Crime stories from the country of *huopatossu* and *juhannusruusut* — Translation strategies for Finnish cultural realia in the English translations of two of Matti Yrjänä Joensuu’s crime novels

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Abbreviations

ECR extralinguistic culture-bound references

Source texts

PA Harjunpää ja pahan pappi
PO Harjunpää ja poliisin poika

Target texts

PE The Priest of Evil
SM Harjunpaa and the stone murders
1 INTRODUCTION

– Tee niin, Norri sanoi lyhyesti. – Tule sen jälkeen Pasilaan. Me irtaanumme täältä kohta.

Harjunpään ilme muuttui elottomaksi; jossain syvällä, itseltäänkin salaa, hän oli elätellyt toivoa, että Norri olisi pyytänyt häntä tekemään jotain muuta. Sitten hän rykäisi, lojautti oven kiinni ja käynnisti – juhannusruusujen tuoksua ei tuntenut enää, ja jäähdytinsäleiköstä hyönteisiä napsineet varpuset pyrähtivät pois. (Joensuu 1983: 35; emphasis added.)

‘Yes, you do that,’ cut in Norri promptly. ‘You can go straight to the station from there, we’ll be finished here shortly.’

Harjunpaa’s face went blank. Unconsciously he had been hoping – against hope – that Norri would ask him to do something else instead. Then he cleared his throat, started the car and closed the door, shutting out the smell of roses and scattering away the sparrows which had been picking insects from the car grille. (Joensuu 1986: 15; emphasis added.)

The above extract is written by Matti Yrjänä Joensuu, one of my favourite Finnish crime writers. I have always loved crime novels of all kinds. I spent my childhood reading such authors as Agatha Christie and Arthur Conan Doyle. What appealed to me in Joensuu’s crime novels was especially their setting. All his crime novels take place in my childhood home town Helsinki and its surrounding areas that I know so well. One of the books – the book from which the above extract is taken – Harjunpää ja poliisin poika (Harjunpaa and the Stone murders), actually takes place right next to my old school.

In this thesis, I wanted to combine my interest in crime novels and translation. It was not hard to find a suitable topic and focus for analysis of his books. As pointed out above, Joensuu’s books take place in a typically Finnish geographical setting. In addition, the books are set against a markedly Finnish social and cultural background. Thus the books not only contain places familiar to people living in the area but also references specific to Finnish society and culture: holidays, traditional food and so on. As such culture-bound items seemed to be a topic of some interest in Translation Studies, I decided to focus on these culture-bound items – the “Finnishness” they represented – in two of Joensuu’s books.
Finnish society and culture are surely manifested in these books in several ways, but the focus of this thesis will be on explicit references to “culture-specific artefacts, institutions and traditions” (Davies 2001: 68) or what Florin (1993) has called “realia”. The analysis also includes geographical names and personal names, the latter of which do not seem to be always included in such analyses. The extracts above contain examples of realia and names of different kinds, most notably perhaps the idea of juhannusruusujen tuoksu (the scent of a type of white rose typical of Finland in midsummer, which brings to my mind at least the beginning of life and the beauty of youth) as well as the personal names Harjunpää (rendered as Harjunpaa), Norri and the place name Pasila. As realia are culture-specific, they do not necessarily exist in the target language culture (Florin 1993: 122–123), which makes it possible that the translation does not quite “taste” like the original.

Translators have to make compromises between preserving what is culturally specific and making the original understandable in the target-language culture. In this thesis I will look at the ways this compromise has been realised. Hence, in addition to considering Finnish culture-bound realia and names in the source language texts, the thesis also focuses on the strategies that the translators have used in translating them. Translation strategies, especially strategies for translating culture-bound items, have aroused interest in the past. In Finland, however, what is usually studied is the way originally English texts have been rendered in Finnish. In my thesis, I am going to do the opposite, that is, examine how Finnish texts have been translated into English.

Third, I will consider some of the factors that may have influenced the translator’s choice of strategy. Thus my study also aims at looking for an explanation for the choice of strategy. It has been suggested that the choice of translation strategy is governed by socio-cultural facts such as norms – that translation aims at fulfilling norms and promoting certain values (Chesterman 1997: 172; Toury 1995: 54). It has been claimed, for instance, that what is termed ”Anglo-American culture” prefers domesticating strategies (Venuti 1995: 1) as a norm. After the analysis of the two English translations I will be able to comment on this claim in the context of translating from Finnish into English.

My research questions could be summarised as follows: What realia items are there in the two novels? What strategies did the translators use to translate the novels? How could we explain their choice of strategy? Could the existence of a norm or norms explain
their choice of strategy? Do the translations support the claim that translation into English favours domesticating strategies as a norm? The aim of this thesis is not to criticise the translators’ solutions, but to conduct a descriptive study to find out what happens to culture-bound items when translating from a demographically small language culture to the dominant English-language culture.

The two novels analysed in my thesis are Matti Yrjänä Joensuu’s crime novels Harjunpää ja poliisin poika, published in 1983, and Harjunpää ja pahan pappi, published in 2003. The former was translated into English in 1986 by Raili Taylor under the title Harjunpaa and the stone murders, and the latter in 2006 by David Hackston under the title The Priest of Evil. The translations were published in London and targeted to British (and perhaps European or international) audiences. I chose these books because, in addition to their “Finnishness”, these two are the only Harjunpää novels ever translated into English. In addition, extracts of another translation of The Priest of Evil and of yet another novel, Harjunpää ja rakkauden lait, have been published in English, but these are not included in the study. (See Joensuu 1985a; Joensuu 1985b and Joensuu 2003b.)

Between the novels as well as their translations, there is a time gap of 20 years. This may mean that the translations of the two novels are quite different, as the translators may have used different strategies to render the realia items in the novel. I have already argued that norms may explain the choice of strategy. Instead of being stable, translation norms may change over time (Toury 1995: 62) and, as the use of translation strategies is thought to be tied to norms, a change in norms may result in a change in the use of translation strategies. The two texts make it possible not only to take a look at translation norms but also at the potential diachronic change in these norms.

The familiarity of English-speaking and international audiences with Finnish culture and society may well have increased in the past 20 years and this may have influenced translation norms and translation strategies. Finland has joined the European Union and is in constant political dialogue with Great Britain and all other European Union member states, which has perhaps made it better known in Britain and Europe. On the other hand, Finland is still a small “peripheral” country in Northern Europe and, in the long term at least, it may interest few people only. However, I am assuming that the degree of familiarity of British people and the English-speaking world with Finnish culture has increased and that this may have affected the translation strategies that the two translators
have chosen. The two Harjunpää crime novels make it possible to examine how both time and (the assumedly increased) familiarity with Finnish culture have affected the translation strategies chosen by the two translators.

In the second chapter I will introduce the author, his novels, and the translators of the two novels examined in this study. Chapters three and four will deal with the central concepts of the study, that is, culture-bound items, or realia, and translation strategies. I will also present the classifications that I will use in analysing the texts. In the fifth chapter I will then outline factors influencing translators’ choice of strategy and talk about translation norms especially. Chapter six presents the results of the analysis. I will discuss the results in chapter seven and offer my concluding remarks in chapter eight.
2 MATTI YRJÄNÄ JOENSUU AND HARJUNPÄÄ CRIME NOVELS

This chapter serves as a brief introduction to Matti Yrjänä Joensuu’s crime writing. I will also outline briefly the plots of the two novels, *Harjunpää ja poliisin poika* and *Harjunpää ja pahan pappi*. Lastly, I will say a few words about the translators of the two novels and their translations.

2.1 The author and his novels

Matti Yrjänä Joensuu (born 1948) is one of the best known Finnish crime writers. According to his publisher, Otava (Otava 2006), *Harjunpää ja pahan pappi* was the most popular domestic crime novel in Finland in 2003. Joensuu has won altogether nine prizes in Finland and elsewhere for his crime novels, including the Finnish State Award for Literature in 1982, the major Finnish award for crime fiction, the Clew of the Year, in 1985, 1994 and 2004, and the Kaliber prize for the best crime novel of the year awarded by the Swedish Radio in 1995 (Otava 2006). Two of his novels have been short-listed for Finland’s most prestigious literary award, the Finlandia Prize, and his latest book was recently nominated for the Glass Key, the major prize for crime fiction competed across the Scandinavian countries (Cornwell 2006: para. 5–6).

Joensuu has also achieved some additional international fame, at least in England. Quite recently, in the spring of 2006, Joensuu joined “the Bloody Foreigners’ tour” of England introducing “the best crime fiction in translation” together with the translator of his latest novel, David Hackston. Joensuu was accompanied by such authors as Cuba’s Leonardo Padura, France’s Didier Daeninckx, Louis Sanders and Dominique Manotti, and Italian Gianrico Carofiglio. During the tour, Joensuu talked especially about the English translation of his latest novel (The Finnish Institute 2007: para. 4) and met Bob Cornwell, who interviewed him and his translator (Cornwell 2006: para. 1–2). The tour was arranged by three independent publishers (Serpent’s Tail, Bitter Lemon Press and Arcadia) (The Finnish Institute 2007: para. 4).
In addition to being a writer, Joensuu has been working as a policeman in Helsinki. Thus he knows what he writes about. According to Alanko (2006: 3), who interviewed Joensuu for a Finnish TV-magazine promoting a TV-series on crime writing, it was his work as a policeman and the distorted image people had of police work that drove Joensuu to write his first Harjunpää novel. He wrote his first novel, *Väkivallan virkamies*, in 1976 to paint a realistic picture of police work in Finland – a picture different from that given by movies, TV series and literature. Joensuu also appeared in this TV-series in an episode dealing with “realistic crime novels” and talked about his work as a policeman and as an author.

Joensuu has written altogether 11 crime novels during the past 30 years or so, 10 of them Harjunpää novels. The first Harjunpää novel, *Väkivallan virkamies*, was published in 1976 by his present publisher, Otava. *Harjunpää ja poliisin poika*, one of the two novels analysed in this thesis, was published in 1983. *Harjunpää ja pahan pappi* is the tenth and latest Harjunpää novel, published in 2003. It is the other novel analysed in this study.

The protagonist of Joensuu’s novels is Detective Inspector Timo Harjunpää. Or those are his rank and name as they have been translated in *Harjunpää and the stone murders* in 1986. Later on, in *The Priest of Evil*, he appears as Chief Inspector Timo Harjunpää. In Finnish his rank changes from *ylikonstaapeli* in *Harjunpää ja poliisin poika* to *rikosylikonstaapeli* in *Harjunpää ja pahan pappi* 20 years later.

