introduced by Aixelá (1996) and Davies (2003).

According to Aixelá (1996: 61), strategies used for translating culture-specific items can be placed on a scale according to their degree of intercultural manipulation. On one end of the scale are conservative strategies aiming at *conservation*, on the other end substitutive strategies aiming at *naturalization*. According to Aixelá (1996: 52), conservation is "acceptance of the difference by means of the reproduction of the cultural signs in the source text" and naturalization "transformation of the other into a cultural replica". In other words, the goal of conservation is to preserve the cultural elements as far as possible and bring the reader closer to the source text, whereas naturalization aims at adapting unfamiliar cultural elements and brings the source text closer to the reader. Thus Aixelá's (1996) definition of conservation matches the definition of foreignization used in this study, and the definition of naturalization the definition of domestication used in this study. In the following paragraphs Aixelá's (1996) strategies are presented and examples are provided. All the examples are mine unless stated otherwise.

In foreignizing strategies Aixelá (1996: 61-62) places **repetition, orthographic adaptation, linguistic (non-cultural) translation, extratextual gloss** and **intratextual gloss**. **Repetition** is simply copying the element from source culture into target culture. For example *Yarmouth* remains *Yarmouth*. **Orthographic adaptation** is used when the original element is expressed with different alphabet. For example, if the name *Tchaikovsky* occurs in a British novel and it is translated in to Finnish using orthographic adaptation as a strategy, the name becomes *Tšaikovski*. **Linguistic (non-cultural translation)** is used when the translator chooses a “very close reference to the original, but increases its comprehensibility by offering a target language version which can still be recognized as belonging to the cultural system of the source text” (Aixela 1996: 62). This is often used with currencies and units of measure. For example, *a pound* becomes *punta* in a Finnish translation.

Extratextual gloss is a strategy where one of the earlier mentioned foreignizing strategies is used, but the translator feels they have to provide further information outside the text, usually in a footnote. So every footnote means an extratextual gloss has been used as a strategy. **Intratextual gloss** is the same as extratextual gloss, except this time the additional information is provided within the text. For example *Alfred the Great* has been translated as *kuningas Alfred Suuri* in two of the Finnish translations of *Mary Poppins*.

Then there are domesticating strategies which Aixelá (1996:63-64) has labelled as **synonymy, limited universalization, absolute universalization, naturalization, deletion** and **autonomous creation**. **Synonymy** is a strategy used when a culture-bound element occurs several times in a text. For example, if *Foster's* had already been translated using repetition as a strategy and it would occur again in the next sentence, the translator could choose to translate it this time using simple the word *beer*. However, if *Foster's* were translated as *beer* already when it first occurred, then this strategy would be called **absolute universalization**.

Limited universalization is not as neutral as absolute universalization. It is used when a culture-bound element is found too obscure for the readers and the translator chooses to use some less obscure source-culture reference instead. Aixelá (1996: 64) gives an example where a Spanish translator has chosen to translate *an American football* as *un balón de rugby* (a ball of rugby). **Naturalization** is basically domestication. According to Aixelá (1996: 64), an example of naturalization is translating the name *Brigid* as *Brìgida*. **Deletion** chooses to completely omit the source-culture element. According to Aixelá (1996: 65), deletion occurs even in the example where *a dark Cadillac sedan* is translated as *Cadillac oscuro* (dark

Cadillac) even though only the word sedan is omitted. Finally, **autonomous creation** is a strategy where the translator adds a cultural reference in to the source text.

As previously mentioned, Aixelá places these strategies on the following scale:

Table 3. Aixelá's (1996) foreignizing–domesticating scale.

<p>Foreignizing end: repetition -> orthographic adaptation -> linguistic (non-cultural) translation -> extratextual gloss -> intratextual gloss -> <- synonymy <- limited universalization <- absolute universalization <- naturalization <- deletion <- autonomous creation: Domesticating end</p>
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Even though Aixelá's classification (1996) is very detailed and would be highly useful when considering strategies in a foreignizing–domesticating scale, it is still quite confusing and many borders between closely related strategies seem fuzzy. For example synonymy and limited universalization can be easily mixed. I am still not sure which one is used if Foster's is mentioned once and beer nineteen times, even though in the original text Foster's has been mentioned twenty times. Also the difference between limited universalization and naturalization is unclear. That is why I would prefer to use a simpler classification that does not leave so much room for interpretation.

Davies's (2003) classification is based on the one proposed by Aixelá (1996) but it aims to clarify the definitions. In addition, Davies (2003: 73) states that no claim shall be made that the proposed strategies “can be definitely ordered in terms of degrees of closeness or distance of the source text, or placed on a scale ranging from exotic to domesticated”. This does not hinder my study, as the degree of domestication or foreignization of each strategy has to be re-evaluated in terms of Van Poucke's (2012) scale of translation shift fields (discussed in chapter 4.4) before the actual degree of foreignization of each novel can be calculated. Furthermore, Davies's (2003) classification is widely applied by researchers studying the translation of culture-bound elements in children's literature. For example Čičelytė and Jaleniauskiėnė (2009) and Petruilionė (2012) use Davies's classification for the empirical part of their research. In addition, Davies (2003: 65–100) herself uses it to study the treatment of culture-specific references in translations of the *Harry Potter* books.

According to Davies (2003: 72–89), there are seven micro-level translation strategies: **preservation, addition, omission, globalization, localization, transformation** and **creation**.

Preservation means that the original word remains unchanged. For example *Yarmouth* remains *Yarmouth*. **Addition** preserves the original name or expression, but provides additional information on its meaning. This clarifying element could be anything from a single adjective to a sentence or footnote. For example, in *Mary Poppins* there is a scene where Mary Poppins and the children go past St. John's Cathedral. In the original text it is mentioned that it was built by *Christopher Wren*, a man with a bird's name. In the second Finnish translation, the name *Christopher Wren* and its translation *peukaloinen* are provided in a footnote.

Omission is a strategy that excludes the element and omits all traces of it in the translation. **Globalization** neutralizes culture-bound elements. For example, a Finnish chocolate bar *Fazerina* could become merely *a chocolate bar*, if it was translated into English using globalization as a strategy. **Localization** is typically used to avoid loss of effect. Thus culture-bound elements are replaced with expressions that are more familiar in the target culture. For example *Fazerina* could be replaced with *Wispa*.

Transformation involves altering or distorting the original meaning. It is not always easy to distinguish transformation from globalization or localization as a strategy because it requires extensive cultural knowledge about the source and the target culture. Davies (2003: 86) provides an example of transformation in her study. It concerns the French translation of Harry Potter, where the title of the book (*Harry Potter and the Philosopher's Stone*) has been translated as *Harry Potter à L'Ecole des Sorcieres*. *L'ecole* is the French word for *school*. According to Davies (2003: 86), here the original meaning is clearly distorted. Finally, **creation** as a strategy is generally used to compensate the loss of meaning elsewhere in the text. For example, if there is a pun or a joke that cannot be translated, the translator could create one when the target language enables it.

I will be using Davies's (2003) classification as a baseline for classifying strategies used for translating culture-bound elements in *Mary Poppins*. However, I will be adding two strategies in to it. They are taken from the classification used for my previous study. The first one is Nord's (2003) **calques**, and the second one my **established equivalents**.

Calques are literal target-language translations. For example the idiomatic expression *grass and glover* has been literally translated as *ruohoa ja apilaa* in all Finnish translations. Using **established equivalents** is a strategy I formulated on the basis of my previous research material that consisted of all the character names and their translations in *Mary Poppins*. It includes Nord's (2003) **exonyms** which are foreign names for local places, ethnic groups, languages, or individuals. However, the scope of established equivalents is slightly wider: they are basically target-language equivalents for specific source-language words, whether the word originates from the source-culture or some other culture.

In addition, I would like to add that even though Davies (2003) describes **transformation** as a strategy that involves altering or distorting the original meaning, and the term seems to have a slightly negative connotation, it is not the case in the present study. In the present study transformation is considered a domesticating strategy that alters the original meaning, and neither negative nor positive value will be associated with its usage.

In the next subchapter, the degree of foreignization or domestication of each of these strategies will be discussed in more detail after introducing Van Poucke's (2012) scale of translation shift fields.

The following chapter introduces Van Poucke's scale of translation shift fields.

4.4 Van Poucke's scale of translation shift fields

According to Van Poucke (2012: 139), "[e]ver since the start of the human translation activities the concepts of domestication and foreignization have been diametrically opposed". Researchers, such as Aixelá (see chapter 4.3) have been analysing local translation strategies and attempted to classify them according to their degree of domestication or foreignization. In Aixelá's (1996: 61) case, this attempt led to the foreignizing-domesticating scale. On that scale, no two strategies can be equally domesticating or foreignizing. Every strategy has its own place on the foreignizing-domesticating scale. In addition, every strategy is either domesticating or foreignizing. According to Aixelá (1996), there are no neutral strategies. Van Poucke (2012) disagrees.

Van Poucke (2012: 140–144) suggests that in order to operationalize the concepts of domestication and foreignization and actually measure the degree of foreignization of a text,

local strategies (or shifts, as Van Poucke calls them) should be divided in to five larger fields: **strong foreignization**, **moderate foreignization**, **neutral translation**, **moderate domestication** and **strong domestication**. According to Van Poucke (2012: 145), the field of **strong foreignization** includes “a set of shifts that retain both form and meaning of the translated ST items”. More specifically, in lexico-semantic level, strong foreignization includes “all forms of borrowing” such as preservation, transliteration, transcription and loanwords (Van Poucke 2012: 145). As already established in chapter 4.3, preservation means that the original word remains unchanged. For example *Yarmouth* remains *Yarmouth*. Transliteration and transcription are used when the source text belongs to a different writing system than the target text. For example the Russian alphabet, which uses letters from the Cyrillic script, differs significantly from the Finnish alphabet which is based on the Latin script. Thus Russian words need to be either transliterated or transcribed when translated in to Finnish. For example *Чайковский* is usually transcribed as *Tšaikovski* when translating from Russian to Finnish. In transcription the main purpose is to preserve the phonological aspects, in transliteration the main focus is on the morphological aspects. In other words, transcription is basically sound-for-sound translation, transliteration letter-for-letter translation (Oxford Advanced Learner’s Dictionary of Current English 2005: 1630–1632).

In **moderate foreignization** Van Poucke (2012: 145–146) places strategies “that cause minor changes in either form or meaning, but nevertheless stay close to the ST”. More specifically, the strategies that fall into the category of moderate foreignization are

deliberate literal (or direct) translation (in the case of calques, for instance, when more idiomatic alternatives are available in the TL but are not used by the translator) as well as what Pedersen (2005) calls *official equivalents* (Van Poucke 2012: 145).

In addition, Van Poucke (2012: 145) states that specifications, explications and additions that add extra information to retained culture-bound elements should be classified as moderately foreignizing.

In other words, there are three types of strategies in moderate foreignization. First, there are literal translations (or calques) that are used even though more idiomatic target-culture alternatives are available. Then there are Pedersen’s (2005) *official equivalents*. According to Pedersen (2005: 3), “for there to be an Official Equivalent, some sort of official decision by people in authority (--) is needed”. Pedersen (2005) offers *Donald Duck* and its Swedish translation *Kalle Anka* as an example. Whenever Donald Duck is translated in to Swedish, there is no “translation-related reason” for translating it any other way (Pedersen 2005: 3).

Pedersen (2005: 3) adds that “[t]he pivotal point about Official Equivalents is that when one exists, it is highly unlikely that you would have a translation crisis point, as there is a pre-fabricated solution to the problem”. Thus Pedersen’s definition of official equivalent would seem to match the definition of **established equivalent** (see chapter 4.3) used in this study. Finally, there are additions, specifications and explications that provide extra information and explain the meaning of a culture-bound element, thus undermining the cultural distance between the source culture and the target culture.

Van Poucke (2012: 148) defines **neutral translation** as the field that covers “all cases of translation whenever the translation remains *unmarked*, i.e. those cases where the translator did not really meet a translation problem and was able to use the most *obvious* choice of words”. Van Poucke (2012: 148) adds that

When different idiomatic alternatives are available to the translator in the TL, then we should always be able to distinguish neutral translation from those cases of (too) literal translation, which we should label as Moderate Foreignization.

Without going any deeper into the problematic concept of translation problem, Van Poucke (2012) appears to be on to something important. Van Poucke (2012) is one of the few, if not the only researcher who has suggested that on a scale ranging from foreignizing to domesticating, there should be a neutral field in the centre. In my opinion, introducing a foreignizing-domesticating scale without the neutral field is like depicting shades from red to blue and denying the existence of purple. If there are two opposite extremes, there has to be a point where both extremes are either in balance or neither of them is present.

According to Van Poucke (2012: 146), the field of **moderate domestication** is probably the field that covers the most local translation strategies. It includes strategies that “adapt the original text to some idiomatic and stylistic norms of the TL, i.e. when significant changes in form or meaning are encountered” (Van Poucke 2012: 146). According to Van Poucke (2012: 146), strategies such as *generalization* (Pedersen 2005: 6) and *cultural substitution* (Baker 1992: 31) belong to this category. Pedersen (2005: 6) defines generalization as replacing an extralinguistic culture-bound reference “referring to something specific by something more general”. Pedersen (2005: 6) adds that typically generalization involves hyponymy. For example, replacing a name of a particular café with the hyperonym *café*. Thus Pedersen’s (2005:6) definition for generalization matches Davies’s definition for globalization (2003: 82). Globalization occurs when, for example, a specific brand of chocolate bar *Fazerina* is translated merely as *a chocolate bar* (see chapter 4.3). According to Baker (1992: 31), cultural

substitution involves “replacing a culture-specific item or expression with a target-language item which does not have the same propositional meaning but is likely to have a similar impact on the target reader”. In other words, this strategy would seem to be aiming at *localization*. In this study, localization is defined as a strategy that is used to avoid loss of effect (Davies 2003: 83–84). Thus culture-bound elements are replaced with expressions that are more familiar in the target culture. For example *Fazerina* could be replaced with *Wispa*.

In **strong domestication** “no trace of the ST can be found in the translation, neither of the original form, nor the original meaning” (Van Poucke 2012: 147). In addition, in strong domestication “the reader is not brought to the writer at all and (s)he is denied contact with an item that held (--) some significance for the author of the ST” (Van Poucke 2012: 147). In this category, Van Poucke (2012: 147) places all types of omissions. Van Poucke (2012: 147) also mentions different kinds of mutations. As most of them are described as lexical level strategies dealing with clauses and phrases, they are out of the scope of this study. However, Van Poucke (2012: 147) adds that a translation strategy can be safely considered strongly domesticating whenever the meaning of the original is radically changed.

Even though I reckon that Van Poucke’s (2012) scale of translation shift fields is highly useful when assessing the validity of the retranslation hypothesis, I will not be using it as such in this study. This is because I do not agree with the placement of some strategies, or even definition of some fields. For example, Van Poucke (2012) and I have slightly differing ideas of what can be considered neutral and where should the line between strong foreignization and moderate foreignization be drawn. Thus I am introducing an alternative distribution of translation shift fields that will be used in this study.

In my scale of translation shift fields, the eight strategies used in this study (preservation, addition, calques, established equivalents, globalization, transformation, localization and omission) will be distributed into five fields according to their considered degree of foreignization, domestication or neutrality. The five fields are labelled as **highly foreignizing**, **slightly foreignizing**, **neutral**, **slightly domesticating** and **highly domesticating**. The distribution used in this study has been illustrated in the following Table 4.