There is something about the novels that never changes. All Harjunpää novels describe the work of Timo Harjunpää and his colleagues in Helsinki and its surrounding areas. Thus the physical setting of the novel remains markedly Finnish. This explicitly Finnish setting of the books makes them an abundant source of culture-bound items.

Even though Joensuu’s *Harjunpää* books can be categorised as crime novels, some literary critics have argued that they deviate from the ”standard” formula for detective stories, assuming there is one. At least Ingström writing about best-selling Finnish crime writers for *Books from Finland*, a quarterly English-language magazine promoting books from and about Finland, argues that in Finland detective stories are usually crafted according to a recognisable formula but that Joensuu’s writing deviates from it. She argues that if we arranged some Finnish crime writing on a scale from the most formulaic to the most individual, we would find Joensuu almost at the individual end of the scale (Ingström 2006: para. 2 and 16). According to Ingström (2006: para. 14), Joensuu’s books have
increasingly become “melancholy prose” not normally associated with detective stories and his books are “really meditations over various kinds of social deprivation”. She also points out that Joensuu has an innovative method of using concrete features of crimes – dead bodies, crime scenes, victims and criminals – as a basis for heavily loaded symbols. Ingström believes that Joensuu’s concern with the requirements of the genre has diminished and his obsession with affliction and deprivation has increased (Ingström 2006: para. 15).

In his review of Joensuu’s crime fiction, which includes an interview with Matti Yrjänä Joensuu, Jarmo Papinniemi writing for Books from Finland also emphasises the realism of the Harjunpää crime novels as their distinctive feature. He eloquently compares Joensuu to such Swedish authors as Maj Sjöwall, Per Wahlöö and Henning Mankell, who resemble each other in that their narratives concentrate on social reality and “expose the darker sides of society and the day-to-day misery and suffering which gives rise to crime” (Papinniemi 2006: para. 1–2). Also Hannula (1985: 231), writing for Books from Finland more than twenty years ago and introducing in his text Joensuu and the “[t]hree extracts from the novel Harjunpää ja rakkauden lait (‘Harjunpää and the laws of love’)”, points to Joensuu’s similarity with Sjöwall and Wahlöö.

Hannula writes that in addition to his realism, Joensuu “opens up wider social perspectives and emphasises that human responsibility is world-wide”. Hannula argues that this links Joensuu ethically closer with what he categorises as the American detective story tradition represented by such authors as Raymond Chandler than with what he calls the Anglo-Saxon police story typified by the works of Ed McBain (Hannula 1985: 232–233). According to Hannula (1985: 233) “[t]he central themes … for Joensuu, [are] people’s cries for help and the lack of a universal language that allows them to go unheard”. This difference in style could contribute to the potential difficulty in translating the text for British and international audiences.

Joensuu’s books could, then, be categorised as realistic, picturing crimes, the wrong-doers behind the crimes and the individual and social backgrounds of those crimes. Presenting the day to day misery and suffering of individuals and families behind the crimes that he describes, Joensuu participates in social critique of Finnish society. In Joensuu’s Harjunpää novels, Finnish social realia are thus perhaps more relevant to the story than in purely fictional texts. They seem to contribute to the authenticity of his crime stories, blurring the line between the fictional and the real.
Next I will give short plot summaries of the two novels analysed in this thesis.

2.2 Harjunpää ja poliisin poika (Harjunpaa and the stone murders)

In Harjunpää ja poliisin poika (Harjunpaa and the stone murders) Detective Inspector Timo Harjunpää (written Harjunpaa in the translation) and his colleagues investigate a series of murders in Helsinki. First a body is found on the beach in Kaisaniemi, almost in the middle of Helsinki, the victim’s shoelaces tied together. Soon another body is found deeper in the suburbs of Helsinki. Harjunpää finds out that some teenagers may be responsible for the crimes. The novel describes “young people who use gratuitous violence in an exceptionally cruel way, meaninglessly” (Hannula 1985: 233).

The book not only describes the crimes, the crime scenes and the investigations conducted by Harjunpää and his colleagues in detail, but it also reveals the story of the youngsters behind the crimes and thus gives the reader a clear picture of the possible reasons behind their cruel behaviour. The book talks about the individual suffering and the family tragedy of Mikael, one of the boys behind the cruelties. He is being beaten up by his father while his mother does nothing but watch his son being abused. Leo, the other of the two boys, has a broken home as well. His father is in jail somewhere in Sweden and his mother spends her unemployed time drinking. All the experiences make the boys let out their despair through irrational acts of violence. But the novel also relates to society at large, to crimes committed by children in general. At least Joensuu said in the interview conducted by Cornwell (2006) that as a police officer, he had had “a ringside seat” and could see the way things were going in society. He wrote about crimes committed by children in the 1980s, and then, not surprisingly to him, “in 2001, this problem hit the headlines with a double murder committed by teenagers” (Cornwell 2006: para. 17).
2.3 Harjupää ja pahan pappi (The Priest of Evil)

*Harjupää ja pahan pappi (The Priest of Evil)* tells us about a series of mysterious metro (or underground) accidents in Helsinki and the man behind those accidents. This man is pictured as mentally disturbed. He sees himself as some sort of a priest, worships his own goddess *Maammo* and sacrifices people to her by pushing them under underground trains. Once again the book not only tells about the crimes and their investigation but reveals the individual mind behind those crimes and presents social critique, this time aimed at cuts on mental health services.

Papinniemi writes that working as a policeman in Finland in the 1990s, Joensuu noticed that the numbers of crimes committed by mental patients began to rise in the early 1990s, when Finland was in economic recession and spending cuts started to affect mental health services. In his novel, Joensuu criticises this tendency to leave patients without proper treatment and let them commit crimes, with the result that they are eventually put in prison (Papinniemi 2006: para. 9–10). The book also tells us about the individual suffering of a bullied boy, Matti. He suffers from the divorce of his parents, an abusive mother, and bullying at school. Matti escapes his troubles by “retreating into an imaginary world” (Papinniemi 2006: para. 13). He also becomes an easy target for the Priest looking for somebody vulnerable to help him in his sacred mission of killing people.

Now, I will turn to the translations of the two books. I will first say a few words about the translators and then move on to the translations themselves.
2.4 The translators and their translations

According to Joensuu’s publisher (Otava 2006), Harjunpää novels have been translated into a total of thirteen languages. According to Fennica, the Finnish National Bibliography database maintained by the Finnish National Library,¹ to date only two Harjunpää novels have been translated into English. Harjunpaa and the stone murders appeared in English in 1986, published in the United Kingdom by Victor Gollancz. In the United States, the translation was published under the name The Stone Murders by the St. Martins Press also in 1986. The Priest of Evil was published in English only by Arcadia Books in London in 2006. I will analyse the translations published in the United Kingdom.

In addition to the two novels translated into English, extracts from Harjunpää ja pahan pappi have been published in English in Books from Finland 3/2003 (Joensuu 2003b). These extracts were translated into English by Herbert Lomas. Similarly, extracts from yet another Harjunpää crime novel, Harjunpää ja rakkauden lait (Harjunpää and the laws of love, published in 1985) were published in Books from Finland 4/1985 (see Joensuu 1985a and Joensuu 1985b). The latter extracts were translated by Aili and Austin Flint. In the analysis I will concentrate on the full-length translations only.

The translator of Harjunpaa and the stone murders, Raili Taylor, does not have an extensive record of publications and she seems to have disappeared from the Finnish translating circles. I have consulted Fennica, the Finnish National Bibliography database, and Arto, the Reference Database of Finnish Articles,² and they only mention Raili Taylor in the context of Harjunpaa and the stone murders (or the American version) and in the context of two Finnish articles that she has written herself. One of the articles is about whiskey in Ireland and it was published in Etiketti in 1995, a leaflet published by the Finnish state-owned company Alko selling alcohol in Finland. The other one is a portrait of a Canadian crime writer, Howard Engel, and it was published in a magazine for lovers of crime fiction, Ruumiin kulttuuri, in 1989. Beyond this, it has proved impossible to find out

¹ The database contains references to monographs, serials, maps, non-book material and computer records published or in other way produced in Finland. It also includes publications published outside Finland but with a Finnish author or related to Finland.

² The ARTO database is an index of articles from approximately 700 Finnish journals. ARTO contains journal article references and (occasionally) references to articles in monographs, beginning from 1990.
who Raili Taylor was, why she translated the book, what merits she had – and where she disappeared after translating the novel.

David Hackston is easier to track. Bob Cornwell met both Joensuu and Hackston in London in 2006 when they were joining “the Bloody Foreigners tour” introducing translated crime writing in England. On the basis of his interview, Cornwell (2006: para. 35) writes that Hackston has lived in Helsinki since 2001, where he works as a translator. He graduated in Scandinavian Studies from University College London in 1999. According to Kääntäjä (2007: 6), a publication produced for members of the Finnish Association of Translators and Interpreters, Hackston is now pursuing studies in Finnish at the University of Helsinki. A search in Fennica reveals that in addition to the Priest of Evil Hackston has translated seven books originally written in Finnish or dealing with Finland, including Reko Lundán’s play Can you hear the howling? : a play in two acts (originally titled Teillä ei ollut nimiä, published in 2001 and translated in 2002). Hackston has also contributed to the translation of three additional books, including Jonathan Moorhouse’s Finnish Literature Society: 175 years (Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura: 175 vuotta, published and translated in 2006). According to Arto, the Reference Database of Finnish Articles, from 2003 onwards, Hackston has also regularly published translated extracts, poems and book reviews in Books from Finland (altogether 12 items). In 2007 Hackston received the Finnish State Award for Foreign Translators in (Kääntäjä 2007: 6).

The following chapters present an outline of the main concepts used in this study: culture, culture-bound item, translation strategy and norm. I will also introduce categorisations of culture-bound items and strategies for culture-bound items that seem helpful in the analysis of the two novels.
3 REALIA

This chapter seeks to explain the term culture-bound or realia item and present categorisations of realia that will help in understanding and analysing them.

3.1 Culture

"Culture" is a term that defies easy description. It is a term widely debated in disciplines such as sociology, philosophy, anthropology and others. It is beyond the scope of this thesis to address this question in detail. Here I will only take up two definitions of the term.

Katan (1999) explains how definitions of culture can either emphasise culture as “high culture”, as a product, or as a shared system for interpreting reality. Katan himself proposes a definition that emphasises culture as “a shared system for interpreting reality and organizing experience” (Katan 1999: 17). For Katan (1999, 17, 21), culture is not visible as a product, but internal, collective, acquired rather than learned and constantly negotiated by those involved, in other words, subject to change.

For the purposes of this study I have, however, adopted the definition by anthropologist Edward B. Tylor. His definition is “[o]ne of the oldest and most quoted definitions of culture” (Katan 1999: 16) and it also covers cultural traits and products of culture that Katan’s (1999) definition seems to disregard. Tylor (1920 [1871] defined culture as the “complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society”. To some, this understanding of culture might not seem entirely satisfying, but it is perhaps justifiable in a study that concentrates on the way culture is visible through a novel to its audiences.

The relationship between language (or a text) and culture is complex, too. Importantly, languages could at least be thought reflect the reality, knowledge, customs and habits of people living in a culture. In their vocabularies languages may, for instance, make explicit references to culture-specific artefacts (e.g. clothes and food), institutions and
traditions (Davies 2003: 68) specific to a certain culture. I will next concentrate on these culture-specific references and their translation.

### 3.2 Culture-specific references or realia

Nedergaard-Larsen (1993) has used the term “culture-bound elements”, Aixelá (1996) “culture-specific items”, Pedersen (2005 and 2007) “extralinguistic culture-bound references (ECR)” and Florin (1993) “realia” for references specific to a culture. I will use the term “realia”. According to Florin, realia give a source-cultural flavour to a text by expressing local and/or historical colour (1993: 123). He has defined the term in the following way:

> Realia (from the Latin *realis*) are words and combinations of words denoting objects and concepts characteristic of the way of life, the culture, the social and historical development of one nation and alien to another. Since they express local and/or historical color they have no exact equivalents in other languages. (Florin 1993: 123.)

We can make a basic distinction between intra- and extralinguistic phenomena, and realia can be thought to belong to the latter. According to Nedergaard-Larsen (1993: 209), the term “culture-bound element” is often used to refer to “the non-linguistic sphere, to different phenomena or events that exist in the source language culture”. According to Leppihalme (2001: 139), realia can be said to be “lexical elements (words or phrases) that refer to the real world ‘outside language’”. Leppihalme, however, also points out that “[t]he distinction between extra- and intralinguistic, is, of course, somewhat artificial, for when we deal with words, we necessarily also deal with language, even if the words themselves refer to the world outside” (Leppihalme 2001: 139). Nedergaard-Larsen (1993: 210) says that “the extralinguistic element is present in language – otherwise there would be no translation problem – and decides among other things which words actually exist, and how reality is classified.”
According to Florin (1993: 122–123), realia are bound up with the “universe of reference of the original culture” and those universes never totally overlap with one another, and so realia do not have exact equivalents in other languages (Florin 1993: 122–123). This means that their translation is not necessarily an easy task: They can be regarded as a source of what Nedergaard-Larsen (1993: 210) terms as “extralinguistic culture-bound problems” to the translator. Realia can also cause what Leppihalme (1997: viii) has called “culture bumps”, that is, problems in communication between representatives of different cultural backgrounds. “Culture bumps” – or culture-bound items causing culture bumps – may hinder communication of the meaning to readers in another culture. The meaning of a text may remain unclear, become misunderstood, or the reader may fail to understand it altogether (Leppihalme 1997: viii). And even when the target audience is able to relate the culture-bound entity to something similar in their own culture, the associations available to source-culture readers may remain out of their reach (Davies 2003: 67).

As an example of realia, Florin (1993) mentions things like *samovars* and concepts like *samizdat*. Leppihalme (2001, 139) brings up such Finnish cultural realia as *arkipyhä*, *paritalo* and *lakkiaiset*. In Joensuu’s Harjunpää crime novels, there are several comparable examples of such words. For example, Joensuu writes about *kossu* (a close but less “classy” equivalent to vodka in Finland) and *juhannusruusujen tuoksu* (the fragrance of a type of roses blooming in Finland around midsummer). He also writes about such things as *lasten punainen huopatossu* (referring to a certain type of children’s shoes used in winter) and *ulkohuussi* (outdoor toilet facilities outside many summer cottages in Finland).

Note that realia do not necessarily cause “culture bumps” to the readers of translations. Translators can be seen as “language and communication experts” (Leppihalme 1997: ix, 19) who may overcome the potential problems caused to readers by culture-bound elements. The translator can be seen to work as a cultural mediator between the source culture and the target culture and as a decision-maker who is responsible for communicating the meaning of the source text to target-language readers (Leppihalme 1997: ix, 19). The extent of necessary “translatorial manipulation” required in each case depends on the translator’s assessment of the difference between the target-language readers’ and the source-language readers’ cultural knowledge (Chesterman 1997: 185). For instance, some culture-bound items may be familiar to or otherwise tolerated in the target-language culture whereas others are more unfamiliar. As a cultural mediator, language and
communication expert and decision-maker, it is, then, the translator who estimates how well realia are known in the target language culture and how to communicate the source text’s meaning to the target-language audience.

I will discuss the strategies that the translator can resort to when translating realia in the following chapter. Now I will present some classifications of realia that will help in understanding better what realia really are about and in analysing the realia in the novels.

3.3 Classifications of realia

Realia may be classified in several ways. I will present Florin’s (1993) and Nedergaard-Larsen’s (1993) classifications here, as they will serve as a basis for the analysis in this study. As their classifications include some types of proper nouns but not personal names, I will also take some ideas from such authors as Aixelá (1996), Davies (2003) and Pedersen (2005, 2007) who have included personal names in their analyses of realia. It should be noted that all classifications are always only simplifications of real life: not all real-life phenomena fit such categorisations. Thus in the material of this study there are realia that do not fit any of the categories presented below. There is also some overlap between the categories, especially between personal names and some of the other categories. The situation would, however, probably be the same with any other categorisation. The classifications used in this study only serve as a tool in recognising realia and as a basis for analysing the ways to translate them. The purpose is not to look for a perfect classification.

Florin classifies realia thematically, according to the material or logical groups they belong to; geographically, according to the locations in which they are used; and temporally, according to the historical period they belong to (1993: 123). The thematic category covers ethnographical realia, i.e. realia that belong to everyday life, work, art, religion, mythology, and folklore of a culture (e.g. First of May and Valentine Day), and social and territorial realia (e.g. state and canton). The geographical category includes realia that belong to one language only (subcategories: microlocal realia, local realia, national realia, regional realia and international realia) and realia alien to both languages.
of time, realia can be either modern or historical (Florin 1993: 123–124).

It seems to me that in Florin’s classification the same realia could be categorised in different ways, depending on whether their thematic, geographic or temporal aspect is emphasised. For example, I would categorise the Russian *borschcht* (traditional soup) as both ethnographical and national realia, belonging to the modern times as well as to history.

Florin’s classification alone may not be the most helpful in the actual analysis of texts but it pays the necessary attention to the geographical and temporal aspects of realia. What is considered foreign source culture realia in a target culture may change in the course of time, as is the case with, for example, the word *tsunami*. Florin (1993) points out that whereas some realia words are unfamiliar in the target language, others may well be accepted in the target language and even become included in its vocabulary. Also Aixelá (1996) points out that in the course of time objects, habits or values once restricted to one community may come to be shared by others. If the audience is familiar with source language realia, realia will not hinder or prevent communication, even without a “special approach”, that is, when realia are translated in a “conventional way” (Florin 1993: 123) (whatever this means). And it is even more likely today, as time and globalisation may make foreign realia more familiar than earlier, as Leppihalme (2001: 144) has suggested. This point seems important to me as I am analysing the translations of two novels with a twenty-year time gap between them. It may well be that their translators have different approaches to realia, reflecting the temporal change in familiarity with foreign realia. I will return to this point later in the discussion.

Geographically, Florin’s classification suggests that Finnish-culture-bound realia may cause translation problems for a translator in one country but not in another. This idea is also expressed by Aixelá (1996: 58), who refuses the idea of static, permanent culture-specific items and argues that they are “linked to a pair of languages in use”. In other words, a culture specific item “does not exist of itself, buts as the result of a conflict arising from any linguistically represented reference in a source text, which … poses a translation problem … in the target-language culture” (Aixelá 1996: 57). Davies (2003: 69) points out that the word *Halloween*, for instance, would be likely to present a problem if it were translated into Chinese. If the same text were to be translated into French where readers are more familiar with the term, it might not be seen as a culture-specific item at all. Similarly,
Leppihalme has noted that “the more distant the source and target cultures, the harder it often is to find the appropriate word” (2001: 139). These remarks seem important for the purposes of my study because they point to the fact that deciding on what is potentially a realia item is not an automatic task, but is based on the judgement made by the translator – and the analyser – about the readers’ ability to understand the term. Sometimes what seems familiar outside the country’s borders may not be as familiar everywhere outside its borders. Of course, also the knowledge of the translator may influence his or her judgement of what counts as realia. In other words, what is considered realia also often depends on inter-individual differences.

Nedergaard-Larsen’s classification seems more applicable to the practical analysis of the texts and I will next introduce her classification. Nedergaard-Larsen (1993: 210–211) divides realia into four main groups: geography, history, society and culture. These are then further divided into subcategories. For example, the group of geographical realia is divided into two groups, one including geography, meteorology and biology, and the other one cultural geography. Examples of cultural geography include regions, towns, roads and streets (as Helsinki and Pasila in Harjunpää novels). Nedergaard-Larsen’s classification (1993: 211) with her categories, subcategories and examples is presented below in Table 1.
**TABLE 1. Classification of realia (Nedergaard-Larsen 1993).**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Extralinguistic culture-bound problem types</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Geography etc</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>geography</td>
<td>mountains, rivers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>meteorology</td>
<td>weather, climate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>biology</td>
<td>flora, fauna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cultural geography</td>
<td>regions, towns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>roads, streets etc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>History</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buildings</td>
<td>monuments, castles etc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>events</td>
<td>wars, revolutions, flag days</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>people</td>
<td>well-known historical persons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Society</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>industrial level</td>
<td>trade and industry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(economy)</td>
<td>energy supply etc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>social organisation</td>
<td>defence, judicial system</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>police, prisons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>local and central authorities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>politics</td>
<td>state management, ministries</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>electoral system, political parties</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>politicians, political organisations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>social conditions</td>
<td>groups, subcultures</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>living conditions, problems</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ways of life, customs</td>
<td>housing, transport, food, meals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>clothing, articles for everyday use</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>family relations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Culture</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>religion</td>
<td>churches, rituals, morals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ministers, bishops</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>religious holidays, saints</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>education</td>
<td>schools, colleges, universities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>lines of education, exams</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>media</td>
<td>TV, radio, newspapers, magazines</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>culture, leisure activities</td>
<td>museums, works of art</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>literature, authors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>theatres, cinemas, actors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>musicians, idols</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>restaurants, hotels</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nightclubs, cafés</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sports, athletes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Nedergaard-Larsen’s classification does not take into account personal names of fictional characters, different from historical and political figures mentioned by her. Such names, however, contribute to the cultural flavour of the novels in important ways, and I have wanted to include them in my analysis alongside, for instance, geographical names. It is to proper nouns and, especially, personal names that I now turn briefly.