Table 4. The foreignizing-domesticating scale used in this study.

Category	Strategies
A. Highly foreignizing	Preservation Addition
B. Slightly foreignizing	Calques
C. Neutral	Established equivalents Globalization
D. Slightly domesticating	Transformation
E. Highly domesticating	Localization Omission

In the **highly foreignizing** category, I have placed **preservation** and **addition**. As already established, Van Poucke (2012: 145) also considers preservation to be a strongly foreignizing strategy. However, addition is considered *moderate foreignization* in Van Poucke's scale of translation shift fields. In contrast, to my mind addition highlights the cultural distance between two cultures by adding information that was not needed by the source-culture reader, and thus should be considered highly foreignizing. In addition, some additions are so obvious that they disturb the reader and thus interfere with identifying with the text. In other words, in this study a strategy is considered highly foreignizing when it either preserves the meaning and form of the ST reference, or provides further information and highlights the cultural distance between the source culture and the target culture.

In the **slightly foreignizing** category I have placed only **calques**. When using literal translation, the source-culture element usually loses some of its meaningful aspects, so that the target-culture reader is left with something that may seem strange or out of place. For example, even though *hiilikellari* is the calque for coal-cellar, Finnish readers may still wonder why Miss Lark has one. Heating houses with coal has traditionally been rare in Finland. However, calques are target-culture words that do not add anything, so they have been considered less foreignizing than addition. In Van Poucke's (2012: 145) scale of translation shift fields calques have also been placed in moderate foreignization. In other words, in this study a strategy is considered slightly foreignizing when it is a literal translation that causes slight alterations in form or meaning, but stays source-text oriented.

In the **neutral** category I have placed **globalization** and **established equivalents** even though Van Poucke (2012) has classified the first into moderate foreignization and the latter into moderate domestication in his scale of translation shift fields. First of all, in my opinion, when

a culture-specific item, for example, *Fazerina*, is globalized as a chocolate bar rather than localized into *Wispa* or some other known target-culture chocolate bar, this aims at neutralization rather than domestication. Furthermore, the neutrality of globalization is determined in contrast with other strategies available. For example, in the case of *Fazerina*, the translator can either preserve the foreign brand (*Fazerina*), preserve the name and provide additional information (*Fazerina chocolate bar*), use a more general reference (*a chocolate bar*), use transformation (for example turn this sweet treat into something salty such as *pack of chips*), localize the brand (*Wispa*) or omit the element all together. In the case of *Fazerina*, a calque or an established equivalent does not exist. So in contrast to the other strategies available, globalization would seem to be the most neutral option. Even Van Poucke (2012: 148) has suggested that a strategy can be neutral in contrast to other strategies, but in the limited scope of idiomatic alternatives:

When different idiomatic alternatives are available to the translator in the TL, then we should always be able to distinguish neutral translation from those cases of (too) literal translation, which we should label as Moderate Foreignization.

However, in this study globalization is always considered a neutral strategy in contrast to other strategies available.

Second of all, in the case of established equivalents (or official equivalents, as Pedersen calls them) I wonder why Van Poucke (2012: 148) has not classified this strategy into neutral translation even in the original scale of translation shift fields. As mentioned earlier, Van Poucke (2012: 148) has defined neutral translation as a field that covers for example “all cases of translation whenever the translation remains *unmarked*, i.e. those cases where the translator did not really meet a translation problem and was able to use the most *obvious* choice of words”. In my opinion, this definition already includes Pedersen’s (2005: 3) official equivalents and my established equivalents. As Pedersen (2005: 3) states “[t]he pivotal point about Official Equivalents is that when one exists, it is highly unlikely that you would have a translation crisis point, as there is a pre-fabricated solution to the problem”. Even though the concept of translation problem is not included in my definition of established equivalents in any way, they are still defined to be established target-language equivalents for specific source-language elements, whether the element originates from the source-culture or some other culture. For example the Finnish established equivalent (or official equivalent, as Pedersen calls it) for *Donald Duck* is *Aku Ankka*. In a similar manner the Finish established equivalent for *Cinderella* is *Tuhkimo*. In my opinion, in these cases established equivalents

are more or less the translator's only options. As Pedersen (2005: 3) states there is no "translation-related reason" for translating them in any other way.

In **slightly domesticating** category I have placed **transformation**. Slightly domesticating category is similar to Van Poucke's (2012) moderate domestication. According to Van Poucke (2012: 146), moderate domestication happens when "significant changes in form or meaning are encountered in the translation compared with the ST". As transformation alters the original meaning in some way, it is considered slightly domesticating.

Finally, in **highly domesticating** category I have placed **localization** and **omission**. Omission is considered strongly domesticating even by Van Poucke (2012: 147) who states that a strategy belongs to strong domestication when "no trace of the ST can be found in the translation, neither of the original form, nor the original meaning". Thus omission is highly domesticating. However, the reason why I consider the strategy localization highly domesticating instead of slightly domesticating is that in my opinion, substituting a source-culture oriented culture-bound element with a target-culture oriented culture-bound element is one of the most domesticating strategies that a translator can use. This is because even omission only decreases the presence of the source culture in the text, it does not increase the presence of the target culture – which is exactly what localization does. Localization chooses to bring the text closer to the target reader instead of bringing the target reader closer to the source text. For example, in my opinion, it is more domesticating to use localization and translate *Fazerina* as *Wispa* than to omit the whole chocolate bar.

On the whole, my opinion is that Van Poucke's (2012) scale of translation shift fields is currently the most useful tool for classifying strategies according to their degree of foreignization, domestication or neutrality. Even though the fields and the types of strategies included in them have been adapted for the purposes of this study, it does not change the fact that the five field -system remains crucial for operationalizing the concepts of foreignization and domestication and actually *measuring* the degree of foreignization of a text.

According to Van Poucke (2012: 150), the degree of foreignization (DF) can be detected with the following equation.

$$DF=5F+2f+(-2d)+(-5D)$$

F = number of highly foreignizing strategies used

f = number of slightly foreignizing strategies used

d = number of slightly domesticating strategies used

D = number of highly domesticating strategies used

The reason why F and D are multiplied by five whereas f and d are multiplied by two is “in order to give more weight to the extremities of strong foreignization and domestication” (Van Poucke 2012: 150). Van Poucke (2012: 150) validates this by stating that

while most cases of moderate foreignization and domestication could go unnoticed by a reader familiar with the ST, both strong foreignization and domestication represent major operations that do influence the TT and should, therefore, count for more. (Van Poucke 2012: 150)

In my opinion, this is an acceptable solution as the observed degree of foreignization or domestication is likely to be heavily influenced by the number of extreme strategies used. Thus Van Poucke’s (2012) equation will be used in this study to calculate the degree of foreignization for the three Finnish translations.

The following chapter introduces the research material of this study, which consists of the well-known children’s novel *Mary Poppins* and its Finnish translations.

5. Material

The research material of this study consists of P.L. Travers’s novel *Mary Poppins* and its three Finnish translations. *Mary Poppins* is the first novel in a series of eight that centre on an English nanny brought to the Banks family by the East Wind. Although she is very stern and vain, the Banks children are fascinated by her because she has magical powers and she can take them into all kinds of adventures. The series has been adapted into a film (1964) and a musical (2004), and it seems that the whole concept of *Mary Poppins* remains beloved and very popular.

The first Finnish translation of *Mary Poppins* was made by Tyyni Tuulio in 1936, the second one by Marikki Makkonen in 1981, and the third one by Jaana Kapari-Jatta in 2010. All three

are experienced translators (Fennica 2012), and Kapari-Jatta quite well-known to modern Finnish readers due to her acknowledged Harry Potter translations. In her master's thesis Heino (2013: 9) suspected that Makkonen's translation is merely a revised version of Tuulio's translation, but due to the substantial changes that have had "a significant effect on how the source culture is viewed in the target culture", Heino has decided to treat it as the first retranslation. Also in this study Makkonen's translation will be treated as an individual translation. Although in the text level there are overwhelming similarities between Tuulio's and Makkonen's translations, Makkonen has clearly opted to use different strategies on the semantic level. Many groups of culture-bound elements have been systematically translated differently than in Tuulio's translation. In addition, numerous complete scenes omitted by Tuulio have been included in Makkonen's translation.

The first two translations of *Mary Poppins* are based on the original version published in 1934, while the latest one (2010) is based on the revised version that was first published in 1982. In the revised version chapter 6 has been altered. Originally this chapter featured a number of culturally and racially stereotypical characters which have been replaced by animals in the revised version. Due to these changes, I have decided to exclude Chapter 6 from the present study: as the study compares the strategies used for translating culture-bound elements, including Chapter 6 could have distorted the results in a critical manner. In addition, Chapter 5 has been excluded as it mainly consists of a story told by Mary Poppins. The protagonist of the story is the Red Cow that evidently lives in a fairyland, and as the aim of this hypothesis is to study culture-bound elements, fairyland as a culture probably differs from Travers' England. Originally I intended to use chapters 1–6 as the material of this study, but as chapters 5 and 6 are excluded, I will be studying chapters 1–4 and 7–8. These six chapters compose approximately half of the novel and provide sufficient amount of material for this study. However, it should be noted that Heino (2013) has not excluded any chapters and uses the whole novel as the material. On the other hand, Heino (2013) has studied only strategies used for translating food and drink, proper names and the custom of drinking tea.

To ensure that only chapter 6 has been revised in the latter editions of *Mary Poppins*, I managed to find an unrevised edition of the novel printed in 1974. I systematically went through all culture-bound elements I had already collected from the 1994 edition and found only one deviation. *Cherry Tree Hill* was missing from the 1974 edition, so I did not include it in the culture-bound elements studied. It should be noted that Heino (2013) has used only the revised version as her material, and this could at least in theory have an effect on our

differing results. However, I suspect that chapter 6 has been the only chapter under notable revision.

Unfortunately the first editions of the first two translations were not available, but I have studied editions that are not revised, merely reprinted. The first translation by Tuulio used in this study is the 6th edition printed in 1970. The second translation by Makkonen used in this study is the 10th edition printed in 2009. The third translation by Kapari-Jatta is a first edition printed in 2010. Heino (2013) has used the same editions of Makkonen's and Kapari-Jatta's translations, but Tuulio's translation is 7th edition printed in 1980. As none of the translations used in this study are revised versions, I assume that different editions will not have an effect on our results.

The next chapter of this thesis will focus on the initial material that consists of 138 culture-bound elements and their translations (see Appendix).

6. Methods

This chapter introduces the means by which the theoretical framework introduced in chapters 2–4 was applied to study the 138 culture-bound elements and their translations that constitute the initial material of this study. The classification of culture-bound elements used in this study is introduced, the classification of translation strategies used in this study is revised, the scale of translation shift fields is reminded of and Van Poucke's (2012) equation is used to operationalize the concepts of foreignization and domestication.

The next subchapter introduces the classification of culture bound elements used in this study.

6.1 Classification of culture bound elements

A classification of culture-bound elements is used in this study as a tool to help analyse and (above all) manage the initial material of this study which consists of 138 elements and their translations. When the culture-bound elements are categorized before studying the strategies used for translating them, it is easier to notice if the translators have favoured certain strategies with certain elements. For example, if one translator had decided to use preservation

with all elements placed in historical buildings, it would be easy to detect when the elements have been classified into manageable categories.

In this study, culture-bound elements are defined as the elements that form the natural or artificial environment, the characteristics of the way of life, the events and phenomena of history and the cultural heritage on the background of the novel studied (Nord 1994: 526). According to Nedergaard-Larsen (1993: 211), culture specific items can be roughly divided into four categories: **geography**, **history**, **society** and **culture**. These are further divided into more specific categories that were presented in Table 2 (see Chapter 4.2). The following table illustrates the classification of culture-bound elements tailored for this study:

Table 5. Classification of culture-bound elements used in this study.

1. Geography	1.1 Natural geography 1.2 Cultural geography
2. History	2.1 Buildings 2.2 Events 2.3 People
3. Society	3.1. Currency and measurements 3.2 Social organization and politics 3.3 Everyday objects 3.4 Customs
4. Culture	4.1 Religion 4.2 Culture, media, leisure

Geography is divided into two categories: natural geography and cultural geography. **Natural geography** consists of Nedergaard-Larsen's (1993) geology, meteorology and biology. Thus elements such as *the Amazon*, *hurricane Katrina* and *juhannusruus* would be classified into this category. **Cultural geography** includes regions, towns, roads, streets, etc. Thus it remains the same as Nedergaard-Larsen's (1993) cultural geography and elements such as *Yarmouth* and *Robertson Road* are classified into this category.

Also **history** is classified according to Nedergaard-Larsen (1993). It includes the subcategories of **buildings**, **events** and **people**. Thus buildings such as *St. Paul's Cathedral*, events such as *thanksgiving* and people such as *Guy Fawkes* belong to these categories. However, **society** has been divided into four new and more manageable subcategories. They are **currency and measurements**, **social organization and politics**, **everyday life** and **customs**. Basically, currency and measurements were the only "industrial level" elements found in *Mary Poppins*, so it was logical to rename this category after them. **Social organization and politics** unites Nedergaard-Larsen's (1993) two separate categories: social

organization and politics. The reason behind this union is the small number of elements found in these categories. For example elements such as *the police* and *the Prime Minister* belong to this category. **Everyday objects** includes housing, transport, food, drink, meals, clothing and other articles for everyday usage as long as they are concrete objects. For example *Coster's coat* and *baked custard* are classified under everyday objects. Abstract **customs** form a category of their own. For example the custom of having milkmen is an abstract custom.

Finally **culture** is divided into **religion** and **culture, media and leisure**. This is almost similar to Nedergaard-Larsen's classification, only media has been united with leisure and culture. Under the subcategory of religion elements such as *the Anglican Church* would be classified, whereas culture, media and leisure is the category for elements such as *Cinderella* and *the Royal Academy*.

All in all, I will be studying 138 culture-bound elements in total. There are 14 elements classified in to geography, 9 in to history, 104 in to society and 12 in to culture.

The following subchapter presents the classification of strategies used for translating culture-bound elements that is applied to this study.

6.2 Classification of translation strategies used for translating culture-bound elements

Translated elements will be classified according to my classification of translation strategies based on Davies's (2003) classification introduced in the chapter 4.3. However, the classification has been tailored for this study based on the material and my previous research. Furthermore, two strategies not proposed by Davies (2003) have been added to it. The first one is Nord's (2003) **calques**, and the second one my **established equivalents**. Thus, the following classification will be used to classify strategies used for translating culture-bound elements in the present study:

1. Preservation
2. Addition
3. Calques
4. Established equivalents
5. Globalization
6. Transformation

7. Localization
8. Omission

As already mentioned in chapter 4.3, **preservation** means that the original word remains unchanged. For example *Yarmouth* remains *Yarmouth*. **Addition** preserves the original name or expression, but provides additional information on its meaning. This clarifying element could be anything from a single adjective to a sentence or footnote. For example, in *Mary Poppins* there is a scene where Mary Poppins and the children go past St. John's Cathedral. In the original text it is mentioned that it was built by *Christopher Wren*, a man with a bird's name. In the second Finnish translation, the name *Christopher Wren* and its translation *peukaloinen* are provided in a footnote.

Calques are literal target-language translations (Nord 2003). For example the idiomatic expression *grass and glover* has been literally translated as *ruohoa ja apilaa* in all Finnish translations. Using **established equivalents** is a strategy I formulated on the basis of my previous research material that consisted of all the character names and their translations in *Mary Poppins*. It includes Nord's (2003) exonyms which are foreign names for local places, ethnic groups, languages, or individuals. However, the scope of established equivalents is slightly wider: they are basically target-language equivalents for specific source-language words, whether the word originates from the source-culture or some other culture.

Globalization neutralizes culture-bound elements. For example, a Finnish chocolate bar *Fazerina* could become merely *a chocolate bar*, if it was translated into English using globalization as a strategy. **Transformation** involves altering or distorting the original meaning. It is not always easy to distinguish transformation from globalization or localization as a strategy because it requires extensive cultural knowledge about the source and the target culture. In this study, for example, transformation has been used with food elements whenever something sweet becomes something salty (or vice versa) in the translation. For example, when *baked custard* is translated as *uunimunakasta* (oven omelette), transformation has been used. However, I would like to add that even though Davies (2003) describes **transformation** as a strategy that involves altering or distorting the original meaning, and the term seems to have a slightly negative connotation, it is not the case in the present study. In the present study transformation is considered a domesticating strategy that alters the original meaning, and neither negative nor positive value will be associated with its usage.

Localization is typically used to avoid loss of effect. Thus culture-bound elements are replaced with expressions that are more familiar in the target culture. For example *Fazerina* could be replaced with *Wispa*. Finally, **omission** is a strategy that excludes the element and omits all traces of it in the translation.

These strategies (preservation, addition, calques, established equivalents, globalization, transformation, localization and omission) have been distributed into five categories according to their considered degree of foreignization, domestication or neutrality. The core idea of this scale of categories is similar to Van Poucke's (2012: 144–148) scale of translation shift fields introduced in chapter 4.4. However, as we have slightly differing ideas of what can be considered neutral and where should the line between strong foreignization and moderate foreignization be drawn, I have decided to use my own scale of categories for translation strategies in this study. The five categories used in this study are labelled as **highly foreignizing**, **slightly foreignizing**, **neutral**, **slightly domesticating** and **highly domesticating**. These five categories can be placed on a foreignizing-domesticating scale illustrated in the following Table 6.

Table 6. The foreignizing-domesticating scale used in this study.

Foreignizing end: highly foreignizing -> slightly foreignizing -> neutral <- slightly domesticating <- highly domesticating: **Domesticating end**

In the **highly foreignizing** category, I have placed **preservation** and **addition**. As already established, Van Poucke (2012: 145) also considers preservation to be a strongly foreignizing strategy. However, addition is considered *moderate foreignization* in Van Poucke's scale of translation shift fields. In contrast, to my mind addition highlights the cultural distance between two cultures by adding information that was not needed by the source-culture reader, and thus should be considered highly foreignizing. In addition, some additions are so obvious that they disturb the reader, which interferes with identifying with the text. In other words, in this study a strategy is considered highly foreignizing when it either preserves the meaning and form of the ST reference, or provides further information and highlights the cultural distance between the source culture and the target culture.

In **slightly foreignizing** category I have placed only **calques**. When using literal translation, the source-culture element usually loses some of its meaningful aspects, so that the target-

culture reader is left with something that may seem strange or out of place. For example, even though *hiilikellari* is the calque for coal-cellar, Finnish readers may still wonder why Miss Lark has one. Heating houses with coal has traditionally been rare in Finland. However, calques are target-culture words that do not add anything, so they have been considered less foreignizing than preservation and addition. In Van Poucke's (2012: 145) scale of fields calques have also been placed in moderate foreignization. In other words, in this study a strategy is considered slightly foreignizing when it is a literal translation that causes slight alterations in form or meaning, but stays source-text oriented.

In **neutral** category I have placed **globalization** and **established equivalents**. In my opinion, when a culture-specific item, for example, *Fazerina*, is globalized as a chocolate bar rather than localized into *Wispa* or some other known source-culture chocolate bar, this aims at neutralization rather than domestication or foreignization. Established equivalents are considered neutral as they are established target-language equivalents for specific source-language elements, whether the element originates from the source-culture or some other culture. For example the Finnish established equivalent (or official equivalent, as Pedersen calls it) for *Cinderella* is *Tuhkimo*. In my opinion, in this case, established equivalent is more or less the translator's only option. Hence there is no "translation-related reason" for translating it in any other way (Pedersen 2005: 3). In summary, in this study, calques and established equivalents belong into the neutral category.

In **slightly domesticating** category I have placed **transformation**. Slightly domesticating category is similar to Van Poucke's (2012) moderate domestication. According to Van Poucke (2012: 146), moderate domestication happens when "significant changes in form or meaning are encountered in the translation compared with the ST". As transformation alters the original meaning in some way, it is considered slightly domesticating. The difference between slightly foreignizing and slightly domesticating strategies is that whereas slightly foreignizing strategies stay close to the source-text, slightly domesticating strategies clearly step away from the source-text, and towards the target-text.

Finally, in **highly domesticating** category I have placed **localization** and **omission**. Omission is considered strongly domesticating even by Van Poucke (2012: 147) who states that a strategy belongs to strong domestication when "no trace of the ST can be found in the translation, neither of the original form, nor the original meaning". Thus omission is highly domesticating. Localization is considered highly domesticating on the basis that it clearly

increases the presence of the target-culture in the text. Even omission does not increase the presence of the target-culture, it merely decreases the presence of the source-culture. In other words, localization chooses to bring the text closer to the target reader instead of bringing the target reader closer to the source text. For example, in my opinion, it is more domesticating to use localization and translate *Fazerina* as *Wispa* than to omit the whole chocolate bar.

Even though this study uses an altered version of Van Poucke's (2012) translation shift fields, the degree of foreignization can still be calculated with Van Poucke's (2012) equation. The five categories used in this study can be placed on a scale ranging from strong foreignization to strong domestication in the same manner than Van Poucke's (2012) five translation shift fields. Thus each translation's degree of foreignization (DF) is detected with the following Van Poucke's (2012: 150) equation.

$$DF=5F+2f+(-2d)+(-5D)$$

F = number of highly foreignizing strategies used

f = number of slightly foreignizing strategies used

d = number of slightly domesticating strategies used

D = number of highly domesticating strategies used

The retranslation hypothesis is tested by comparing each translation's degree of foreignization, or domestication. It should be noted that if a translation's degree of foreignization is negative, it means the translation is domesticating. Thus the retranslation hypothesis will apply to the Finnish translations of *Mary Poppins*, if the first translation is domesticating (thus its degree of foreignization is negative) and the degree of foreignization of the following translations will be higher than the (re)translation they are succeeding.

Analysis of the chosen translation strategies in all three Finnish translations follows in the next chapter.

7. Analysis

In this chapter the strategies used for translating culture-bound elements in *Mary Poppins* are first analysed qualitatively one culture-bound element category at a time. Then the percentage of foreignizing, domesticating and neutral strategies used is calculated for each translation and the three translations are compared with each other. Finally, my BA thesis (Karjalainen 2012) is integrated to this study, thus the number of foreignizing, domesticating and neutral strategies used for translating character names will be added to the first results. After that, the degree of foreignization is calculated for each translation and these results either confirm or falsify the retranslation hypothesis.

I will be referring to the first translation (1936/1970) as the first translation, or translation by Tuulio (1970). To the second translation (1981/2009), thus first retranslation, I will be referring as the second translation or translation by Makkonen (2009). The third translation (2010) will be referred to as the third translation or translation by Kapari-Jatta (2010). However, in the tables simple abbreviations T1 (translation 1), T2 (translation 2) and T3 (translation 3) are used.

The following subchapter focuses on qualitative analysis.

7.1 Qualitative analysis

In this chapter the strategies used for translating culture-bound elements classified into geography, history, society and culture are analysed qualitatively.

The following subchapter focuses on the strategies used for translating elements classified under geography.

7.1.1 Geography

Table 7 shows the strategies used for translating culture-bound elements classified into **geography**. Geography consists of two subcategories: **natural geography** and **cultural geography**. Under natural geography, elements referring to geology, meteorology and biology have been placed. Cultural geography consists of regions, towns, roads and streets, for example.

Table 7. Strategies used for translating elements in natural & cultural geography.

	Preservation	Addition	Calques	Established equivalents	Globalization	Transformation	Localization	Omission
T1	-	-	1	4	2	1	1	5
T2	1	-	1	5	2	1	1	3
T3	-	1	1	7	2	1	2	-

In natural geography, six elements have been placed. In cultural geography, there are eight elements. Thus there are 14 elements in total in geography. In the first translation, omission seems to be the most popular strategy. Tuulio (1970) has omitted *The North Pole*, *Yarmouth* and *Robertson road* along with *pigeons*. Also *England* has been omitted, but probably due to the fact that it happens to occur in a scene that has been completely omitted. This scene occurs in Chapter 8 where Mary Poppins and the children go buy gingerbread from an odd store run by a very old lady, Mrs. Corry. In the omitted scene Mrs. Corry breaks of her two fingers and feeds them to the twins in the perambulator. The original scene is presented in the example 1.

Example 1.

“That’s better!” she said, cackling gaily. Then she did a very odd thing. She broke off two of her fingers and gave one each to John and Barbara. And the oddest part of it was that in the space left by the broken-off fingers two new ones grew at once. Jane and Michael clearly saw it happen.

“Only Barley-Sugar — can’t possibly hurt ‘em,” the old lady said to Mary Poppins.

“Anything *you* give them, Mrs. Corry, could only do them good,” said Mary Poppins with most surprising courtesy.

“What a pity,” Michael couldn’t help saying, “they weren’t Peppermint Bars.”

“Well, they are, sometimes,” said Mrs. Corry gleefully, “and very good they taste, too. I often nibble ‘em myself, if I can’t sleep at night. Splendid for the digestion.”

“What will they be next time?” asked Jane, looking at Mrs. Corry’s fingers with interest.

“Aha!” said Mrs. Corry. “That’s just the question. I never know from day to day what they will be. I take the chance, my dear, as I heard William the Conqueror say to his Mother when she advised him not to go conquering England.”(Travers 1994: 132–133)

There are many possibilities why the scene was omitted. First of all, the scene itself could be considered a bit grotesque, and the motive for omission could have been protecting the target-culture readers. This would be in keeping with the norms of translating for children that Shavit (2006) describes (see chapter 3.2). Secondly, the scene is not particularly important to the story. The odd nature and the very old age of Mrs. Corry come up in several other occasions, and in the end, Mary Poppins and the children are in the store because of the

gingerbread. So the trivial nature in top of the grotesque could have been a motive for omission. Thirdly, there are many culture-bound elements present in this scene. It could have been easier to just omit the scene, as it was not important to the plot itself. However, this is all just speculation. In the end, there has definitely been a domesticating omission, even though its main motive may not have been strangeness of the geographical element *England* itself.

In the second translation, the most popular strategy seems to be using established equivalents. This is also the case in the third translation. Both Makkonen (2009) and Kapari-Jatta (2010) have translated elements such as *the East Wind* as *itätuuli*, and *cherry-trees* as *kirsikkapuut*. However, Makkonen (2009) has omitted *the North Pole* and *pigeons*, whereas Kapari-Jatta (2010) has used established equivalents *Pohjoisnapa* and *puluja*.

These results seem to indicate that the translators have avoided using foreignizing strategies with geographical elements. Preservation has been used only once in the second translation, where the place *Yarmouth* has been preserved. In the third translation Kapari-Jatta (2010) has chosen to replace *Yarmouth* with *Isle of Wight*, and translate it as *Wight-saari*. In my opinion, this strategy should be labelled as addition. First of all, the word *saari* (island) is added and it provides additional information not needed by the source-culture readers. Secondly, whereas *Yarmouth* could be foreign to Finnish audience, *Wight-saari* sounds like a place where someone goes for a holiday, because the word *saari* is added.

All in all, in the first translation domesticating and neutral strategies are used the most, whereas in the second and third translation neutral strategies seem to be dominant.

In the next subchapter strategies used for translating historical elements are analysed.

7.1.2 History

Table 8 shows the strategies used for translating culture-bound elements classifies into **history**. History consists of three subcategories: **buildings**, **events** and **people**.

Table 8. Strategies used for translating elements in the subcategories of history.

	Preservation	Addition	Calques	Established equivalents	Globalization	Transformation	Localization	Omission
T1	-	1	-	3	1	-	1	3
T2	1	2	-	4	-	-	1	1
T3	-	1	-	6	-	2	-	-

In the main category of history, nine elements have been placed. One element is a building, one is an event and seven are people. In every translation the building *St. Paul's Cathedral* has been translated differently. In the first translation Tuulio (1970) has used globalization and replaced it with *suuri kirkko* (a big church). In the second translation Makkonen (2009) has used the expression *St. Paulin tuomiokirkko*. I am aware that technically this strategy is partly a preservation (St. Paulin) and partly an established equivalent (tuomikirkko), but as St. Paul is crucial to the name of the building, I have decided to treat it as preservation. In addition, using St. Paul instead of Pyhä Paavali is very foreignizing especially when the target-culture readers are children. In the third translation the building has been translated as *Pyhän Paavalin tuomiokirkko*, in which the saint has been replaced with its established equivalent.

In the people subcategory there are two names that have been translated with the same strategy in all three translations. These names are *Queen Elisabeth* and *Christopher Columbus*. I suspect that both these historical characters are quite well-known even in Finland, so the three translators have used their established equivalents *kuningatar Elisabet* and *Kristoffer Kolumbus*. However, the historical character *William the Conqueror* has been omitted from the first translation, whereas in the second and third translation its established equivalent *Vilhelm Valloittaja* is used.

Perhaps the most interesting strategy used with a person is transformation. In the third translation Kapari-Jatta has replaced *Guy Fawkes* with *James I* and uses its Finnish established equivalent *Jaakko I* in the third translation. I suspect that the motive for this transformation is that Guy Fawkes is probably unknown to Finnish children, but the running number in Jaakko I hints that the person in question has probably been a king or a ruler at some point in history. These persons do have a connection, the Gunpowder Plot in 1605, but it would still be strange to replace a rebel with the king he attempted to rise against just for the fun of it. In the first and the second translation *Guy Fawkes* has been omitted.

In general, in the first and the second translation wide selection of strategies, domesticating, neutral and foreignizing, have been used. In the third translation neutral strategies are dominant.

In the next subchapter strategies used for translating elements under society are analysed.

7. 1. 3 Society

The elements placed under the subcategories of **society** have been analysed in two parts. In table 9a strategies used for translating **currency and measurements, social organization and politics**, and **customs** are analysed. In table 9b strategies used for translating **everyday items** are analysed.

Table 9a. Strategies used for translating currency, measurements, social organization, politics and customs.