It is not an entirely foreign idea to include all personal names in a study focusing on realia. Recently, Pedersen (2005, 2007) has studied proper names, including both non-fictional and fictional personal names, alongside with other types of realia. Similarly, for instance, Davies (2003) and Aixelà (1996) deal with proper names, including not only geographical names (e.g. names of towns and streets) but also personal names, in their analyses of realia.

Aixelà in fact distinguishes only between two basic categories of culture-specific items: “proper nouns” and “common expression”. The category of proper nouns covers names and nicknames (fictional and non-fictional), whereas the category of “common expression” covers all the rest of culture-specific items, the “world of objects, institutions, habits and opinions restricted to each culture and that cannot be included in the field of proper names” (Aixelà 1996: 59). Proper nouns can either be ordinary, that is, unmotivated, or meaningful. In the latter case the fictional and non-fictional names have cultural associations and thus have “meaning of themselves” (Aixelà 1996: 59). It seems that my material contains almost always ordinary, unmotivated names or people and places. Therefore, I will not go into meaningful proper names here in more detail. (See for instance Manini 1996 who concentrates on “meaningful literary names” and Vermes 2003 who deals with names, including “names that carry sense”.) The division of realia only in two different categories does not seem helpful in the analysis of texts. Therefore, I have wanted to include personal names as an additional category to Nedergaard-Larsen’s (1993) more detailed categorisation.

The proper names that the Harjunpää novels seem to contain fall mostly under the headings of place names (names of countries and regions, names of towns, villages and the like, names of buildings and man-made structures, including street names), personal names (forenames, surnames, nicknames, names of well-known historical figures) and other names (names of works of art including book titles, names of organisations and institutions) (about different types of proper names, see Särkkä 2007). Table 2 presents how these could
fit in to Nedergaard-Larsen’s (1993) otherwise useful categorisation. Of course, this classification is somewhat arbitrary, as are all classifications of real world phenomena, but it makes Nedergaard-Larsen’s (1993) otherwise helpful classification more useful in the analysis of the texts. I have placed brand names under the category of social realia, as in the two novels they refer to brands of clothes, food, alcohol and the like, which generally belong to the category of social realia.

TABLE 2. Names in the classification of realia.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Geography (and cultural geography)</th>
<th>place names, including names of countries and regions, names of towns, villages, street names names of buildings and man-made structures (other than historical buildings and cultural sites)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>History</td>
<td>historical buildings, well-known historical figures</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Society</td>
<td>names of organisations and institutions, referring to, for instance, police and local authorities names of politicians</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Culture</td>
<td>names of works of art including book titles, names of artists, names of cultural places</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal names</td>
<td>forenames and surnames label names invented names</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All in all, the classification of realia provided by Nedergaard-Larsen (1993) seems to be helpful in understanding and analysing realia in the two Harjunpää novels. The classification helps capture many of the different types of realia in the books. As the books contain so many typically Finnish names and the ways they have been translated vary, it seems that a slight alteration of Nedergaard-Larsen’s classification is needed to include
personal names in the analysis – just as she includes geographical names in her classification. At this point, Florin’s (1993) classification does not seem helpful in the actual analysis of the texts, as I suggested above. However, I feel inclined to bear in mind his classification and remarks about the temporal (and geographical) aspects of realia. His ideas about the temporal changes in realia may well help in analysing the differences between the two books written and translated with an interval of 20 years between them.

Next I will turn to the concept of translation strategy and the potential strategies that translators have at their disposal when encountering foreign culture realia.
4 TRANSLATION STRATEGIES

When translating a text and encountering culture-bound items, including names, the translator can resort to different translation strategies. This chapter seeks to define the concept of translation strategy and to introduce potential translation strategies for realia.

4.1 The concept of translation strategy

There are several ways of defining the term “translation strategy”. I will base this chapter on Lörscher’s definition as it appears to be one of the most widely used or cited definitions in Translation Studies and as it seems suitable for the purposes of my study. Lörscher defines the term “translation strategy” in the following way.

A translation strategy is a potentially conscious procedure for the solution of a problem which an individual is faced with when translating a text segment from one language into another (Lörscher 1991: 76).

The quote reveals that to Lörscher (1991: 77) translation strategies are problem-oriented. Problem-orientedness means that he regards translation strategies as procedures for solving translation problems (1991: 80). In other words, he thinks that translators resort to translation strategies when they encounter translation problems. Second, Lörscher’s view of strategies is psycho-linguistically motivated as the wording “potentially conscious” may imply. His interest lies in translation as a mental process, in “what goes on in the translator’s head” when translating a text (1991: 7). Lörscher (1991: 77) thinks that both the translation problem and the strategies used by the translator are potentially conscious, because “only those phenomena are interpreted to be problems which the subjects consider to be problems”. In addition to problem-orientedness and potential consciousness, Lörscher suggests that translators are goal-oriented in their search for a suitable translation strategy.
He writes that in his thinking goal-orientedness applies not only to “processes of language” but to human behaviour in general (Lörscher 1991: 77).

Many researchers share Lörscher’s view of strategies at least to some extent. Chesterman (1997: 89–93), for example, considers strategies as problem-oriented, goal-oriented and potentially conscious, and points out that such culture-bound items as realia pose a potential translation problem for a translator. Also Leppihalme (2001: 140) applies Lörscher’s definition of strategy in her study of realia. Some researchers have shared at least some elements of his definition. Jääskeläinen, for instance, has supported Lörscher’s view of goal-orientedness of strategies (1993: 111).

Whereas Lörscher’s view of the goal-orientedness of strategies seems to be widely accepted, both problem-orientedness and potential consciousness of strategies have sometimes been considered as problematic. Jääskeläinen (1993: 111) criticises both of these. She argues that “strategic behaviour also takes place when no problems in the traditional sense exist, for example, when the translator makes unproblematic decisions” (1993: 107). Leppihalme (1997: 25) sees “the smooth, no-problem translating of professionals as a process where the use of strategies has been automatised to such an extent that there is less frequent need to stop to think consciously about problem-solving”. I will use the term strategy in Lörscher’s sense to talk about potentially conscious behaviour in problematic situations, whether the translator actually stops to think about a problem caused by realia or whether he or she just solves the problem on the basis of an automatised selection of a suitable strategy. I also believe that strategies are goal-oriented in the sense that translators bear in mind that they are translating a text for certain purposes and/or at the request of a commissioner.

However, whereas Lörscher (1991) is interested translation as a mental process, I am more interested in the end-products of translation and what strategies the end-products show that the translators have used. Thus, whereas Lörscher (1991: 29) has studied the linguistic performance of translators by using both the translated text and the think-aloud data which the subjects verbalise when translating the text in order to “reconstruct the mental translation strategies used by the translators”, within the scope of my study I will only use the translated texts and their source texts as my data. In the selection of the data I have followed Séguinot (1989: 23), who has argued that “the most obvious source of information about translation strategies is the comparison of the source and the target
texts”. Similarly, Chesterman (1997: 89) has remarked that translation strategies are “forms of textual manipulation” that are “observable from the translation product itself, in comparison with the source text”.

Even though I do not examine the translation process in the sense of what goes on in the translator’s head, I did, however, get some material relating to the translation process of Joensuu’s books: I found out what Matti Yrjänä Joensuu and his translator Hackston consider as potential translation problems in Harjunpää novels. In his interview with Joensuu and Hackston, Bob Cornwell asked whether Joensuu thinks there was “anything particularly Finnish” in his books that might cause his translator a problem. Joensuu thought that police slang, children’s slang and words that do not have equivalents in other languages may cause and have caused problems to his translators (Cornwell 2006: para. 36–37, 42; emphasis added). Hackston agreed that police slang and children’s slang can be problematic (Cornwell 2006: para. 38–41). Hackston did not, however, explicitly mention realia, or “words that do not have equivalents in other languages”. As there is not more of this material about the processing of the text and as I do not have any means of getting comparable material from Taylor, anyway, I will not return to this later in the analysis.

There are a number of ways of grouping and classifying translation strategies and even translation strategies for realia. In the next section I will talk about these classifications and present the classification for strategies for realia used in this study.

### 4.2 Classifications of translation strategies

As to translation strategies in general, a basic distinction between global and local strategies is usually made. Thus I will start by briefly defining this distinction. In the next chapter I will then talk about global strategies. After that I will concentrate on local strategies and present a classification of strategies for realia that is used in the analysis below in chapter six.
4.2.1 Global and local level

Séguinot (1989: 23–24; 39) has made a basic distinction between general or global working strategies and local strategies. Global strategies refer to “the translator’s general principles and preferred modes of action” (Jääskeläinen 1993: 116) and “apply to the whole text” (Leppihalme 1993: 140), whereas local strategies can be said to refer to “the subsequent lower-level decisions and problem-solving activities […] which take place in relation to specific lexical items” (Jääskeläinen 1993: 115) and at “particular points in the text” (Leppihalme 1993: 140). A similar distinction is made by Newmark (1988: 81) between translation methods and translation procedures: whereas the former relate to whole texts, the latter are used for sentences and smaller units of language. In this study I will, however, use the terms global and local strategy.

A global working strategy may determine, for instance, the style to be used in the translation (Jääskeläinen 1993: 115), how “literally” or “freely” to translate the text as a whole (Séguinot 1989: 24), or whether to “foreignize” or “domesticate” (Leppihalme 2001: 140; on foreignising and domesticating see Venuti 1995 and the following section). Local strategies, on the other hand, include decisions concerning “how to translate a certain structure, idea, or a particular item” (Chesterman 1997: 90–91). These items can also include realia. For instance Leppihalme (2001: 140) has pointed out that decisions on how to translate particular realia-type problems involve local strategies.