	Preservation	Addition	Calques	Established equivalents	Globalization	Transformation	Localization	Omission
T1	2	-	2	5	2	1	10	-
T2	2	1	2	7	3	1	6	-
T3	2	-	6	9	3	-	2	-

In currency and measurements, 15 elements have been placed. Social organization and politics includes 3 elements. In customs there are 4 culture-bound elements. In total these three subcategories have 22 elements. The three translators have used preservation twice. In every translation the notion of having separate gate for servants and the profession of milkmen has been preserved. This is shown in the example 2 containing the ST and its translations (my underlinings):

Example 2

And the reason for Admiral Boom's jealousy was that Miss Lark had two gates. One was for Miss Lark's friends and relations, and the other for the Butcher and the Baker and the Milkman. Once the Baker made a mistake and came in through the gate reserved for the friends and relations, and Miss Lark was so angry that she said she wouldn't have any more bread ever. (Travers 1994: 59)

Ja amiraali Puomin kateuden syy oli, että neiti Leivolla oli kaksi porttia. Toinen oli neiti Leivon ystäviä ja sukulaisia varten, toinen lihakauppiasta ja leipuria ja maitomiestä varten. Leipuri oli kerran erehtynyt tulemaan ystäville ja sukulaisille varatusta portista, ja neiti Leivo oli ollut niin vihainen, ettei sanonut huolivansa leipää enää koskaan. (Tuulio 1994: 39)

Ja amiraali Boomin kateuden syy oli, että neiti Larkilla oli kaksi porttia. Toinen oli neiti Larkin ystäviä ja sukulaisia varten, toinen lihakauppiasta ja leipuria ja maitomiestä varten. Leipuri oli kerran erehtynyt tulemaan ystäville ja sukulaisille varatusta portista, ja neiti Lark suuttui kerrassaan, hän sanoi ettei huolisi leipää enää koskaan. (Makkonen 2009: 34)

Amiraali Jylyn kateuden syy oli se, että neiti Leivolla oli kaksi porttia. Toinen oli tarkoitettu neiti Leivon ystäville ja sukulaisille ja toinen lihakauppiaille, leipurille ja maitomiehelle. Leipuri erehtyi kerran astumaan sisään siitä portista, joka oli tarkoitettu ystäville ja sukulaisille, ja neiti Leivo suuttui niin kovasti että ilmoitti, ettei osta leipää enää ikinä. (Kapari-Jatta 2010: 47)

Having one gate for friends and another for servants might have been customary among well-to-do people in Travers's Britain, but in Finland this has never been the case. Therefore preserving this custom is considered as foreignizing. Milkmen are also foreign to Finnish audience as we have never had them.

In addition, all three translators have translated *nanny* as *lastenhoitaja* in their translations. However, *lastenhoitaja* does not seem to be an established equivalent for *nanny*, as these two terms have slightly different definitions. According to Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary of Current English (2005: 1012), in Britain *nanny* is "a woman whose job is to take care of young children in the children's own home". *Lastenhoitaja* in turn is a practical nurse who has specialized in children, young adults and educational work and who works in an institution (Ammattinetti). Thus *lastenhoitaja* has been considered a calque.

The three translators use similar translation strategies also for translating elements in the subcategory of social organization and politics. All three elements (admiral, the police, the prime minister) have been replaced with established equivalents (amiraali, poliisi, pääministeri). This could suggest that the intercultural gap between these institutions in the Great Britain and Finland is quite small.

However, the distribution of translation strategies used varies much more between the three translations when it comes to currency and measurements. For example, when Mr. Banks plans to tip a policeman with *a shilling*, in the first and the second translation the shilling has been replaced with *satanen* (a bill worth hundred Finnish marks). In other words, Tuulio (1970) and Makkonen (2009) have used localization as a strategy. Kapari-Jatta (2010) in turn has opted for globalization and placed *lantti* (a coin) in the place of *shilling*. However, when *shillings* are mentioned second time later on in the text, Kapari-Jatta uses the established

equivalent *šillinkejä*. This is shown in the following example 3 and its translations (my underlinings):

Example 3

All day long he worked, cutting out pennies and shillings and half-crowns and threepenny-bits. And he brought them home with him in his little black bag. (Travers 1994: 14).

Kaiken päivää hän teki työtä, leikkeli erikokoisia rahoja, pennejä ja markkoja. Ja sitten hän toi ne kotiin pienessä mustassa salkussaan. (Tuulio 1970: 7)

Kaiken päivää hän teki työtä, leikkeli erikokoisia rahoja, pennejä ja markkoja. Ja sitten hän toi ne kotiin pienessä mustassa salkussaan. (Makkonen 2009: 6)

Hän työskenteli aamusta iltaan valmistuen pennejä, šillinkejä, puolikruunusia ja kolmepennisiä. Hän toi ne kotiin pienessä mustassa laukussaan. (Kapari-Jatta 2010: 9)

As Example 3 and its translations show, the first and the second translation of this example are identical. If the four coins are considered separate units of currency, the two translators have probably decided to generalize the two rarer ones (half-crowns and threepenny-bits) and combine them as *erikokoisia rahoja*, and localize the more common ones (pennies and shillings) as *pennejä ja markkoja*. In other words, with these four units of currency, the first and the second translator have used globalization twice and localization also twice. Kapari-Jatta (2010), in turn, has used established equivalents with the more common units (pennies and shillings) and calques with the rarer ones. According to MOT dictionary (2013), *šillinki* is the established equivalent for *shilling*, and *penny* can be translated either as *penny* or *penni*. However, when *penni* is used, it is difficult to say whether it refers to the British penny, or the unit of currency used in Finland from 1860 to 2002. However, it seems that in the Finnish language there are no established equivalents for half-crowns and threepenny-bits, so Kapari-Jatta's translations are treated as calques.

Most variation in translation strategies used occur with *tuppence*, *tuppence a bag*, *four half-pennies* and *threepence*. In the first translation they become *kaksi viisimarkkasta*, *kaksikymppiä laatikko*, *kaksikymppinen* and *viisimarkkanen*. Thus all units are localized. In the second translation they become *muutama penny*, *kaksi pennyä pussillinen*, *lantti* and *kolmenpennyn raha*. *Kolmenpennyn raha* is treated as addition, because the word 'raha' (coin, money) is used. *Lantti* (a coin) is treated as globalization because generalization is used. *Muutama penny* and *kaksi pennyä pussillinen* are treated as established equivalents, because even though there is no equivalent for *tuppence* in the Finnish language, *tuppence* is actually

worth two pennies. In the third translation Kapari-Jatta uses established equivalents *kaksi penniä* and *kahdella pennillä pussi* with *tuppence* and *tuppence a bag*. However, it should be noted that *penni* can also refer to the Finnish *penni*. As euros were already used in Finland at the time Kapari-Jatta's (2010) translation was published, *penni* could create an impression that the story takes place in 20th century Finland. *Neljä puolipennistä* and *kolmepenninen* are treated as calques as there are no established equivalents for *half-pennies* and *threepence*.

The following table 9b shows the strategies used for translating culture-bound elements classified into the subcategory of everyday items. Everyday items include housing, clothes, food, drink, meals and other everyday objects such as *a wooden Dutch doll*, *a carpet-bag* and *the Laundry Bill* classified under 'other'.

Table 9b. Strategies used for translating everyday items.

	Preservation	Addition	Calques	Established equivalents	Globalization	Transformation	Localization	Omission
T1	-	1	20	17	11	13	9	9
T2	-	1	23	20	11	13	9	3
T3	-	-	23	32	8	11	6	-

There are 80 items classified under everyday items in total. As Table 9b shows, calques, established equivalents and transformation are the most popular strategies used by all the translators. All in all, calques and established equivalents have been used in proportion as much with all kinds of items, transformation was especially popular with food, drink and meal(time)s.

It is notable that preservation has not been used at all, and addition has been used only once with the same element by Tuulio (1970) and Makkonen (2009). Tuulio and Makkonen used it with *a bright green-and-red striped coat* which they translated as *komea vihreäpunajuovainen takki* (a handsome green-and-red striped coat). This is treated as addition due to the context it appears in. This green-and-red striped coat in question magically appears on the Match Man in Chapter 2 where Mary Poppins goes to have afternoon tea with him in one of the pictures he has drawn on the pavement. The function of the coat is that it is finer than the Match Man's own clothes which are old and worn. As the translators have added the word *komea* in the first two translations, it could be argued that maybe the green-and-red striped coat itself has not been fine enough in the Finnish context and an extra adjective has been needed. This is why *komea* is an addition.

It is also worth mentioning that the similarity of Tuulio's (1970) and Makkonen's (2009) translation is the most evident with the strategies used for translating the items in Table 9b. For example, they have identically translated all the items belonging to clothes, nearly all the items in housing, and all but one item classified under other. Usually differences occur due to Tuulio's omissions which Makkonen has decided to include in the text. For example *a trap-door* and *back-yard* were omitted by Tuulio, but translated as *loukun ovi* and *takapiha* by Makkonen. *Loukun ovi* has been classified as transformation, because the original word refers to "a small door in the floor or ceiling" (Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary of Current English 2005: 1633), and is practically a hatch. Trap-doors may lead to the attic, cellar etc. Using the word *loukku* (a trap) in translation gives a negative impression and hints that someone or something is trapped behind the door. So in other words, the meaning is altered. The same goes for Kapari-Jatta's *salaovi* that implies the door is somehow hidden.

Most variation between Tuulio's first and Makkonen's second translation occurs with food, drink and meals. For example *oysters*, *tea-time*, *Barley-Sugar* and *peppermint bars* omitted by Tuulio have been translated as *ostereita* (established equivalent), *teenjuonnin aikana* (calque), *rintasokeria* (established equivalent), and *tikkukaramellejä* (localization) by Makkonen. Also *Halibut*, which has been localized as *turskaa* by Tuulio, has been replaced with *ruijanpallasta* (established equivalent) by Makkonen.

The third translation differs more significantly from the first two. For example, Kapari-Jatta (2010) has not used much domesticating strategies with elements in Table 9b. Instead, her choices have been neutralizing. For example, she has neutralized *lime-juice cordial*, *crumpets* and *shortbread fingers*, which have been localized by Tuulio (1970) and Makkonen (2009). *Lime-juice cordial* probably refers to *Rose's lime juice cordial mixer*, which has been sold for 140 years in Britain (Rose's). Kapari-Jatta has globalized this culture-bound mixer as *limettimehua*, whereas Tuulio and Makkonen have localized it as *sitruunahyytelöä*. Both the fruit and the form were altered. *Crumpets* in turn refer to "a small flat round cake with small holes on top, eaten hot with butter" (Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary of Current English 2005: 370). According to MOT dictionary, crumpets could be translated as *teeleipiä*, which is exactly what Kapari-Jatta has done. However, Tuulio and Makkonen have domesticated *crumpets* in to *piparkakkuja* (gingerbread). Also *shortbread fingers* have turned in to *kermaleivoksia* (cream pastries), even though they are Scottish biscuits (Historic UK). Kapari-Jatta has more neutrally globalized the treat to *pikkuleipiä* (biscuits). However, there is one case in which Kapari-Jatta (2010) uses slight foreignization when Tuulio (1970) and

Makkonen (2009) use neutralization. The element in question is hearth rug. *Hearth rug* is a word for a rug that is placed in front of a fireplace (the Free Dictionary). Kapari-Jatta has translated it as *uuninedusmatto* in the third translation. This is basically a calque as *hearth* is *takan edus* and *rug* is *matto*. Tuulio and Makkonen have used globalization and translated it as *matto* (rug).

In Table 9b there are many elements the culture-boundedness of which was exceptionally difficult to determine. For example clothes such as *long skirts*, *a hand-bag*, *blue coat with the silver buttons*, *blue hat to match* and *blue-and-white striped apron* have been classified in to culture-bound elements because of their context. Long skirts and a handbag are things that one of the children, Jane, associates with adulthood and thus with womanhood. I am not sure if long skirts in particular are associated with womanhood in Finland, but in a general level, skirts and handbags are essentially a female thing in both cultures. The culture-boundedness of these items is perhaps debatable, but as they both are pieces of clothing that hold some significant meaning in the source text, I have decided to include them in culture-bound elements. *Blue coat with the silver buttons* and *a blue hat to match* were introduced as clothes that Mary Poppins disliked, even though she wore them. “On the days she wore these it was the easiest thing in the world to offend her” (Travers 1994: 39). I suspect this could have something to do with the fact that this outfit resembles the civilian uniforms of the era. Even though Mary Poppins does not wear a nanny uniform, the blue coat illustrated in the cover of the seventh impression of *Mary Poppins* resembles very closely the uniform the Queens nurses wore in 1930’s (International Good Guys). The Queens nurses were nurses that offered home nursing to those who could not afford the hospital care. In addition, as a significant part of the nannies were also trained nurses, they often wore at least the distinctive blue nurse’s cape when they were out with the children. As Mary Poppins is described as very vain, it would probably make her too conscious about her status in the eyes of others. Instead of a fine woman, everyone sees a nanny looking after four kids. In my opinion, this clothing does not signal social status in Finland, so both items have been classified in to culture bound elements.

Then there is the case of the *blue-and-white striped apron*. At first it would seem that a colouring of an apron is probably not culture bound. However, as this apron is worn by the Butcher, it becomes culture-bound. If you search “Butcher’s apron” on the internet, you only get pictures of blue-and-white striped aprons. In Finland, this is not the case. Hence blue-and-white striped apron has been classified in to culture bound elements.

As already mentioned, transformation has been particularly popular with food, drink and mealtimes. Out of 31 food-related elements, transformation occurs with 7. With *barley-water*, this strategy leads to interesting alterations in associations. According to Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary of Current English (2005: 110), barley-water is "a drink made by boiling barley in water" and it is "usually flavoured with orange or lemon". Its British version does not contain alcohol. However, in the first and the second translation *barley-water* has been translated as *kalja*, in the third translation *olut*. Thus, when the Banks children's previous nanny is described as having been "old and fat and smelt of barley-water" (Travers 1994: 15), it gives the impression that she simply smelt bad. However, when barley-water is replaced with *kalja* or *olut* (beer) in the Finnish translations, it hints that the previous nanny drank too much alcohol. It should be noted that in the first and the second translation *kalja* could have at least meant to be understood as an abbreviation of *kotikalja* (home-brew), but as only the word *kalja* is used, it is treated as transformation in both translations.

Then there are cases where something sweet has turned in to something salty, or vice versa. For example, in the first and the second translation "little flat rolls with the curly twists of crust on the top" have been translated as "pieniä, litteitä sämpylöitä, joiden keskellä oli pieni sokerikuorrutuskiemura". In the original text these rolls seem to be bread rolls with a special crust. In the first two Finnish translations, they become rolls with sugary topping. So even though *sämpylä* is a bread roll, it gets sugary topping like it was a bun or a pastry. In my opinion, this makes no sense and is slightly confusing, but the result sounds like something sweet and it has been treated as a transformation. On the other hand, *baked custard*, which is a sweet treat (The Great British Cookbook) has been translated as *munapiirakoita* in the first two translations and *uunimunakasta* in the third translation. These are both something salty not sweet treats.

Other transformations have occurred with *two plates of whelks*, *pink icing* and *scrambled eggs with asparagus*. Even though whelks have a translation equivalent *kuningaskoteloja* (MOT dictionary), all three translators have decided to change them into *ostereita* (oysters). Even though oysters are a rather posh and a strange thing to have with afternoon-tea (or coffee) in Finland, they are probably still more widely recognized than whelks. *Pink icing* has surprisingly been translated as *punainen kuorrutus* by both Tuulio (1970) and Makkonen (2009), whereas Kapari-Jatta (2010) had used established equivalent *vaaleanpunainen kuorrutus*. I have no suggestions why the colour has been changed in the first two

translations. However, I do have an idea why all three translators have translated *scrambled eggs with asparagus* as *parsamunakasta* (omelette with asparagus). In Finland an omelette is more common than scrambled eggs (*munakokkeli*). According to MOT dictionary (2014), scrambled eggs may also refer to golden decorations on an officer's hat (both in Britain and US). First I speculated that this could be a reference, as the dog who is served the scrambled eggs is very spoiled, but on the other hand, sometimes scrambled eggs are just scrambled eggs. In any case, transformation is used as the dish is changed into another.

The most popular strategy, using calques, offers numerous examples where all three translators have used literal translation with the same element. For example *gilt stars*, *gingerbread stars*, *a wooden Dutch doll*, *a large plum cake* and *raspberry-jam-cakes* have all been replaced with their calques: *kullatuilla tähdillä*, *piparkakkutähdillä*, *hollantilaisella puunukella*, *isolla luumukakulla* ja *vadelmahilloleivoksilla*. In these cases, only the elements, not their associations have been transferred into the target-culture. For example, in Finland *gilt stars* do not go together with *gingerbread*. In Britain, they are traditional and there is even a saying "take the gilt of the gingerbread" which means "to spoil something that is in every other way enjoyable" (Cambridge Dictionaries Online). In the same way Finns can imagine a large plum cake and raspberry-jam-cakes but they have no idea what the exact British cakes look like, taste like or what they are associated with.

In addition, a few strategies have been treated as calques due to their context. For example *a pie*, which comes up when Mary Poppins says to a pigeon that it "ought to be in a pie" (Travers 1994: 120), has been translated as *piirakka*, even though in Finland it would be more customary to put the bird in a pot and make stew out of it. Also *iron railings* that more or less belong to the streets of London, are not common in Finland. If there are iron railings, they are usually placed on bridges to prevent people from falling in to a river, for example. Still, in the novel (1994: 31) when the Match Man draws Mary Poppins "right out of the street, away from the iron railings and the lamp-posts, into the very middle of the picture" he does the same in all three Finnish translation, and there are *rautakaiteta* (iron railings) on the street.

Even though *tee* has been treated as an established equivalent for British *tea*, *iltapäivätee* (afternoon tea) has not been treated as an established equivalent for *afternoon-tea*. It has been treated as calque, because having afternoon-tea is not customary in Finland. Traditionally, we have afternoon coffee. So even though it is difficult to speculate whether *tee* as a drink is the

same drink as *tea* in Britain, the custom of having *afternoon-tea* is certainly not the same in Finland.

All in all, according to table 9a (see page 44), in the first translation localization is the strategy most used with **currency and measurement, social organization and politics and customs**. In the second and the third translation the most popular strategy is established equivalents. However, according to table 9b (see page 47), with **everyday items** (housing, clothes, food, drink, meals and other everyday objects) calques, established equivalents and transformation have been the most popular strategies used by all the translators.

In the next subchapter strategies used for translating elements under culture are analysed.

7.1.4 Culture

Table 10 shows the strategies used for translating culture-bound elements classified into **culture**. Culture consists of two subcategories: **religion** and **culture, media and leisure**.

Table 10. The strategies used for translating items classified into culture.

	Preservation	Addition	Calques	Established equivalents	Globalization	Transformation	Localization	Omission
T1	1	-	3	3	1	1	-	3
T2	1	-	3	3	1	1	-	3
T3	1	-	2	3	1	1	2	2

There are 12 items classified under culture. What is notable is that this main category has probably the highest rate of omission. Even Kapari-Jatta (2010) who usually avoids them, has omitted the names *St. Paul* and *Jenny Wren* in the third translation. *St. Paul* has a Finnish established equivalent *Pyhä Paavali*, but *Jenny Wren* is a little more complex reference. It could either refer to a Charles Dickens' character or a bird. The bird is more likely, as can be detected from example 4. However, both names have been omitted by all three translators. This could be due to the fact that they come up in a manner that is not relevant to the story and explaining *Jenny Wren* for example, could have possibly been disturbing for readers. Example 4 shows the original passage and its translations (my underlinings):

Example 4

But at last they came to St. Paul's Cathedral, which was built a long time ago by a man with a bird's name. Wren it was but no relation to Jenny. That is why so

many birds live near Sir Christopher Wren's Cathedral, which also belongs to St. Paul, and that is why the Bird Woman lives there too (Travers 1994: 116–117).

Mutta vihdoinkin he tulivat suuren kirkon luo. Sen oli kauan sitten rakentanut mies, jolla oli linnun nimi. Siellä lenteli aina paljon lintuja ja sen vuoksi Lintutätikin asui siellä (Tuulio 1970: 75.)

Mutta vihdoinkin he tulivat St. Paulin tuomiokirkon luo. Sen oli kauan sitten rakentanut mies, jolla oli linnun nimi.* Siksi siellä lenteli aina paljon lintuja ja sen vuoksi Lintutätikin asui siellä. (--)

* Sir Christopher Wren (Suom. peukaloinen) (Makkonen 2009: 69).

Lopulta he kuitenkin tulivat Pyhän Paavalin tuomiokirkolle, jonka oli rakentanut kauan sitten mies, jolla oli linnun nimi. Nimi oli Wren ja se on englantia ja tarkoittaa peukaloista, joka on lintu. Siksi tuomiokirkon nurkilla asui niin paljon lintuja ja siksi siellä asui myös Lintumummo (Kapari-Jatta 2010: 96).

As can be detected from the example 4, there are so many culture-bound elements in the same passage that paying equal attention to all of them could have resulted in a very confusing paragraph. Elsewhere in the text, there is only one element classified under culture that has been omitted in the translations by Tuulio (1970) and Makkonen (2009). The element is *Highland Fling*, which Kapari-Jatta (2010) has globalized in to *skottitanssi* (a Scottish dance).

What is remarkable is that with elements classified under culture, Tuulio and Makkonen have not used localization at all in the first and second translation, whereas Kapari-Jatta has used it with the third translation. In the third translation, *the Royal Academy* becomes *taidemuseo* and *Green, Brown and Johnson's* becomes *Vihriä, Ruskia ja Korhonen*. In the first and second translation calque *Kuninkaallinen Akatemia* has been used with *the Royal Academy*, and *Green, Brown and Johnson's* has been globalized to *sinne mistä aina ostamme niitä* (where we always buy them).

All three translators have preserved *Robinson Crusoe* in their texts. This could technically be classified under established equivalent, as Robinson Crusoe has become Robinson Crusoe even in the Finnish translations of Defoe's novel. However, in the first Finnish translation of *Robinson Crusoe* published in 1847, the name of the protagonist was originally translated as *Robinpoika Kruuse* (Fennica). Thus I have decided to treat the foreign name *Robinson Crusoe* as preservation.

Established equivalents are the most popular strategy used with culture-bound elements classified under culture. All three translators have used them with *Fairyland*, *Cinderella* and the expression *have his toes manicured*. *Fairyland* becomes *Satumaa*, *Cinderella* turns in to *Tuhkimo* and the expression has been written out either as *saamaan kynsihoittoa* (by Tuulio and Makkonen) or *jalkahoittoa* (by Kapari-Jatta). The reason why these both have been counted as established equivalents is that in the novel, the character having his toes manicured is a dog called Andrew. As dogs do not have hands, only paws and claws, I decided that equivalent for a dog's manicure in Finland can be either *kynsihoito* or *jalkahoito*.

All three translators have used transformation only once and with the same element. General *the morning paper* has been translated as *Aamusanommat*. In the original text the morning paper is a general reference to “a paper published the night before for distribution in the morning (as opposed to an evening paper)” (Collins English Dictionary), whereas *Aamusanommat* with the capital letter seems to be a title of a newspaper.

All in all, it seems that it is difficult to draw any conclusions on the degree of foreignization or domestication of the three translations based on qualitative analysis only. Thus in the next subchapter, a quantitative analysis of the foreignizing, domesticating, and neutral strategies used is provided.

7.2 Quantitative analysis

Table 11a below shows the occurrence of highly and slightly foreignizing strategies and their percentage out of all strategies.

Table 11a. The occurrence of foreignizing strategies in the Finnish translations of *Mary Poppins*.

	Highly foreignizing	Slightly foreignizing	Foreignizing in total
Translation 1	5	26	31 (22%)
Translation 2	9	28	37 (27%)
Translation 3	5	32	37 (27%)

The table above shows that the first translation uses foreignizing strategies the least and the following translations use them more. Thus this is in keeping with the vague interpretation of the retranslation hypothesis, if only the occurrence of foreignizing strategies is taken into

account. However, according to the extensive interpretation of the retranslation hypothesis (each retranslation is more foreignizing than the one they are succeeding) the results are inconclusive. According to the number of foreignizing strategies used, the two retranslations are equally foreignizing. Thus the third translation is not, in a sense, any closer to the source text than the second translation. In addition, it should be noted that highly foreignizing strategies have actually been used more in the second translation than the third translation. However, in this study, the degree of foreignization is not determined merely by the number of foreignizing strategies used, so a more comprehensive picture has to be formed.

Table 11b below shows the occurrence of highly and slightly domesticating strategies and their percentage out of all strategies.

Table 11b. The occurrence of domesticating strategies in the Finnish translations of *Mary Poppins*.

	Highly domesticating	Slightly domesticating	Domesticating in total
Translation 1	41	17	58 (42%)
Translation 2	27	18	45 (33%)
Translation 3	14	15	29 (21%)

The table above shows that the first translation is indeed the most domesticating of the three translations. Moreover, without character names, it would seem that the latest translation is the least domesticating. Without the neutral category, these results would seem to imply that based on the culture-bound elements studied, the retranslation hypothesis would actually apply to this material. However, as the neutral category is an essential part of this study, no conclusions can be drawn before calculating the number of neutral strategies used.

Table 11c below shows the occurrence of neutral strategies and their percentage out of all strategies.

Table 11c. The occurrence of neutral strategies in the Finnish translations of *Mary Poppins*.

Translation 1	49 (36%)
Translation 2	56 (41%)
Translation 3	72 (52%)

The table above shows that instead of being more foreignizing or domesticating than the previous translations, the third translation would seem to be more neutral than them. According to Table 11c, Kapari-Jatta (2010) has opted for neutral strategies (established equivalents and globalization) in over half of the cases studied. In my opinion, this neutrality should be taken into account. Even though using established equivalents and globalization may lead to losing some aspects of the source-culture, those aspects are not domesticated either. Instead, the translator chooses to strike a happy medium between the extremes. So, how could this translation be labelled as foreignizing or domesticating?

Eventually the degree of foreignization for all three translations will be calculated with Van Poucke's (2012) equation. However, as there are 41 character names not included in the current results, it is too early to draw any conclusions. As I have already mentioned, in my previous study I found out that based on character names, the third translation might be even more domesticating than the first translation. Furthermore, as Jaleniauskiene and Čičelytė (2009: 31) point out, character names are a very visible part of the source-culture presented in children's literature in particular. Thus I find it important to add the results of my BA thesis (Karjalainen 2012) to the results of this study.

In the next subchapter the current results are integrated to Karjalainen's BA thesis (2012).

7.3 Integrating the results of my BA thesis to the current study

In my BA thesis (2012), the strategies used for translating character names were classified according to the following classification that is based on Davies's (2003) and Nord's (2003) classifications.

1. Preservation
2. Adaptation
3. Established equivalents
4. Calques
5. Transformation
6. Substitution
7. Omission

Basically, **substitution** with names has the same function as localization with other culture-bound elements, thus Nord's (2003) **adaptation** is the only strategy not used in the present study. **Adaptation** covers the names that have been either phonologically or morphologically altered into a form that is more familiar to the target culture audience. For example, the English name *Alice* becomes *Alicia* in a Spanish translation (Nord 2003: 182).

In the foreignizing-domesticating scale used in this study, adaptation would be slightly domesticating, whereas substitution would be highly domesticating, as shown in the following Table 12.

Table 12. The foreignizing-domesticating scale used for the integrated material.

Category	Strategies
A. Highly foreignizing	Preservation Addition
B. Slightly foreignizing	Calques
C. Neutral	Established equivalents Globalization
D. Slightly domesticating	Adaptation Transformation
E. Highly domesticating	Localization / Substitution Omission

When the strategies used for translating character names are analysed in terms of this scale, the results are following:

Table 13. The occurrence of foreignizing, neutral and domesticating strategies in Karjalainen's BA thesis (2012).

	Translation 1	Translation 2	Translation 3
Highly foreignizing	3	24	1
Slightly foreignizing	5	3	6
Neutral	8	8	8
Slightly domesticating	12	4	15
Highly domesticating	13	2	11

As seen from Table 13, based on names it could be argued that the third translation is more domesticating and less foreignizing than the initial translation, whereas the second translation is the most foreignizing and least domesticating. However, the difference between the first and the third translation is marginal at best, so it is safe to say only that based on character

names, the second translation is the most foreignizing and least domesticating of the three, and the number of neutral strategies used with names is the same with every translation.

When the results of my BA thesis are integrated into the results of the present study, the results are following:

Table 14. Occurrence of foreignizing, domesticating and neutral translation strategies in the integrated material.

	Highly foreignizing	Slightly foreignizing	Neutral	Slightly domesticating	Highly domesticating
Translation 1	8	31	57	29	54
Translation 2	34	31	64	21	29
Translation 3	6	38	80	30	25

Table 15. Total of foreignizing, neutral and domesticating strategies used and their percentages.

	Foreignizing	Neutral	Domesticating
Translation 1	39 (22%)	57 (32%)	83 (46%)
Translation 2	65 (36%)	64 (36%)	50 (28%)
Translation 3	44 (25 %)	80 (45%)	55 (31%)

As seen in Table 14 and Table 15, based on the integrated material the second translation seems to be the most foreignizing translation. The first translation is the most domesticating and the third translation the most neutral one. If the retranslation hypothesis were to be tested merely based on the number of foreignizing strategies used, there would be two conflicting results. According to the vague interpretation of the retranslation hypothesis, RH would apply to this material, as the first translation is domesticating and the two retranslations are more foreignizing than then first translation. However, according to the extensive interpretation of the retranslation hypothesis, RH would not apply, as the second translation is more foreignizing than the third translation. The extensive interpretation includes the idea of progression. Thus for RH to apply, the third translation should be the most foreignizing translation.

However, as I have already mentioned, in this study the retranslation hypothesis is tested by using Van Poucke's (2012: 150) equation for calculating the degree of foreignization for the three translations. The degree of foreignization (DF) is calculated with the following equation.

$$DF=5F+2f+(-2d)+(-5D)$$

F = number of highly foreignizing strategies used

f = number of slightly foreignizing strategies used

d = number of slightly domesticating strategies used

D = number of highly domesticating strategies used

In the following tables 16a, 16b and 16c, the degree of foreignization is calculated according to Van Poucke's (2012) equation for all three translations.

Table 16a. DF for translation 1.

$$\begin{aligned} DF &= (5 \times 8) + (2 \times 31) + (-2 \times 29) + (-5 \times 54) \\ DF &= 40 + 62 - 58 - 270 \\ DF &= -226 \end{aligned}$$

Table 16b. DF for translation 2.

$$\begin{aligned} DF &= (5 \times 32) + (2 \times 31) + (-2 \times 21) + (-5 \times 29) \\ DF &= 160 + 62 - 42 - 145 \\ DF &= 35 \end{aligned}$$

Table 16c. DF for translation 3.

$$\begin{aligned} DF &= (5 \times 6) + (2 \times 38) + (-2 \times 30) + (-5 \times 25) \\ DF &= 30 + 76 - 60 - 125 \\ DF &= -79 \end{aligned}$$

As the tables 16a, 16b and 16c show, the second translation is the only foreignizing translation according to Van Poucke's (2012) equation. As the degree of foreignization is negative with the first and the third translation, it means that they are domesticating, not foreignizing. Thus according to these results, the retranslation hypothesis is falsified as it does not apply. This result is the same regardless of which interpretation of the retranslation hypothesis is tested.