There may well be a connection between the choice of global and local strategy, so that the selection of lower-level local strategies serves the purpose, for instance, of foreignising or domesticating. Leppihalme suggests that successful realisation of a global strategy is dependent on what is done locally (2001: 140). A translator may for instance retain “a succession of foreign elements in the target text, thus emphasizing the exotic, or to domesticate the foreign” (Leppihalme 2001: 140). Jääskeläinen’s (1993) study supports the idea that there is indeed a link between the choice of global and local strategy. Her case study shows a frequent connection between global and local levels “in the protocols of professional translators and advanced students of translation (i.e., semi-professional translators)” (1993:115–116). As I am investigating texts translated by what I take to be professional translators, I assume that the global strategy – here whether to foreignise or
whether to domesticate – has indeed, at least to some extent, influenced the local strategies for realia chosen by the translators. I will return to this point in the analysis.

Next I will discuss the global strategies of domestication and foreignisation.

4.2.2 Global level: foreignising and domesticating strategies

Séguinot (1989: 24) has pointed out that there are such global-level strategies as “to stay as close to the form of expression of the source text as idiomatic English will allow” and, on the other hand, to distance oneself from the “expression of the source text”. Venuti (1995) has used the terms “foreignisation” (or “foreignization”) and ”domestication” to describe roughly the same phenomenon.

According to Venuti, foreignising translation uses a ”non-fluent style” and, for instance, deliberately includes source language realia in the target text (Venuti 1995: 20). According to Chesterman, foreignising translation includes the realia in the target text without adapting them but borrowing or transferring them directly (Chesterman 1997: 108). Foreignising translation results, then, in a target text that breaks target language conventions and preserves some of the foreignness of the original (Venuti 1995: 20) and even “yields an exotic or strange effect” (Davies 2003: 69).

Domesticating translation, on the other hand, refers to ”fluent” translation (Venuti 1995: 20–21). In domesticating translation ”culture-specific items are translated as target language cultural or functional equivalents, so that they conform to target language norms” (Chesterman 1997: 108). Domestication may also mean, for instance, “adding” or clarifying things (Paloposki & Oittinen 2000: 378). Other instances of domestication may include the changing of names, the whole setting and all references to historical events, persons etc., as Paloposki and Oittinen (2000: 378) suggest. The result of a domesticating global strategy is, ideally, ”a target text which seems normal and familiar to the target audience” (Davies 2003:69).

The distinction between what is foreignised and what is domesticated may be elusive, though. Domestication, for instance, “can entail a wide variety of different things, and marking the boundaries between what is domestication and what is foreignisation is
nearly impossible” (Paloposki & Oittinen 2000: 375). I believe, however, that in the context of realia telling these two apart may be possible, although drawing clear lines may be impossible. We need to look whether realia are transferred directly or adapted by using certain strategies. (See next subsection about strategies and how they are considered to contribute to domestication and foreignisation.)

Venuti himself prefers foreignising translation – at least in translation from a minority language to “hegemonic” English. He argues that domesticating strategies try to impose target-language cultural values on source-language texts by making the translation and the translator invisible (Venuti 1995: 15). Foreignising translation, on the other hand, “breaks target language conventions to preserve some of the foreignness of the original” and thus seeks to “restrain the ethnocentric violence of translation” (Venuti 1995: 20–21). According to Venuti (1995: 20–21), foreignising translation offers a means for “a strategic cultural intervention in the current state of world affairs” where “unequal cultural exchanges” prevail at least between “the hegemonic English-language nations” and “their global others”. “Foreignising translation in English can be a form of resistance against ethnocentrism and racism, cultural narcissism and imperialism in the interests of democratic geopolitical relations” (Venuti 1995: 20–21).

Venuti’s ideas have been questioned by several authors and on several grounds. I will take up some of this criticism towards the proposed superiority of foreignising translation here and return to his ideas again later in chapter five when I address translation norms. As Venuti’s ideas have been widely discussed, I will not be able to cover all the criticism within the scope of my study.

It has been suggested that foreignising may not be justified in all situations. According to Leppihalme, for instance, foreignising strategies may well be legitimate under certain circumstances (2000: 159), but they may as well sometimes lead to unwanted results (2000: 155). The results of her study in the field of drama translation suggest that the foreignising strategy may lead to a translation that is faithful at the verbal level but disregards “pragmatic considerations and differences in source and target semantic-lexical resources”, and thus deprives the play much of its “dramatic tension” (Leppihalme 2000: 160). Cronin (2003: 140-141) has similarly pointed to the downsides of foreignising translation by suggesting that foreignising translation may seem exciting from the point of
view of a dominant culture but threaten the survival of a minority language imitating the more dominant one.

Some scholars have stressed the importance of the audience in choosing a suitable strategy. Paloposki and Oittinen (2000: 386–387) have argued that if translating is seen “as communication between human beings, as an attempt to understand, we cannot accept Venuti’s views as he does not pay enough attention to the readers of a text”. They suggest that translators address different audiences such as child and adult readers differently and take their assumed views and understanding into consideration (2000: 387). Especially in translating for children, foreignising strategies may decrease the child-appeal of a translation, as young readers can be less likely to tolerate “the obscurity, awkwardness and unnatural-sounding phrasing which adults, conscious that they are dealing with a translation, may be more tolerant of” (Davies 2003: 66). Florin (1993: 127) has pointed out that whereas in adventure books foreignising strategies such as transcription can sometimes create a desirable exotic element, in children’s books they may result in a failure to understand.

It has also been suggested that both domestication and foreignisation may be used for several purposes. In their article Paloposki and Oittinen (2000: 387–388) conclude that either of these global strategies can be used for several ends: “[B]oth domestication and foreignisation may spring from a desire to fight against oppression (or from desire to oppress, for that matter)”. Domestication, for instance, may instead of repressing other cultures, aim at the creation of indigenous literary tradition and thus enhancing the status of a minority language (Paloposki & Oittinen 2000: 379–380). Similarly, foreignising translation may not always be “a form of resistance against ethnocentrism and racism” (Venuti 1995: 20–21), but emphasise the difference of the Other and thus “perpetuate stereotypes about the other”, as Shamma’s (2005: 61) study suggests.

The criticism towards Venuti’s ideas seems to derive, at least partly, from the support for different values than that associated with the source-cultural flavour. Chesterman (1997: 175–185) has pointed out that there appear to be several ethical values of translation and these include understanding, clarity, truth and trust. Venuti (1995) seems to value most of all equality in cultural relations achieved with the help of something that could be termed “source-cultural flavour” of translated texts, but it can also be argued that the translator’s job is to eliminate misunderstandings that a source text’s source-culture-
bound features, if translated “unchanged”, could result in (Chesterman 1997: 185). Some of the above criticism reflects this thinking. It is, of course, possible to try and balance both source-cultural flavour and understanding in translation. Florin thinks that both affirming the “otherness” of the original text and communication are important. According to Florin (1993: 125), no communication has been established if readers fail to understand the realia, but the situation is the same if translations lose their local and historical colour (Florin 1993: 127).

Before turning to local-level and potential strategies for realia, I would like to emphasize the goal of this study once again. Whereas Venuti (1995) is prescriptive – as he “makes no secret of his or her own ideological values, and seeks to establish reasons why translators should translate in certain ways” (Chesterman 1997, 171) – my aim is to be descriptive. The aim of this study is thus not to criticise the translators’ solutions, but to find out what happens to realia in translation from a demographically small language culture to English.

### 4.2.3 Local level: potential local-level strategies for realia

There are a number of classifications of strategies on a local level. I will not present any general classifications of translation strategies here (for one such, see for instance Chesterman [1997], or perhaps one could look at Newmark’s [1988] translation procedures), but will focus instead on potential strategies for realia.

Scholars such as Florin (1993), Nedergaard-Larsen (1993) and Aixelá (1996) have presented classifications of translation strategies for realia. However, the classification by Leppihalme (2001) seems clearer and thus more applicable in the analysis of texts. As Leppihalme points out, Nedergaard-Larsen’s (1993) classification is not totally satisfying in its clarity (2001: 140, note 1). The same could be said of Aixelá’s (1996) classification in which at least two classes, “linguistic (non-cultural) translation” and “limited universalization” seem confusingly similar. Leppihalme’s classification also seems more applicable compared than that of Florin’s. On the other hand, Nedergaard-Larsen (1993), Florin (1993) and Aixelá (1996) have made some important points concerning the use of
strategies in certain situations and I have included their remarks in this subsection. In addition, I have taken some ideas from Pedersen’s (2005 and 2007) recent classification that is, according to him, “inevitably somewhat similar” to those of his sources, Leppihalme and Nedergaard-Larsen (Pedersen 2005: 3).


- Direct transfer (pub -> publi)
- Calque (ginger beer -> inkivääriolut)
- Cultural adaptation (Hyde Park Corner -> Esplanadinkulma)
- Superordinate term (Spotted dick -> jälkiruoka)
- Explicitation (the Blitz -> Lontoon pommitukset)
- Addition (translator’s note, glossary, preface, etc.)
- Omission (ricotta cheese in filo pastry -> ricottajuustopasteijoita)

According to Leppihalme (2001: 145), these seven strategies for realia do not cover all the possible ways of dealing with realia in translation, but “offer quite comprehensive coverage”. She remarks that a combination of strategies is also possible. For example, direct transfer or a calque may be complemented by addition (2001: 145). As the translators of the two texts that I am analysing sometimes seem to use strategies that do not fit the categorisation above, I have added two categories called “official equivalent” (see Pedersen 2005 and 2007) and “other strategies” to the categorisation. I will talk about the former at the end of this subsection and I will return to the category “other strategies” as well as practical problems that I encountered in chapter 6.

Next I will present the seven strategies listed by Leppihalme (2001) in more detail and make some comments on them. Before that I will, however, briefly consider how these
local-level strategies might be thought to contribute to domesticating and foreignising
global-level strategies in general. I will make more detailed points as I introduce each strategy.

According to Nedergaard-Larsen (1993: 219), translation strategies can be put on a scale
ranging “from the totally target language-culture-oriented to the totally source-language-
Leppihalme’s (2001) categorisation comes under the title “direct transfer” – can be
considered as the most source language-culture-oriented strategy, whereas cultural
adaptation can be considered as the most target language-culture-oriented (Nedergaard-
Larsen 1993: 219–220). All the other strategies are somewhere between these two poles.
Also Aixelá (1996: 61) has ordered strategies based on their “degree of intercultural
manipulation”, placing what he terms as “repetition of the original reference” on the
“conservative” end of the scale, and “deletion” on the most “substitutive” end of the scale.
Nedergaard-Larsen (1993: 220) remarks, though, that the closeness of a strategy to one
culture or another is not totally fixed. Also Davies (2003) has pointed out that strategies
cannot be definitely placed on a scale ranging from foreignising strategies to domesticating
ones, because different local-level strategies can be used for different purposes. Next, when
presenting each strategy in more detail, I will also try to point out, whenever possible, how
each strategy relates to either the source culture or to the target culture pole.

The following presentation of the seven strategies is mainly based on Leppihalme (2001)
and Nedergaard-Larsen (1993). Remarks by other scholars are indicated separately.

**Direct transfer** means that a realia item is transferred into the target language
directly or with small changes in spelling, or with some indication of the foreign origin of
the term, such as italics. An example of direct transfer from Finnish into English is the
Finnish word *sauna*. Personal and place names, including names of towns and streets, and
names of theatres and night clubs, tend to be transferred directly unless there is a
conventionalized target language version of the name (e.g. *Firenze* -> *Florence*). Fictional
names in children’s literature, science and other fantasy fiction can be an exception, as, in
addition to direct transfer, literal (*Mole* -> *Myyrâ*) or re-creative (*Hogwarts* -> *Tylypahka*)
translations may be used. Direct transfer is often thought to give local colour and contribute
to a foreignising global strategy. On the other hand, “frequent use of direct transfer without compensatory strategies such as explicitation or addition (see below) might puzzle readers” (Leppihalme 2001: 141).

**Calque or loan translation** refers to the rendering of each element of the source-text word or phrase into the target language literally. The term "calque” is essentially used with new formations that enter a language as direct translation. For example, *ginger beer* has been introduced into Finnish by using the calque *inkivääriolut*. According to Pedersen (2005: 5) this strategy – or what he terms as “direct translation” – “could hardly be used on proper names, but it is not uncommon for rendering the names of companies, official institutions, technical gadgetry etc.” In other words, calque is used with common-noun realia and some names. For instance, the French word for parliament, *l’Assemblée Nationale*, can be translated by using the calque *the National Assembly*. Also this strategy is thought to retain local colour but without seeming too exotic. Thus, it seems that this strategy is thought to contribute to a foreignising global strategy as well, at least initially. Over time calques lose their sense of newness and foreignness.

**Cultural adaptation** refers to the replacing of the unfamiliar with familiar (e.g. *Hyde Park Corner* may become *Esplanadinkulma*). This strategy can be used for, for instance, existing proper names of places and persons. "This strategy means transferring the connotations and association of the realia element by using target-cultural functional ‘equivalents’, thus choosing domestication over foreignisation” (Leppihalme 2001: 142). It may well ease the understanding of the idea and the connotations of realia to the target-language audience but create a credibility problem. On the other hand, it may be justified in some situations as, for instance, when translating for children (see also Paloposki and Oittinen’s [2000: 378] comments about cultural adaptation in translating names in children’s literature and new translating cultures).

The fourth potential strategy is the replacement of realia with its **superordinate**, that is, with its higher-order unit (for example *rose* with its superordinate *flower*). Pedersen (2005: 6) has termed a comparable strategy “**generalisation**”, which means “replacing an ECR referring to something specific by something more general”. “Typically, this involves hyponymy, but in a wide sense” (Pedersen 2005: 6). The use of this type of strategy results in less detail and less specificity. In addition, Florin (1993: 125–126) has remarked that the unavoidable result of the communication of the general meaning is the loss of local colour.
Thus this strategy seems to contribute to the domesticating global strategy. However, “[t]he flattening that this strategy often causes is probably unavoidable if the target culture is unfamiliar with the distinctions expressed by the source language” (Leppihalme 2001: 143).

“Explicitation is the technique of making explicit in the target text information that is implicit in the source text” (Klaudy 1998: 80, emphasis added). Explicitation is, in fact “not one kind of operation, but a broader concept” (Klaudy 2000: 104; for a more comprehensive overview of the term see also Englund Dimitrova 2005). Here I will talk about what Klaudy (1998: 83) would call “pragmatic explicitation” and Perego (2003) “cultural explicitation”, that is, explicitation dictated by differences between cultures – the lack of shared general knowledge between the source and the target language communities – which leads the translator to include explanations in the translation. “For example, names of villages and rivers, or of items of food and drink which are well-known to the source language community may mean nothing to the target language audience. In such cases, a translator might for instance write ‘the river Maros’ for Maros, or ‘Lake Fertö’ for Fertö” (Klaudy 1998: 83). I will consider as explicitation only explanatory changes in the text itself, as this is the way Leppihalme’s (2001) delimits the term.

On the text level, explicitation can take either the form of addition of new elements, as in the example above, or, alternatively, specification through replacement (see e.g. Perego 2003: 69, 73). According to Perego (2003: 73) “[t]he term addition is mainly a quantitative label that indicates the presence in the TT of extra items”. In other words, it refers to ”the insertion in the TT of linguistic elements different from those employed in the ST” (Perego 2003: 73). In replacement what is “added” is meaning(s), “though not necessarily … words”, and that “[t]he addition of meaning(s) usually occurs through the replacement of a general and wide-ranging word with a more specific and narrow one” (Perego 2003: 73-74). I will count as addition cases where the original realia item is preserved and something explanatory added to it, and as replacement cases where the original realia item is deleted and replaced by something different that explains its meaning. This does not perhaps coincide with Perego’s logic, but seems clear for the analysis of texts.

According to Leppihalme (2001: 143), the aim of this strategy is to remove potential “culture bumps” and thus ease understanding. On the other hand, this strategy may have its downsides as well: it may lead to the lengthening of the text and irritate some
readers who think it is unnecessary in a globalised world. In addition, although explicitation may help in making connotations and associations or some aspects of them more explicit, this may not be the case. Explicitation may make denotations clearer but connotations are still lost and explicitation does not thus necessarily help with the flattening of the text. This strategy is difficult to label either as domesticating or foreignising, but as it stresses comprehension, it could be mainly seen a strategy of domestication. On the other hand, the two subtypes, addition and replacement, differ from each other in important respects. It seems to me that explicitation in the form of addition could be actually labelled a foreignising strategy, as it preserves the original realia item, and that explicitation in the form of replacement could be labelled a more domesticating strategy, as it erases the original realia item and replaces it by something more general.

It may seem difficult to draw a line between the use of a superordinate term or generalisation and explicitation. Here the ideas of Pedersen (2005: 6) might be of some help. In what is here considered explicitation, the information added is often a hyperonym (Pedersen 2005: 6). For instance a person called Ian Botham could be explicitated a ‘cricket player’ an example of generalisation given by Pedersen 2005). Whereas in generalisation “there is an upward movement on a hyponymy scale, producing a TT item that is less specific than the ST ECR”, in explicitation “the movement goes in the opposite direction, and the technique involves not as much hyponymy as meronomy”. “The person known as ‘Ian Botham’ is many things besides being a cricket player … Yet, the TT ECR disregards all other parts of Botham’s persona, focussing only on his being a cricket player” (Pedersen 2005: 6).

With addition Leppihalme (2001: 144) refers to translator’s note, glossary, preface and other explanatory additions placed outside the text. Above I referred to addition as a form of explicitation, and my use of the term thus differs from that of Leppihalme. I will not discuss the strategy of adding something outside the actual text in more detail, as there were no instances of it in my data.

The last of the seven strategies outlined by Leppihalme (2001) is omission, which means leaving realia or parts of it out of the translation altogether. Translators may opt to omit something that is considered unimportant or redundant or only as adding local colour. It can be argued that “cultural distance makes very detailed specificity unnecessary” (Leppihalme 2001: 144–145). Something that may be of interest for local readers may not
be so for foreign readers and the translator may thus decide to omit it altogether. But, “[o]ccasionally, omission is resorted to precisely to avoid the need to find a rendering for problematic realia” (Leppihalme 2001: 145). This strategy is at the target-cultural end of the scale and it could be said to contribute to the domesticating global strategy.

One additional strategy deserves perhaps to be mentioned here, because it seems to have been used in the translations of Harjunpää novels. It is the strategy of using an official equivalent (Pedersen 2005 and 2007). As an example of official equivalent, Pedersen (2007: 150) mentions the English term ER (as a name of a famous TV-series) translated into Swedish as Cityakuten. In Finnish the conventional translation for the term ER in the context of the TV-series is, quite curiously, teho-osasto, meaning “intensive care unit”.

The strategy of using an official equivalent is, however, different from the other strategies, in that “the process is bureaucratic rather than linguistic” (Pedersen 2005: 3 and Pedersen 2007: 150). According to Pedersen (2007: 174-175), official equivalent is not a strategy per se, but a special status given to a translation of a realia item due to an official decision and/or entrenchment. An official equivalent could originate from any of the baseline strategies (except for omission), or from none of them. Therefore, Pedersen (2007) does not try to separate official equivalents from other strategies in each and every case, especially when the official equivalent is based on direct transfer. In addition to the difficulty of telling the different cases apart, Pedersen (2007: 174-175) justifies his decision by saying that “from a translation point of view, it is rarely necessary, as both strategies [official equivalent and direct transfer] are considered minimal change strategies, which do not alter the ECR”. Pedersen (2007: 150), however, justifies the need for this additional category of official equivalent by pointing out that the existence of official equivalents explains certain translatorial behaviour. The target-language audience “may be so used to the Official Equivalent that they are unlikely to recognize other renderings” (Pedersen 2007: 150). Thus the translator needs to consider using this strategy from time to time. Within the scope of this study I will point out official equivalents on a need to do basis, but I will not analyse how the official equivalents came into being.

There are a number of things that influence the translator’s choice of strategy – both at the global and at the local level. It is to these factors that I now turn.
5 TRANSLATION NORMS

This chapter aims at facilitating the later discussion of the results of the analysis. I will start by briefly pointing out different factors that may influence the translator’s choice of strategy. I will then discuss translation norms in more detail. I will end this chapter by suggesting a norm that may leave its mark on translations from a minor language-culture to a more hegemonic English-language culture.