To conclude, the integrated results show that even though the retranslation hypothesis might have in history applied for the first two Mary Poppins translations, it does not apply anymore.

So based on the strategies used for translating culture-bound elements and character names, the retranslation hypothesis does not apply with the three Finnish translations of *Mary Poppins*.

In the following chapter this study is compared and contrasted with Heino's (2013) study, and possible reasons for our contradicting results are discussed.

8. Discussion

In the *Introduction* I stated that the aim of this study is twofold: to widen the scope of the studied culture-bound elements in *Mary Poppins* and to find possible explanations for the contradicting results of this study and Heino's (2013) study. In Chapter 2 our differing interpretations of the essence of the retranslation hypothesis was discussed, and I came to the conclusion that they were essential to our differing results.

I also suggested that our different results could be explained by different theoretical framework, differing methods or differing classifications used, even though it was recognized that there could be something wrong with the hypothesis itself. In this chapter I intend to discuss these questions in more detail.

In the following subchapter the definition of the retranslation hypothesis and the nature of translation are discussed.

8.1 The retranslation hypothesis and nature of translation

Based on my overview of previous research on retranslation hypothesis, it seems that there are two different ways of interpreting the hypothesis. According to Heino (2013), the retranslation hypothesis applies when the retranslations are more foreignizing than the first translation, even if some of the retranslations were more domesticating than the retranslation they are following. It seems that this interpretation is based on Heino's (2013) interpretation of Chesterman (2004: 8). I have been referring to this interpretation as the vague interpretation of the retranslation hypothesis. However, based on the ideas of Susam-Sarajeva (2003), Brownlie (2006) and Desmidt (2009) I have stated that the idea of progression is

included to the retranslation hypothesis. Thus according to the retranslation hypothesis, every retranslation should be more foreignizing than the (re)translation they are succeeding. I have been referring to this interpretation as the extensive interpretation of the retranslation hypothesis.

It is difficult to determine how many translation scholars have adopted the extensive interpretation of RH and how many rely on the vague interpretation of RH. The idea of progression seems to be discussed mostly in theoretical papers (such as Brownlie 2006 and Desmidt 2009) dealing with retranslation and the retranslation hypothesis in particular. However, with empirical studies testing RH, the interpretation of RH usually has to be detected from the way the researchers interpret their own results. Sometimes this is very difficult. For example Seppänen (2009: 2) has defined retranslation hypothesis as a claim that the first translations are domesticated more than the retranslations. In the conclusion part of her thesis, Seppänen (2009: 2) reports that her results show that the retranslation hypothesis does not apply on the basis that the latest translation is slightly more domesticating than the first translation. So, what is Seppänen's (2009) interpretation of the retranslation hypothesis? Is the idea of progression included?

It is also worth considering if Heino (2013) and I have different understandings of the nature of translating. In Heino's study (2013: 8) translation is seen as an act of rewriting and selection. This idea is based on Tymoczko's (1999b) metonymics of translation. Heino (2013: 46) validates the use of metonymics of translation as a tool to test the hypothesis by stating that the metonymic aspect is important when dealing with "non-canonical [and] marginalized literature" (Tymoczko 1999b: 47, quoted in Heino 2013:46). So even though *Mary Poppins* is a classic that has been translated in to Finnish three times, Heino (2013: 46) considers it marginalized literature simply because it is "literature intended for an adolescent audience". In this study, translating is not seen as rewriting, it is understood as transferring meanings. Furthermore, the translator is not seen as an author, but a mediator between two cultures (Hatim and Mason 1990: 223–224). I also find it problematic to place *Mary Poppins* in marginalized literature as it is a children's classic that has been translated and retranslated in to several languages, three times in to Finnish.

In addition, it should be noted that Tymoczko's (1999b) research on 'metonymics of translation' focuses on translation in a post-colonial context. More specifically, Tymoczko (1999b) has studied the translation of early Irish literature into English. By examining translation practices

during the Irish struggle for independence, Tymoczko (1999b) has attempted to demonstrate how translators have resisted British colonialism and cultural oppression. In other words, Tymoczko (1999b) has studied marginalized literature that has been translated from a minor culture into a dominant culture. Somehow I find it curious to use the same tool with children's classic translated from English to Finnish. However, this does seem to take cultural differences into account.

On the whole, it is difficult to determine how much our different understandings of the nature of translation or the tools chosen to test the hypothesis may have affected our results.

In the following subchapter the definitions of culture and culture-bound elements are discussed.

8.2 Concepts of culture and culture-bound elements

It is also important to discuss the potentially differing definitions of culture and culture-bound elements used in this study and in Heino's (2013) study. In this study, culture has been defined as the setting where the source-culture reader or the target-culture reader acquires his/her mother tongue and the "set of values, attitudes and behaviours shared by a group and passed on by learning" (Davies 2003: 68). The translator's task is to understand how these values, attitudes and behaviours manifest themselves in different layers of the source culture and the target culture, and function as a mediator between these two cultures and elements bound to them.

In Heino's (2013) study, it is generally mentioned that as "both culture and cultural references are enormous concepts (--) it is important to try to somehow limit and categorize the cultural references, that is the main interest of this study" (Heino 2013: 29). Then Heino (2013: 29) mentions that there are many possible ways of identifying and categorizing cultural references, but for that particular study, Heino has chosen to use Tymoczko's (1999b) categories: *material culture* and *social culture*. In addition, Heino (2013) has created a third *intermediate* category. Moreover, Heino (2013) has chosen to study only the most frequent cultural references in each category. Thus, in Heino's (2013) study, material culture consists of food and drink, and social culture includes only proper names. In intermediate category Heino (2013) places the custom of drinking tea.

In other words, Heino (2013) never defines the terms "culture" or "cultural reference". Thus I assume she has included all foods, drinks, proper names and references of having tea in her

study. In this study, culture-bound elements have been defined as Nord's (1994: 525) cultural condition markers that form the natural and socio-cultural background for the story. In other words, in this study culture-bound elements are seen as the elements that form the everyday natural, socio-cultural setting of the story. This definition excludes behaviour and does not emphasize time, which has been an important factor in Heino's (2013) analysis. In addition, in this study all the culture-bound elements found were classified according to Nedergaard-Larsen's (1993) classification. When Karjalainen's (2012) BA thesis was integrated in to this study, character names were added to the culture-bound elements.

All in all, it is difficult to speculate how differing definitions of culture and culture-bound elements have affected our results, as Heino (2013) has not clearly defined them. Furthermore, it should be noted that one possible factor contributing to our different results is our material which has been delimited differently. Heino (2013) has focused on food, drink, proper names and references of having tea in the whole novel. I have studied all types of culture-bound elements, but my material is limited to six chapters. Due to the scope of this thesis, more in depth analysis of our shared individual culture-bound elements under analysis is not possible, but could be beneficial in the future.

In the following subchapter local translation strategies, their nature and classifications for translation strategies are discussed.

8.3 Classifications of translation strategies

As already established in chapters 2 and 3, domestication and foreignization seem to be major aspects of the retranslation hypothesis. Even though they may be defined differently, Heino (2013) and I would seem to have similar definitions for them. Heino (2013) simply prefers the terms "assimilative" and "aggressive" instead of domesticating and foreignizing.

In this study, the definitions for domesticating and foreignizing, are based on Venuti's (1995) and Davies' (2003: 69) views. Thus domestication is seen as an aim to bring the source text closer to the target culture by adapting and omitting elements that are unfamiliar to the target audience. Foreignization, on the other hand, aims to preserve the cultural elements of the source text as far as possible, even though they might seem exotic or strange to the target audience (Davies 2003: 69). In Heino's (2013) study, the definitions of assimilative and aggressive are based on Tymozcko (1999a: 21). Thus, according to Heino (2013: 14), the aim

of assimilation is to bring the source text “closer to the reader by fading out the culturally unfamiliar elements and changing them into something more familiar and more easily recognizable for the target audience”. Aggressive translation strategies leave the source text’s strange elements in the target text and bring the target audience closer to the source text (Heino 2013: 14). In other words, this study’s definition of domestication matches Heino’s definition of assimilative, and the definition of foreignization Heino’s definition of aggressive.

However, our ways of distributing translation strategies into domesticating and foreignizing would seem to differ. First of all, in this study, the strategies used are classified in to five categories: highly foreignizing, slightly foreignizing, neutral, slightly domesticating and highly domesticating. In Heino’s (2013) study, only the opposites assimilative and aggressive are used.

Secondly, in this study there are two compiled classifications of translation strategies that are based on Davies’ (2003) and Nord’s (2003). The first classification of translation strategies includes **preservation, addition, calques, established equivalents, globalization, transformation, localization** and **omission**. It is used for classifying all the translated culture-bound elements found in geography, history, society and culture. The second classification of translation strategies is used for classifying the integrated material that consists of the previously mentioned study and Karjalainen (2012). So, in the integrated material, culture-bound elements belonging to geography, history, society and culture are completed with character names. They are classified into following strategies: preservation, addition, calques, established equivalents, globalization, transformation, localization, omission, **adaptation** and **substitution**. Preservation and addition are treated as highly foreignizing strategies, calques as slightly foreignizing strategies, established equivalents and globalization as neutral strategies, transformation and adaptation as slightly domesticating strategies and substitution, localization and omission as highly domesticating strategies.

Heino (2013), on the other hand, does not offer a clear classification of local translation strategies. Even though based on the introduction part of Heino’s (2013: 14-15) thesis, it would seem that local translation strategies would be classified according to strategies suggested by Tymozcko (1999a) and Newmark (1988a), in the analysis Heino (2013) frequently mentions also definitions of Frimmelova and Schultze. This is slightly confusing.

However, according to Heino (2013: 14-15) assimilative strategies would be **omissions, additions, adaptation, neutralisation, explication of the source text, footnotes, glossaries** and using **cultural equivalents**. Heino (2013: 14-15) implies that the assimilative nature of these strategies has been defined by Newmark (1988a: 103). However, after reviewing Newmark (1988a: 103) and its immediate surroundings, I have to state that in my opinion, Newmark never states that the nature of these strategies is assimilative. Newmark (1988a) merely lists them as possible strategies that can be used for translating “cultural words”. In aggressive strategies Heino (2013: 14-15) classifies **literal translation, transference** and **implication of the source text**. At least transference and literal translation would seem to be aggressive even according to Newmark (1988a: 96). Newmark (1988a: 96) also states that the opposing pole to transference is “componential analysis”.

However, even though Heino (2013) never provides general definitions for these strategies, but further explains their nature along with her analysis, some of these strategies would seem to be self-explanatory. That is why I decided to compare the strategies used in this study to Heino’s (2013) assumed strategies in the following table 17.

Table 17. Distribution of translation strategies by Karjalainen (2014) and Heino (2013).

	Karjalainen (2014)	Heino (2013)
foreignizing, aggressive strategies	preservation addition calques	transference implication of the source text literal translation
neutral	established equivalents globalization	-
domesticating, assimilative strategies	transformation adaptation substitution localization omission	cultural equivalents neutralization addition adaptation explication of the source text footnotes glossaries omissions

Table 17 shows that Heino (2013) and I would actually seem to classify local strategies into foreignizing and domesticating in a rather similar manner. However, there are three differences which have been bolded in the table. Addition, which I have treated as highly foreignizing, has been classified into domesticating strategies by Heino (2013). This is the most obvious difference. Moreover, whereas I have classified established equivalents and globalization into neutral category, Heino (2013) sees cultural equivalents and neutralization as domesticating. As already mentioned, this comparison is merely speculative in nature, as I

cannot be sure about Heino's general definitions for local strategies. About cultural equivalent Heino (2013: 65) does mention that it is "the name that has a similar effect in the target text as it has in the source text". However, whereas I have classified Vilhelm Valloittaja (William the Conqueror) as established equivalent, Heino (2013: 72) has treated it as adaptation. These differences in classifying translated names into local strategies make it difficult to compare our results.

Thirdly, even though Heino (2013) does not directly evaluate the translation strategies chosen in her analysis, Heino does offer for example Newmark's (1988) and Frimmelova's (2010) views of how material culture, social culture and intermediate references should be treated. In this study, evaluation of translation strategies is not present in any level. The translations are not contrasted to the translation conventions of each era, which is something that Heino (2013) sometimes does.

All in all, our definitions for foreignizing and domesticating would seem to match. However, it would seem that we might have classified some similar local strategies into opposite ends on the foreignizing–domesticating continuum. In addition, Heino (2013) does not consider the possibility of neutrality with any of the translation strategies. However, as Heino (2013) does not use any one classification of strategies, but refers to at least four different scholars and their classifications in her study, it is difficult to estimate how the definitions of the strategies used in our studies might have affected our results.

In the next subchapter these two studies by Karjalainen (2014) and Heino (2013) are discussed in general and their possible meaning for the retranslation hypothesis discussion is speculated.

8.4 General discussion

After having compared Heino's (2013) definitions for translation, the retranslation hypothesis, culture, culture-bound elements, foreignization and domestication to my definitions, I have come to the conclusion that even though there are similarities, there are also differences. In the scope of this study, it is impossible to determine which aspects have mostly affected our contradicting results. In my personal opinion, based solely on Table 1 and our differing interpretations of it, the most essential factor could be our differing understandings of the

retranslation hypothesis itself. It is not the only factor, but I think it is the most substantial one.

I also wonder whether Heino (2013) is the only one who has tested the retranslation hypothesis based on Chesterman's (2004: 8) limited review on the subject matter. What if translation scholars in general have differing interpretations of the retranslation hypothesis? Are there more studies that could possibly be interpreted in two ways? And if testing the retranslation hypothesis can produce conflicting results depending on the researcher's view of the hypothesis, what do we do with it? If it could potentially both apply and not apply to the same material, what value does it have?

Even though I am not qualified to make deductions about the problems regarding the retranslation hypothesis based on the limited parts of the discussion I have followed, I can still speculate how the contradicting results on *Mary Poppins* may have become possible. From where I am standing, it would seem that when the retranslation hypothesis surfaced in 1990 based on articles published by Berman and Bensimon, it was not defined clearly enough. For example, what did Berman mean by target-oriented and source-oriented? How they should be measured? Should we be looking merely at the translation's degree of foreignization, or should we determine the degree of domestication as well? And what are these degrees based on? Textual level traits such as syntax, or semantic level elements such as culture-bound elements? Or both of them?

Regardless of the potential fuzziness, translation scholars started to treat the RH as a truth universally acknowledged, possibly at the latest when Chesterman (2004: 8) labelled it as a descriptive translation universal. Even though Chesterman (2004: 8) did note that RH was still a hypothesis, not a statement of fact, the hypothesis was still assumed to hold true. However, around the same time, researchers such as Koskinen and Paloposki (2004) started to argue that RH should be further tested as there was not enough evidence supporting it. Thus the hypothesis was tested, by Koskinen and Paloposki (2004: 38), for example, along with numerous MA theses in Finnish universities.

For example Kämäräinen (2004) and Seppänen (2009) have both found out that the retranslation hypothesis does not apply. Kämäräinen (2004) has tested it on three translations of *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* and uses global and local translation strategies and their degree of foreignization or domestication to test it. Kämäräinen (2004) has come to the

conclusion that the later translations are not more foreignizing, and that foreignizing, domesticating and neutral local strategies do not exclude one another. Seppänen (2009) in turn has studied the degree of domestication in *Little Women*. Seppänen's (2009) study seems to focus on textual level, and the conclusion appears to be based on the observation that the first and the latest translation are nearly as domesticating. As already mentioned, Heino (2013) focused on metonymics of translation and the degree of foreignization. In this study, I have both analysed the translations in terms of foreignizing, neutral and domesticating local strategies, and then calculated the degree of foreignization for all three translations.

In my opinion, these four Finnish MA theses pretty much sum up what happened when the retranslation hypothesis was tested: we got lot of studies measuring different things. I reckon this is the core problem of the retranslation hypothesis: there is no consensus of what should be measured and how. Instead everyone studied what they thought would be appropriate with tools they found suitable and as a result, we have two different studies using same material providing results that contradict each other.

For example Brownlie (2006) suggests that the confusion about which aspects should be measured when testing the retranslation hypothesis might have something to do with the way Berman's (1990) ideas were interpreted by Chesterman (2000), for example.

This is a case of transfer of an idea from one intellectual tradition or paradigm (Romantic Idealism) into another (Natural Sciences): whereas Berman talks of 'the truth of being', Chesterman et al. talk of 'a hypothesis to be tested'. Because the idea is taken out of its original context, it no longer carries with it the implication of improvement over time and of essence (--)(Brownlie 2006: 148).

Theorizing whether the philosophical concept of improving over time and essence is possible to measure by means of natural sciences is out of the scope of this study. However, in my opinion, the progression from target-culture oriented to source-culture oriented is measurable, if there is a consensus of what should be measured and by what means.

As I already mentioned, I am in no position to make statements, but I am free to speculate and ask these questions. All in all, I think that from now on, it is probably best to focus on studying retranslations without the retranslation hypothesis, or then define the question RH asks and how to answer it.

9. Conclusion

The aim of this study was to widen the scope of my BA thesis and test the retranslation hypothesis on more extensive material. In addition, I compared my results with the results of Heino's (2013) study, and discussed the possible reasons for our potentially conflicting results. To begin with, the results show that the retranslation hypothesis still does not apply to all the three translations of *Mary Poppins*, but it would apply to the first two. I also speculated that the main reason for Heino's (2013) different results could be different understanding of the retranslation hypothesis itself.

To test the retranslation hypothesis, culture-bound elements found in the six chapters studied were classified under four main categories according to Nedergaard-Larsen (1993): geography, history, society and culture. There were eight strategies used for translating culture-bound elements: preservation, addition, calques, established equivalents, globalization, transformation, localization and omission. The results of qualitative analysis showed that there are no significant differences between strategies used for translating culture-bound elements in the four main categories. However, omission is mostly used by Tuulio in the first translation. Character names studied in my BA thesis (Karjalainen 2012) were added to the material, and the quantitative analysis of the integrated material confirmed that the retranslation hypothesis does not apply.

In discussion Heino's (2013) results were compared to this study in more detail, and although there are many potential explanations for our differing results, in my opinion, our differing understandings of the retranslation hypothesis is the most significant one. I would like to highlight that the aim of this study has not been to disqualify Heino's study, on the contrary. It is still possible, that we both have come to perfectly acceptable conclusions, even though they contradict each other. In this case, the fault lies in the retranslation hypothesis itself.

I would also like to emphasize that the retranslation hypothesis does not apply to the three Finnish translations of *Mary Poppins* based on the *semantic level*. Due to the scope of this study, I could not include textual level, such as grammar and syntax into this study. So the case of *Mary Poppins* and the retranslation hypothesis may still not be closed, as the textual traits remain to be studied in the future.

All in all, this study has brought up many questions regarding the retranslation hypothesis that, in my opinion, should be addressed by translation scholars in the future. However, as I am not qualified enough to suggest brilliant answers to these questions, I will take a bow and pass this on to those scholars who have the knowledge and the know how to carry on.

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Appendix

Culture-bound elements found in *Mary Poppins*

1. Geography

a) natural geography (6)

East Wind (s. 11/9)	itätuuli	itätuuli	itätuuli
cherry-trees (s.11/9)	kirsikkapuut	kirsikkapuut	kirsikkapuut
Cherry Tree Lane (s.11/9)	Kirsikkatie	Kirsikkatie	Kirsikkakuja
doves (s. 118/100)	kyyhkysiä	kyyhkysiä	kyyhkysiä
pigeons (s. 118/100)	-poisto	-poisto	puluja
grass and glover (s. 142/121)	ruohoa ja apilaa	ruohoa ja apilaa	ruohoa ja apilaa

b) cultural geography (8)

The Norh Pole (s.13/11)	-poisto	-poisto	Pohjoisnapa
the City (s. 13/11)	keskikaupunki, Kaupungin keskus	keskikaupunki, Kaupungin keskus	liikekeskusta
Margate (s.30/26)	pieni kaupunki	pieni kaupunki	lomakaupunki
Yarmouth (s.34/30)	-poisto	Yarmouth	Wight-saari
Robertson Road (s.40/35)	-poisto	-poisto	Roopertinkatu
Ludgate Hill (s. 116/99)	eräs suuri katu	eräs suuri katu	iso katu kaupungissa
America (s.131/112)	Amerikka	Amerikka	Amerikka
England (s.133/113)	- kohtaus, jossa katkaisee sormen poistettu	Englanti	Englanti

2. History

a) buildings (1)

St. Paul's Cathedral (s.116/99)	suuri kirkko	St' Paulin tuomiokirkko	Pyhän Paavalin tuomiokirkko
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b) events (1)

Bank Holidays (s.14/11)	juhlapäivinä	juhlapäivinä	pyhäpäivinä
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c) people (7)

Queen Elisabeth (s.28/23)	kuningatar Elisabet	kuningatar Elisabet	kuningatar Elisabet
the Shah of Persia (s.61/52)	Persian kuningas	Persian kuningas	Persian shaahi
Sir Christopher Wren (s. 117/99)	-poisto	alaviite – Sir Christopher Wren (Suom. peukaloinen)	”Nimi oli Wren ja se on englantia ja tarkoittaa peukaloista, joka on lintu” s.96
Christopher Columbus (s. 131/112)	Kristoffer Kolumbus	Kristoffer Kolumbus	Kristoffer Kolumbus
William the Conqueror (s. 133/113)	-poisto	Vilhelm Valloittaja	Vilhelm Valloittaja
Alfred the Great (s. 135/115)	kuningas Alfred Suurelta	kuningas Alfred Suurelta	Alfred Suurelta
Guy Fawkes (s.138/118)	-poisto	-poisto	Jaakko I

3. Society

Currency and measurement s (15)

a shilling (tip) (s.13/10)	satasen	satasen	lantin
shillings (s.14/11)	erikokoisia	erikokoisia	šillinkejä
pennies (s. 14/11)	rahoja,	rahoja,	pennejä
half-crowns (s.14/11)	pennejä	pennejä	puolikruunusia
threepenny-bits (s.14/11)	ja markkoja (7)	ja markkoja (6)	kolmepennisiä
tuppence (s.29/25)	kaksi viisimarkkasta	muutama penny	kaksi penniä
tuppence a bag (s.119/99)	kaksikymppiä laatikko	kaksi pennyä pussillinen	kahdella pennillä pussi
four halfpennies (s.119/100)	kaksikymppinen	lantti	neljä puolipennistä
two pounds (s.124/106)	kilo	kilo	kilo
three quarters of a yard (s. 128)	kolme neljännesmetriä	kolme neljännesmetriä	melkein metrin
pound and a half (s. 125/107)	puolitoista kiloa	puolitoista litraa	vajaa kilo
pint of (125/107)	puoli litraa	puoli litraa	puoli litraa
dozen (s. 135/115)	tusina	tusina	tusina
Baker’s dozen (s. 135/115)	leipurin tusina	leipurin tusina	leipurin tusina
threepence (s. 136/116)	viisimarkkanen	kolmenpennyn raha	kolmepenninen

Social organization and politics (3)

Admiral (s.13/11)	amiraali	amiraali	amiraali
the Police (s. 67/58)	poliisi	poliisi	poliisi

the Prime Minister (s. 67/58)	pääministeri	pääministeri	pääministeri
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Customs (4)

Helmet (on a policeman, s. 11/11)	kypärä	kypärä	kypärä
Nanny (s.13/10)	lastenhoitaja	lastenhoitaja	lastenhoitaja
separate gate for servants (s. 59/51)	jep	jep	jep
Milkman (s. 59/59)	maitomies	maitomies	maitomies

Everyday objects

clothes (15)

red-and-white bandanna handkerchief (s. 19/16)	punavalkoinen silkkinenäliina	punavalkoinen silkkinenäliina	punavalkoinen liina
frock (s. 27/23)	hame	hame	leninki
a bright green-and-red striped coat (s. 31/26)	komea vihreäpunajuovainen takki	komea vihreäpunajuovainen takki	kirkasvärinen vihreäpunajuovainen takki
white flannel trousers (s.31/27)	valkoiset flanellihousut	valkoiset flanellihousut	valkoiset flanellihousut
a new straw hat (s. 31/27)	upouusi olkihattu	upouusi olkihattu	uusi olkihattu
a cloak of artificial silk with watery patterns (s. 32/27)	kuviollinen tekosilkkihiita	kuviollinen tekosilkkihiita	keinosilkkinen viitta, joka oli täynnä vienoa kuviointia
blue coat with the silver buttons (s.39/34)	sininen takki jossa oli hopeanapit	sininen takki jossa oli hopeanapit	sininen hopeanappinen takki
a blue hat to match (s. 39/34)	siihen kuuluva sininen hattu	siihen kuuluva sininen hattu	siihen sopiva sininen hattu
long skirts (s. 50/42)	pitkä hame	pitkä hame	pitkä hame
a hand-bag (s. 50/42)	käsilaukku	käsilaukku	käsilaukku
common flowers like marigolds (s. 116/99)	kehäkukiksi tai muiksi tavallisiksi kukiksi	kehäkukiksi tai muiksi tavallisiksi kukiksi	tavallisiksi samettiruusuiksi
blue-and-white striped apron (s. 124/106)	sini- ja valkojuovainen esiliina	sini- ja valkojuovainen esiliina	sinivalkoraitainen essu
elastic-sided boots (s. 132/112)	kumikengät	kumikengät	kumisaapikkaat
Coster's coat (s. 136_/116)	-poisto	-poisto	hedelmäkauppiaan takki
bright brown kid (shoes) (s. 125/108)	kiiltävää ruskeata vuohennahkaa	kiiltävää ruskeata vuohennahkaa	kirkkaanruskeaa vuohennahkaa

housing (rooms, furniture) (10)

the front gate (s. 13/10)	portti	portti	portti
the nursery (s.15/12)	lastenkamari	lastenkamari	lastenkamari

drawing room (s. 15/11)	olohuone	olohuone	olohuone
the landing (s. 16/13)	ylähalli, yläeteinen	ylähalli, yläeteinen	porrastasanne, ylätasanne
garden (s. 60/52)	puutarha	puutarha	puutarha
back-yard (s. 65/56)	- koiran ja Poppasen keskustelu poistettu	takapiha	takapiha
coal-cellar (s. 71/61)	hiilikellari	hiilikellari	hiilikellari
a folding camp-bedstead (s.23/19)	täydellinen telttasänky	täydellinen telttasänky	taitettava leirisänky
a small folding armchair (s.21/17)	pieni telttatuoli	pieni telttatuoli	pieni kokoontaitettava nojatuoli
hearth rug (s. 47/41)	matto	matto	uuninedusmatto

food, drinks, meals (32)

barley-water (s.15/12)	kalja	kalja	olut
supper (s. 15/12)	illallinen	illallinen	päivällinen
strawberry ice (s.22/18)	mansikkajäätelö	mansikkajäätelöä	mansikkajäätelöä
lime-juice cordial (s. 22/18)	sitruunahyytelöä	sitruunahyytelöä	limettimehua
rum punch (s. 23/19)	rommitotia	rommitotia	rommitotia
nursery supper (s.25/21)	koko loppu poistettu	koko loppu poistettu	lastenkamarin päivälliset
tea (s. 29/25) kts	tee	tee	tee
raspberry-jam cakes (s. 29/25)	vadelmahilloleivoksia	vadelmahilloleivoksia	vadelmahilloleivoksia
afternoon-tea (s. 33/27)	iltapäivätee	iltapäivätee	iltapäivätee
two plates of whelks (s. 32/27)	kaksi vadillista ostereita	kaksi vadillista ostereita	kaksi lautasellista torvisimpukoita
piles of bread and butter (s. 41/39)	iso kasa leipää ja voita	iso kasa leipää ja voita	keoittain voileipiä
crumpets (s. 41/36)	piparkakkuja	piparkakkuja	teeleipiä
coconut cakes (s. 41/36)	leivoksia	leivoksia	kookoskakkuja
a large plum cake (s. 41/36)	iso luumukakku	iso luumukakku	iso luumukakku
with pink icing (s. 41/36)	jossa oli punainen sokerikuorrutus	jossa oli punainen sokerikuorrutus	jossa oli vaaleanpunainen kuorrutus
little flat rolls with the curly twists of crust on the top (s.60/51)	pieniä, litteitä sämpylöitä, joiden keskellä oli pieni sokerikuorrutuskiemura	pieniä, litteitä sämpylöitä, joiden keskellä oli pieni sokerikuorrutuskiemura	pieniä, litteitä sämpylöitä, joiden päällä on kiehkurakoriste
luncheon (s. 60/52)	aamiainen	aamiainen	lounasaika
oysters (s. 61/53)	-poisto	ostereita	ostereita
scrambled eggs with asparagus (s. 63/54)	parsamunakas	parsamunakas	parsamunakas
tea-time (s. 65/56)	- (koska keskustelu pois)	teenjuonnin aikana	teeaikaan
shortbread fingers (s. 115/98)	kermaleivoksia	kermaleivoksia	pikkuleipiä

a pie (s. 120/102)	piirakka	piirakka	piirakka
Dover Sole (s. 125/107)	kampela	meriantura	meriantura
Halibut (s. 125/107)	turskaa	ruijanpallasta	ruijanpallasta
a Lobster (s. 125/107)	hummeri	hummeri	hummeri
the gingerbread (s. 127/109)	piparkakkuja	piparkakkuja	piparkakkuja
boxes of sherbet (s. 128/110)	karamellirasioita	karamellirasioita	mehujauherasioita
old Liquorice sticks (s. 128/110)	vanhoja lakritsitankoja	vanhoja lakritsitankoja	vanhoja lakritsipötköjä
Apples-on-a-stick (s. 128/110)	tikkuomenia	tikkuomenia	tikkuomenoita
Barley-Sugar (s. 132/113)	- (sormikohtaus poistettu)	rintasokeria	rintasokeria
Peppermint bars (s. 132/113)	-poisto	tikkukaramellejä	piparminttutankoja
Baked Custard (s. 137/116)	munapiirakoita	munapiirakoita	uunimunakasta

other (24)

black bag (s. 14/11)	musta salkku	musta salkku	musta laukku
a wooden Dutch doll (s. 16/13)	hollantilainen puunukke	hollantilainen puunukke	hollantilainen puunukke
a large cake of Sunlight soap (s. 21/17)	iso kimpale saippuaa	iso kimpale saippuaa	iso saippuapala
a packet of hairpins (s. 21/17)	hiusneulakäärö	hiusneulakäärö	pakettillinen hiuspinnejä
a carpet-bag (s. 23/19)	mattolaukku	mattolaukku	mattolaukku
side-walk (s. 27/23)	katukäytävä	katukäytävä	jalkakäytävä
iron railings (s. 31/26)	rautakaiteet	rautakaiteet	rautakaiteet
gas-bracket (s. 44/38)	lampunkannatin	lampunkannatin	kaasulampun kanta
china ornaments (s. 45/39)	posliinikuvia	posliinikuvia	koristeita
an omnibus (s. 50/42)	auto	auto	linja-auto
rubber ball on the end of a bat (s. 51/45)	kepin päähän kiinnitetty kumipallo	kepin päähän kiinnitetty kumipallo	kumipallo mailaniskusta
a fur necklet (s. 61/52)	turkiskaulus	turkiskaulus	turkiskauluri
a silk pillow (s. 61/53)	silkkipielus	silkkipielus	silkkityyny
Pedigree (s. 63/54)	sukupu	sukupu	sukupu
a Byword (s. 63/55)	- poisto	- poisto	maanvaiva
Airedale (s. 63/55)	terrieri	terrieri	Airedale
Retriever (s. 64/55)	ajokoira	ajokoira	noutaja
a trap-door (s. 66/57)	- sama	loukun ovi	salaovi
banner (s. 72/62)	lippu	lippu	viiri
the Laundry Bill (s. 115/98)	pyykkilasku	pyykkilaskua	pesulalasku
mother hen (s. 122/104)	kanaäiti	kanaäiti	kanaemo
chopping-block (s. 124/106)	myymäläpöytä	myymäläpöytä	leikkuulauta
gilt stars (s. 129/110)	kullatuilla tähdillä	kullatuilla tähdillä	kullanvärisiä tähtiä

gingerbread stars (s. 144/121)	piparkakkutähtiä	piparkakkutähtiä	piparkakkutähtiä
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4. Culture

a) religion (1)