5.1 Factors influencing translators’ choice of strategy

A number of things may influence the translator’s choice of strategy. Some of them, such as the character of the text, the text’s generic features, the translator’s idea of “average readers”, and the characteristics of source and target languages (see for instance Florin 1993: 126–127), seem to fall within the category involving considerations of global strategies for the whole text. There are also more local-level factors that affect the choice of strategy for realia, such as the importance of realia in the context, the proximity of realia to the reader’s centre of attention, the nature of realia, the relative familiarity of realia or the lack of it and the category to which the realia belong (Florin 1993: 126–127). Another of a number of lists of such factors includes the function of the culture-bound element (description of characters, creation of ambiance – for instance giving local colour – and relevance for plot), its connotations, and media-specific factors (such as redundancy and feedback effect in the context of subtitling) (Nedergaard-Larsen 1993: 238).

For the purposes of this study the distinction made by Williams and Chesterman (2002: 54), however, seems particularly useful. These authors divide the factors influencing the translator’s choice of strategy to those concerning the translator’s cognition (knowledge, attitude), the translation task (text, client, programs) and socio-cultural factors (norms, translation traditions, history etc.). What is particularly useful for this study in their classification is that it takes account of socio-cultural factors, which are of particular interest here. Both Chesterman (1997: 3–4) and Toury (1995: 53) have pointed out that
translators are subject to such socio-cultural factors as norms, and Toury (1995: 54) seems to suggest that socio-cultural factors may pertain to all other factors, as, for instance, the translator’s cognition itself is “influenced, probably even modified by socio-cultural factors”. Thus it would seem that socio-cultural factors affect not only all other factors but also both the global- and local-level considerations as to what strategy to choose.

Also, the influence of socio-cultural factors does not remain at the individual level only. Socio-cultural factors such as norms and values are shared by a community of people. To become a translator in the first place presupposes the acquisition of translation norms, that is, norms determining the suitability of translatorial behaviour which makes it possible for the translator to “play a social role” and to “fulfil a function allotted to him or her as a translator by a community” (Toury 1995: 53).

In this chapter I will concentrate on socio-cultural factors and especially norms. I will later on attempt to examine whether and how the translators’ choice of strategy was governed by norms and what these norms were. The reason for this is both the importance of socio-cultural factors as permeating all the other factors influencing translation, and the fact that they are shared by the members of the (translators’) community. Thus norms will help in bringing the discussion of the two translations analysed in this study to a more general level.

Next I will define what the term “translation norm” means and briefly outline what translation norms there are.

### 5.2 The definition and types of translation norms

Norms can be defined as “correctness notions” (Chesterman 1997: 54) or as “performance instructions” specifying what is permitted and tolerated (Toury 1995: 54–55) in a community. According to Toury’s (1995: 55) norms are

… the translation of general values or ideas shared by a community – as to what is right and wrong, adequate and inadequate – into performance instructions appropriate for and applicable to particular
situations; specifying what is prescribed and forbidden as well as what is tolerated and permitted in a certain behavioural dimension.

As this quote suggests, norms are connected to values: it has been said that values are “translated” into norms (Toury 1995: 55) and that certain norms support certain values (Chesterman 1997: 48). Two of these values I have already briefly discussed: understanding on the one hand and local colour on the other.

In a culture there are norms regulating many areas of life, including professional translation. These norms can be called translation norms (Chesterman 1997: 63–70). They constrain translators’ action insofar as in order to be regarded as a translation in the first place, a text needs to conform to certain norms governing what counts as a translation (Chesterman 1997: 63–70). Therefore, norms serve as criteria according to which behaviour is evaluated (Toury 1995: 55). In addition to the community of translators, there are publishers, editors, proofreaders, directors, producers and other people who control that translators follow norms, “who will bring into heavy discredit or who will not normally allow the publication of works which are too prone to break not only translation norms, but the linguistic and pragmatic conventions of the target language culture” (Aixelá 1996: 65). Thus, understandably, the translator’s choice of strategy can be said to be ultimately “motivated” by norms of translation (Chesterman 1997: 113), both at the global and at the local level.

According to Toury (1995: 55, 64) norms are acquired by an individual translator during his or her socialisation and always imply sanctions, such as even losing one’s earned recognition as a translator. Toury (1995: 64) points out that non-normative behaviour is always a possibility, but that it tends to be the exception in actual practice. Also Chesterman (1997: 76–77) suggests that professional translators tend to conform to translation norms of different types. Toury (1995: 54), however, argues that norms “form a graded continuum”, meaning that some norms are stronger whereas others are weaker, and that in addition to their force, the validity of norms varies (Toury 1995: 54). Norms may change in time, sometimes quickly, sometimes more slowly (Toury 1995: 62). According to Toury (1995: 62–63), in a society there may exist in fact several competing norms at a time, each having its own followers.
Chesterman (1997: 64–70) makes a distinction between *expectancy norms* or *product norms* constituted by the expectancies of the target language readership, and *professional norms* or *process norms* that regulate the translation process itself. Toury’s (1995: 58) perhaps clearer division distinguishes between *preliminary norms* concerning the existence of a translation policy and considerations concerning the directness (direction) of translation, and *operational norms*, that is, decisions made during the translation act itself (Toury 1995: 58–59). Toury (1995: 56) also mentions a third category, *the initial norm*, meaning the translator’s “basic choice” between subjecting him or herself to “the original text, with the norms it has realized” or to “the norms active in the target culture”. Thus, basically, the translation can subscribe either more to the norms of the source text and culture or to the target language and culture, even though also in the more source-culture-oriented translation shifts from the source text are necessary (Toury 1995: 57). The relationship between the initial norm and other types of norms remains somewhat blurry in Toury’s text, but the initial norm has a “superordinance over particular norms which pertain to lower, and therefore more specific levels” (Toury 1995: 57). On the other hand, the two other types of norms might be found to “intersect” the initial norm (Toury 1995: 60).

In any case, in this study I am interested in operational norms governing the translation act itself and, especially, the initial norm that may exist and guide the choice of strategy on individual occasions. My aim is to discuss what norms seem to govern, for instance, the omission of material in translation and what norms seem to govern the selection of material to formulate the target text. I will also discuss whether the translators of Joensuu – generally speaking – adhere more to source or target culture norms.

### 5.3 Foreignisation as a norm in “Anglo-American culture”?

Venuti (1995: 16–17) has argued that in what he calls ”Anglo-American culture”, domestication is the predominant strategy. According to him (1995: 1), in “Anglo-American culture” a translated text is judged acceptable when it “reads fluently” and when the absence of stylistic or linguistic peculiarities makes it seem transparent. Like his idea of
the predominance of domestication over foreignisation, the suggestion that foreignisation is specific to this one particular culture has been questioned.

First of all, for instance Pym (1996: 166) has pointed out that the whole idea of the existence of an “Anglo-American culture” that could be somehow delimited is problematic. However, I take Venuti (1995) to include in his “Anglo-American” culture Great Britain, (at least part of) the target audience of the translations of Joensuu’s novels that I am discussing in this thesis. Bearing in mind that “Anglo-American” culture is a problematic term, I will, however, look at whether the two books give any support to Venuti’s claim – whether there is a norm concerning the choice of global strategy in “Anglo-American” culture and in Great Britain as a part of this all-encompassing entity.

Pym (1996: 170–171) does not see anything particularly English in the “terrible reign of fluency” either. “There is nothing ‘radically English’ about the phenomenon”, he claims and suggests that “the reign of fluency” may well apply to other countries such as Brazil, Spain and France which are considered prestigious cultures (Pym 1996: 171). He points to Toury’s law of interference, according to which the “tolerance of interference … tends to increase when translation is carried out from a ‘major’ or highly prestigious language/culture, especially if the target language/culture is ‘minor’ or weak in any other sense” (Toury 1995: 278), and suggests that one could perhaps detect “non-tolerance of interference” in translation to a relatively superior or prestigious language (Pym 1996: 171). So, if it seems that domestication is the norm, it may well not be a norm typical of English-speaking culture only.

In addition to the position of the target-culture, the choice of domesticating strategy may well have something to do with the initiator of the translation task, depending on whether a translation is initiated in the source or the target culture (Leppihalme (2006: 789). On the basis of her research Leppihalme (2006: 803) suggests that the national origin of the translator may matter. In other words, if translators are native speakers of the target language (native speakers of English in my case), they may aim at fluency, which may not be the case when translators are native speakers of the source language (2006: 803). All this makes the idea of the dominance of foreignisation or domestication an even more complicated thing. Hackston is British, but I do not know Taylor’s national origin, and so I will not return to all of these points later in the analysis or discussion.
6 ANALYSIS OF REALIA IN THE NOVELS AND TRANSLATION STRATEGIES IN THEIR ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS

In this chapter I will turn to the analysis of realia and strategies for realia in the two Harjunpää crime novels. I will, however, first explain my method.

6.1 The method of analysis

In analysing the texts I have first noted realia in the source texts. There were some cases in which I was not sure whether an item was a Finnish realia item or a realia item to English-speaking audiences in the first place. In such cases I have consulted outside sources of information, most notably the Internet and dictionaries.

I have first extracted the types of realia items (see Pedersen 2007: 172), type in this study referring to occurrences of different realia items. To give some idea of the density of realia in the two novels, I have also registered the tokens, that is, the number of occurrences of the same realia items. However, personal names are an exception in the sense that I have only noted their types and not tokens, as they tend to be repeated quite often. To be clear, I have split the data in two, separating personal names (personal names and nicknames, to be precise) from other types of realia.

After the extraction of realia and their translations was carried out, every source text realia item extracted was assigned to one category in the taxonomy outlined in chapter 3. As I anticipated in chapter 3, some cases were ambiguous and could have perhaps been assigned to different categories. I will discuss some problematic cases separately later in this chapter. There were also some special types of realia – or perhaps they should be called realia-like items – such as invented religious names in Harjunpää ja pahan pappi and police terms, most notably those indicating the organisation and ranks of the police in both of the novels. These I will also take up separately in the following subsections.
Next I have mapped the source text – or each individual realia item in the source text – on the target text or on the comparable part of it. This has yielded what Toury (1995: 77) would call “a series of (ad hoc) coupled pairs of replacing + replaced segments”. I have then categorised the coupled pairs according to what local-level strategies have been used to render the realia item. I have counted, in principle, each coupled pair once. I have thus taken into account more than one different rendering of the same realia item in case the same realia item has been rendered in a different way in different contexts, as in such cases coupled pairs have been different on the side of the translations. For example, if the Finnish restaurant *Vanha Kellari* has been first translated as *a nearby restaurant* and then as *Old Cellar*, I have counted this as two different coupled pairs – and the use of two different strategies. So, this realia item and its translation count as one realia item and two translation strategies. With personal names I have not paid attention to the occasional omission or a replacement of a name with a personal pronoun, as it is common to replace a name with a personal pronoun every now and then to avoid repetition.