St. Paul (s.117/99)	- poisto	- poisto	- poisto
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b) culture, media, leisure (11)

the morning paper (s.13/10)	Aamusanomiin	Aamusanomiin	Aamusanomiin
The Royal Academy (s. 30/26)	Kuninkaallisessa Akatemiassa	Kuninkaallisessa Akatemiassa	Taidemuseossa
Fairyland (s. 37/32)	Satunmaa	Satunmaa	Satunmaa
Cinderella (s. 37/32)	Tuhkimo	Tuhkimo	Tuhkimo
Robinson Crusoe (s.37/32)	Robinson Crusoe	Robinson Crusoe	Robinson Crusoe
Tobacconist's shop (s.40/34)	tupakkakauppa	tupakkakauppa	tupakkakauppa
have his toes manicured (s. 64/55)	saamaan kynsihoitoa	saamaan kynsihoitoa	jalkahoitoon
the Butcher's (s.124/107)	lihamyymälä	lihamyymälä	lihakauppias
Green, Brown and Johnson's (s. 136/109)	sinne mistä aina ostamme niitä	sinne mistä me aina ostamme niitä	Vihriä, Ruskia ja Korhonen
Highland Fling (s.136/116)	-poisto	-poisto	skottitanssi
Jenny Wren (s.116/99)	-poisto	-poisto	- poisto

Finnish summary

Pro gradu -tutkielmani (*Re)visiting retranslation hypothesis: the case of Mary Poppins* pohjautuu kandidaatintutkielmaani (Karjalainen 2012), jossa vertailin henkilöhahmojen nimien käännöksiä kolmessa eri Maija Poppasen suomennoksessa. Selvitin nimien kääntämiseen käytetyt strategiat ja tutkin, onko niiden valitsemisessa noudatettu uudelleenkääntämishypoteesia. Uudelleenkääntämishypoteesi on väite, jonka mukaan romaanin ensimmäinen käännös on yleensä kotouttava ja sitä seuraavat uudelleenkäännökset puolestaan vieraannuttavia (mm. Chesterman 2000: 23). Kandidaatintutkielmani tulosten mukaan uudelleenkääntämishypoteesi ei pitänyt henkilöhahmojen nimien käännösten perusteella paikkansa Maija Poppasen suomennosten kohdalla. Tämän jälkeen Heino (2013) Vaasan yliopistosta kuitenkin testasi uudelleenkääntämishypoteesia samoilla Maija Poppasen suomennoksilla ja tuli siihen tulokseen, että uudelleenkääntämishypoteesi pätee. Heino (2013) tutkimusmateriaali rajoittui ruoka- ja juoma sanoihin, erisnimiin sekä teen juontiin liittyviin viittauksiin. Siispä tarkoitukseni on tässä pro gradu -tutkielmassa laajentaa tutkittavia elementtejä kaikkiin kulttuurisidonnaisiin elementteihin ja testata uudelleenkääntämishypoteesia uudelleen laajemmalla elementtivalikoimalla. Lisäksi aion pohtia mahdollisia selityksiä sille, kuinka Heino (2013) ja minä olemme päätyneet eri tuloksiin.

Uudelleenkääntämishypoteesi ja sen tulkinnat

Kuten aiemmin mainitsin, uudelleenkääntämishypoteesi on väite, jonka mukaan romaanin ensimmäinen käännös on yleensä kotouttava ja sitä seuraavat uudelleenkäännökset puolestaan vieraannuttavia. Esimerkiksi Koskinen ja Paloposki (2004: 27) jäljittävät uudelleenkääntämishypoteesin alkuperän Bermanin (1990) *Palimpsestes* -lehdessä julkaistuun artikkeliin, ja Bensimonin (1990) pohdintoihin Bermanin esittämistä ajatuksista. Koskisen ja Paloposken (2004: 27) mukaan Bensimon (1990) esittää Bermanin ajatusten pohjalta, että ensimmäinen käännös vain esittelee romaanin ja sen kirjoittajan kohdeyleisölle. Tämän vuoksi sen tulee olla kohdeyleisölle tuttujen normien mukainen. Vasta sitten, kun sekä romaani että kirjailija on ”hyväksytty” kohdekulttuurissa, romaanista

voidaan tehdä käännöksiä, jotka ovat lähdetekselle uskollisempia. Tämä on yksi uudelleenkääntämishypoteesin perusideoista.

Toinen uudelleenkääntämishypoteesin sisältyvä käsitys on ajatus *kehittymisestä* (progression). Esimerkiksi Brownlien (2006) tulkinnan mukaan uudelleenkääntämishypoteesiin on Bermanin (1990) artikkelista alkaen sisältynyt oletamus siitä, jokainen uudelleenkäännös pääsee aina edeltäjäänsä lähemmäksi lähdetekstin ydintä.

Uudelleenkääntämishypoteesista näyttää kuitenkin olevan tutkimuskirjallisuuden perusteella kaksi eriävää tulkintaa. Ensimmäisen, suppean tulkinnan mukaan hypoteesi pätee, mikäli ensimmäinen käänнос on kotouttava ja uudelleenkäännökset vieraannuttavampia kuin ensimmäinen käänнос. Tämä tulkinta jättää siis kehittymisen ajatuksen huomiotta. Muun muassa Heino (2013) on tehnyt ilmeisesti Chestermanin (2004: 8) määritelmän pohjalta tämän tulkinnan. Toisen, laajan määritelmän mukaan hypoteesi pätee vain, jos ensimmäinen käänнос on kotouttava ja jokainen uudelleenkäännös on edellistä vieraannuttavampi. Tämä tulkinta ottaa kehittymisen ajatuksen huomioon, ja edustaa tämän tutkimuksen näkemystä uudelleenkääntämishypoteesista.

Muun muassa Paloposken ja Koskisen (2004: 36) mukaan uudelleenkääntämishypoteesi on kuitenkin kyseenalainen. Heidän mukaansa uudelleenkääntämishypoteesiin ei liity sellaisia tekijöitä, jotka ohjaisivat kääntäjiä käyttämään kotouttavien strategioiden sijasta vieraannuttavia strategioita. (Koskinen ja Paloposki 2004). Tulee myös muistaa, että lähtötekstiuskollisuus on saatettu (ja saatetaan) määritellä eri tavoin eri aikoina ja eri kulttuureissa.

Lastenkirjallisuuden kääntäminen, kotouttaminen ja vieraannuttaminen

Kotouttaminen ja vieraannuttaminen, jotka näyttäisivät kuuluvan olennaisesti uudelleenkääntämishypoteesin, ovat keskeisiä aiheita myös lastenkirjallisuuden kääntämisestä koskevassa keskustelussa. Toisten tutkijoiden mielestä kotouttaminen on suorastaan holhoavaa ja aliarvioi lapsilukijan (Oittinen 2000: 74). Oittisen mielestä tähän

näkökulmaan sisältyy oletus siitä, että kääntämisen olisi ikään kuin 'saman tuottamista', eli pyrkisi ekvivalenssiin, kun taas hänen mukaansa tärkeintä on käännöksen skopos, eli tarkoitus ja toimivuus kohdekulttuurissa. Oittinen (2000: 74) on lisäksi sitä mieltä, että kääntäminen on pohjimmiltaan uudelleenkirjoittamista. Myös Heinon (2013) tutkimuksessa kääntäminen nähdään uudelleenkirjoittamisena. Tämän tutkimuksen näkemys pohjautuu kuitenkin Hatimin ja Masonin (1990) tulkintaan, jonka mukaan kääntäminen on merkitysten välittämistä kulttuurista toiseen.

Tässä tutkimuksessa vieraannuttaminen (foreignization) on määritelty Venutin (1995) ja Daviesin (2003) mukaan pyrkimykseksi säilyttää lähdetekstin kulttuurisidonnaiset viittaukset ja siirtää kohdekulttuurin lukija lähemmäksi lähdekulttuuria, kun taas kotouttamisen (domestication) pyrkimyksenä on muokata ja poistaa vieraat elementit ja tuoda lähdeteksti lähemmäksi kohdekulttuurin lukijaa. Heino (2013) käyttää tutkimuksessaan samoja määritelmiä eri nimillä: Heinon (2013) tutkimuksessa assimiloiva vastaa kotouttavaa ja aggressiivinen vieraannuttavaa.

Aineisto ja sen analyysi

Tutkimusaineistoni koostuu Maija Poppasen (1934) englanninkielisestä alkuperäisteoksesta, sekä sen kolmesta eri suomennoksesta. Ensimmäinen suomennos ilmestyi vuonna 1936 ja sen kääntäjänä toimi Tyyni Tuulio. Toinen suomennos julkaistiin 1981 ja sen käänsi Marikki Makkonen. Viimeisimmän käännöksen on tehnyt Jaana Kapari-Jatta ja se julkaistiin 2010. Kaksi ensimmäistä suomennosta on käännetty englanninkielisen alkuperäisversion pohjalta. Kolmas suomennos on kuitenkin käännös englanninkielisestä tarkastetusta painoksesta, jossa romaanin kuudetta lukua on muokattu. Luvussa alun perin esiintyneet rasistisia stereotyyppioita edustaneet henkilöhahmot on korvattu eläinhahmoilla. Koska tutkimukseni keskittyy kulttuurisidonnaisten elementtien tutkimiseen, olen jättänyt kyseisen luvun tutkimukseni ulkopuolelle. Myös luku viisi on jätetty aineiston ulkopuolelle sillä perusteella, että se muodostuu Maija Poppasen kertomasta tarinasta, jonka pääosassa on Punainen Lehmä, joka seikkailee satumaassa. Loppujen lopuksi aineistokseni rajautuivat luvut 1-4 sekä 7-8, jotka muodostavat puolet

romaanista. Niistä löytyi yhteensä 138 kulttuurisidonnaista elementtiä, jotka riittävät aineistoksi tälle tutkimukselle.

Kulttuurisidonnaiset elementit on jaettu Nedergaard-Larsenin (1993) kulttuurisidonnaisten elementtien luokittelumallin mukaan neljään eri pääkategoriaan ja useisiin sovellettuihin alakategorioihin. Pääkategoriat ovat **maantiede** (geography), **historia** (history), **yhteiskunta** (society) sekä **kulttuuri** (culture).

Kulttuurisidonnaisten elementtien kääntämiseen käytetyt strategiat on jaoteltu Daviesin (2003) ja Nordin (200) strategialuokittelujen pohjalta kahdeksaan eri kategoriaan, joita ovat: **alkuperäisen nimen säilyttäminen** (preservation), **lisäys** (addition), **sanatarkka käänös** (calques), **vakiintunut vastine** (established equivalents), **yleistäminen** (globalization), **muunnelma** (transformation), **lokalisatio** (localization) sekä **poisto** (omission). Nämä on jaettu vieraannuttamis-, kotouttamis- tai neutraaliusasteensa mukaan viiteen eri kenttään, jotka muodostavat vieraannuttava-kotouttava jatkumon. Kentät ovat: **erittäin vieraannuttava** (highly foreignizing), **hieman vieraannuttava** (slightly foreignizing), **neutraali** (neutral), **hieman kotouttava** (slightly domesticating) ja **erittäin kotouttava** (highly domesticating). Nämä kentät pohjautuvat sovelletusti Van Poucken (2012) viisikenttäiseen luokitteluun.

Ennen uudelleenikäntämishypoteesin testaamista kandidaatintutkielmani (2012) tulokset yhdistettiin nykyisiin tuloksiin. Yhdistetyn aineiston kvantitatiivisen analyysin mukaan ensimmäinen käänös oli käänöksistä kotouttavin, toinen käänös vieraannuttavin ja kolmas käänös kaikista neutraalein. Hypoteesin testaamiseksi jokaiselle käänökselle laskettiin Van Poucken (2012) yhtälön perusteella vieraannuttamisaste (DF). Se lasketaan seuraavasti:

$$DF=5F+2f+(-2d)+(-5D)$$

F = erittäin vieraannuttavien strategioiden lukumäärä yhteensä

f = hieman vieraannuttavien strategioiden määrä yhteensä

d = hieman kotouttavien strategioiden lukumäärä yhteensä

D = erittäin kotouttavien strategioiden määrä yhteensä

Tulosten mukaan ainoastaan toinen käänös oli Van Poucken (2012) yhtälön perusteella lasketun vieraannuttamisasteen mukaan vieraannuttava. Ensimmäisen ja kolmannen käänöksen vieraannuttamisaste oli negatiivinen, eli ne eivät olleet vieraannuttavia, vaan kotouttavia. Toisin sanoen tutkimukseni perusteella uudelleenikäntämishypoteesi ei päde Maija Poppasen suomennoksiin, ymmärrettiin hypoteesi sitten suppeasti tai laajasti.

Lopuksi vertailin Heinon (2013) tutkimusasetelmaa omaani ja tulini siihen lopputulokseen, että eriäviin tuloksiimme ovat voineet vaikuttaa muun muassa erilainen näkemys käänntämisestä, erilainen aineiston rajaus sekä hieman erilainen tapa luokitella strategiat kotouttaviin, vieraannuttaviin ja tämän tutkimuksen tapauksessa neutraaleihin. Näiden tekijöiden todellisen vaikutuksen suuruutta on kuitenkin mahdotonta arvioida tämän tutkielman puitteissa. Sen sijaan olen varma, että tuloksiimme on vaikuttanut olennaisesti eriävät tulkintamme uudelleenikäntämishypoteesista.

Ehdotin myös, että ennen kuin uudelleenikäntämishypoteesia testataan jatkossa uudestaan, hypoteesi tulisi määritellä tarkemmin.