In most cases, determining what strategy has been used is unproblematic. One special case is when a combination of strategies has been used on one realia item. These cases I will discuss separately in the following subsections. In addition, the strategy of “official equivalent” mentioned by Pedersen (2005 and 2007), as well as other strategies not originally included in the categorisation will be discussed separately. In determining whether official equivalents were used, (especially) with police terms, I have consulted the websites of the Finnish and British police.

After determining what local-level strategies for realia had been used in the two novels, I have tried to draw some general conclusions about their occurrence and establish global-level strategies.

On the basis of my observations I also speculate on the possible tendencies and reasons for the selection of certain strategies in translating realia. I have concentrated on norms. Toury (1995: 55) has pointed out that “[i]nasmuch as a norm is really active and effective, one can […] distinguish regularity of behaviour in recurrent situations of the same type”. Toury (1995: 65), however, points out that translators’ behaviour cannot be expected to be fully systematic, but that it is possible to assume that the more frequent a target-text phenomenon, the more likely it is to reflect an existence of a norm (Toury 1995: 


67–69). Hence I have tried to look for regularities of behaviour to establish tendencies in the texts.

In the following subsections I will present numerical data and examples of the realia items and strategies for realia in the two novels. Each and every realia item and strategic choice cannot, of course, be discussed in detail below. I will give some selected examples of realia and their translations. Each strategy is illustrated with typical examples from both of the novels. The numerical data are, however, based on all instances of realia and strategies for realia in the two novels and their translations, with the exceptions mentioned above. Norms – or tendencies of regular behaviour – will be discussed later in chapter seven.

**6.2 Realia in the Harjunpää novels**

I will start this section by presenting some general trends concerning the realia in the novels. The description of general trends is based on numerical data. These data are also presented in Tables 4 and 5. Henceforward the earlier source text will be referred to as PO and the later one as PA. The translations will be referred to as SM and PE.

The total number of different types of realia in PO is 242, and 311 in PA. Table 4 includes all the different types of realia items, except the realia-like items mentioned above, that is, police terms and invented religious terms. There were 34 different types of police terms in PO. In PA there were 26 different types of police terms and 16 invented religious terms.

Of the realia items included in Table 4, most were proper nouns (personal names and other types of proper nouns) in both of the books. In PO 90% (N=219) and in PA 84.2% (N=262) realia items were proper nouns.

I was able to categorise almost all of the realia items in the novels by using Nedergaard-Larsen’s (1993) categorisation, though I adapted it to include personal names, nicknames and brand names, as described above. There were, however, a few words that I was not able to categorise. These I have put into the category “other”. I will discuss them later in this chapter.
**TABLE 4. Types of realia in the two novels.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Realia in the novels: absolute numbers and percentages</th>
<th>PO</th>
<th>PA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Types of realia</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Geographical realia</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>38.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Historical realia</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social realia</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>14.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cultural realia</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>5.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal names</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>40.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>242</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The number of types of realia without personal names is 145 in PO, and 188 in PA. The tokens or the occurrences of same realia items, excluding personal names, are 301 in PO and 364 in PA. The latter are presented in Table 5. Only their absolute numbers are presented, as the percentages would not be directly comparable to those presented above in Table 4, which also covers personal names. Table 5 gives some idea of the density of realia in the two novels.

Note that the numbers of both types and tokens are slightly higher in PA, probably because the novel is longer (352 pages compared to the 216 pages in PO).

**TABLE 5. Tokens of realia in the two novels (personal names excluded).**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Realia in the novels: absolute numbers</th>
<th>PO</th>
<th>PA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tokens of realia</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Geographical realia</td>
<td>188</td>
<td>176</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Historical realia</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social realia</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>113</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cultural realia</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>301</td>
<td>364</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Both of the source texts had realia belonging to each of the five main categories: personal names, geography, history, society and culture. Both of the books also show the same tendencies in the share of realia belonging to each group. Most of the realia in each of the two books fall within the main categories of personal names, geography and society.

The distribution of realia in the novels thus reflects the fact that Joensuu’s books take place in a Finnish geographical setting and are set against a Finnish social background. The pages of the books are filled with people with Finnish names and the Finnish place names most often refer to actual places. Information about social organisation in Finland and items of everyday life are scattered on the pages of these novels. All these realia items contribute both to the authenticity of these realistic crime novels and their strong Finnish flavour.

The total number of references to Finnish culture and history is lower in both of the novels, although the number of cultural realia is rather high in PA. The lower numbers of realia belonging to these categories is perhaps not surprising as the novels concentrate on the everyday work of policemen, the wrong-doers behind the crimes and the social conditions that drive people to commit those crimes.

In the tables above I have not presented the realia items by subcategories. I have not, for instance indicated how geographical realia are divided into subgroups of geography, biology, meteorology and cultural geography. I will make more detailed points as I discuss each category of realia. It is worth mentioning here, though, that there were not realia belonging to each and every subcategory. One could perhaps think that Nedergaard-Larsen’s (1993) categorisation was thus partly irrelevant. However, it served as a tool for recognising and grouping realia into general categories.

Next I will give examples of typical realia in the novels. When I give numbers, they refer to types of different realia items.
6.2.1 Personal names

Personal names are the largest main category of types of realia in both of the novels. 40.1% of realia items (N=97) in PO and 39.5% (N= 123) in PA are names. The names in the Harjunpää novels are typically forenames, surnames and nicknames of ordinary (fictional) people. PA also contains, unlike the other novel, some invented names for monsters, creatures and things. Although quite different from ordinary personal names, I have included them into the category of personal names and nicknames. The numbers of different types of names are presented in Table 6 below.

TABLE 6. Personal names in the novels (types).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Personal names in the novels: absolute numbers</th>
<th>PO</th>
<th>PA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Forenames and surnames</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nicknames</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Invented names</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>123</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

To illustrate the various categories of names, some examples are given below. I have indicated in brackets whether the example is from PO or PA. (Forenames have been underlined.)

**Forenames and surnames**
- Häyrisen Kari (PA)
- Mikael Bergman (PO)
- Mononen (PO)
- Orvo Ensio Laasonen (PO)
- Simo-niminen nuorimies ("a young man called Simo") (PA)
- Tero Yrjänä Kokkonen (PA)
- Timo Harjunpää (PA, PO)

**Nicknames**
- Kengu (PA)
- Keppi-Kaija (PA)
Invented names
Kikkadaaraa-Messa (PA)
Rum-Rum (PA)

All these Finnish-sounding names are important to the atmosphere of the novels. The proper names and nicknames refer to people that do not exist in real life, but their names certainly sound Finnish. Invented names of monsters and beings sound convincingly Finnish as well.

6.2.2 Geographical realia

Geographical realia are the second largest category of realia in the novels, 38.4% (N=93) of realia (types) in PO and 28.6% (N=89) in PA belonging to this category. Thus there are plenty of examples of geographical realia in both of the books. In PO, for example, *juhannusruusujen tuoksu* translated as *the smell of roses* falls in the subgroup of geography, meteorology and biology. In PA Joensuu writes about such things as *kitukasvuisia mäntyjä*, which has been translated as *dwarf spruces*.

Most of the geographical realia in the two books, however, belong to the subcategory of cultural geographical realia, including regions, towns, roads, streets and the like. In PO 90 out of 93 geographical realia belong to this subcategory. The comparable number in PA is 84 out of 89. The distribution of geographical realia in the subcategories is presented below in Table 7.
TABLE 7. Geographical realia in the novels (types).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Geographic etc. realia in the novels: absolute numbers</th>
<th>PO</th>
<th>PA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Geography, meteorology, biology</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cultural geography</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following extracts are typical descriptions of scenes in the novels, containing Finnish names for roads and parts of the city.

*Emännänpolku* oli heidän edessään leveänä ja asvaltoituna. Se vietti pitkänä ja loivana alamäkenä *Kontulantien* alitse. (PO 167; emphasis added.)

*The lane* opened ahead of them, long and downward-sloping, empty as far as the eye could see (SM 121; emphasis added).

Tuolla karttalehdellä oli *Pasila*. Ja *Pasila* vuoren oikeastikin löysi, *Länsi- ja Itä-Pasilan* välistä, ehkä hitusen enemmän *Itä-Pasilan* puolelta, sieltä missä rantarata ja pääraata erkanivat lopullisesti toisistaan. (PA 21; emphasis added.)

The page in question showed *Pasila*. And *Pasila* was indeed where the mountain was to be found, between *East and West Pasila*, perhaps slightly more to the east, where the two central train lines finally divided (PE: 15; emphasis added.)

The roads and places exist in reality and, on the basis of such descriptions, a person familiar with the actual cultural geography of Helsinki can easily picture where the actions take place. Also, through these descriptions some of the Finnishness of the novels is signalled to the readers unfamiliar with the source culture.
6.2.3 Historical realia

Finnish historical realia are quite rare in the two novels. Only two examples can be found in PO and one example in PA. The reason for this might be that Joensuu’s books concentrate on the present, describing today’s crimes and criticising existing society. Even the historical realia in the novels refer to things such as statues that, in a sense, also belong to the cultural-geographical landscape of the novels. On one occasion only a historical realia item refers to something else than a cultural-geographic item with a historical dimension.

The instances of historical realia in the novels include Ratsastajapatsas depicting Marshal Mannerheim in PO, translated as the Rider statue, and presidentti Kekkonen in PA, rendered as President Kekkonen.

6.2.4 Social realia

In the two books there are several examples of social realia, in other words, words referring to such things as industry, economy, social organisation, politics, political organisations, social conditions and ways of life. This category of realia is the third largest, after names and geographical realia. 14.5% (N=35) of realia in PO and 18.1% (N=56) of all realia in PA are in this category. The distribution of social realia into subcategories is presented below in Table 8.

TABLE 8. Social realia in the novels (types).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Social realia in the novels: absolute numbers</th>
<th>PO</th>
<th>PA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Industrial level</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social organisation</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Politics</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social conditions</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ways of life, customs</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The subcategories of ways of life and social organisation are the largest subcategories of social realia. The realia or realia-like items referring to the organisation of the Finnish police are not included in the numbers in the table above. I will discuss them separately in subsection 6.2.6.

PO contains such realia referring to ways of life as *metri* ‘metre’ translated as *yard*, *markka* (Finland’s former currency) translated as *mark* and *kossu* translated as *vodka*. PA also mentions the word *metri* on several occasions. This time it has been translated as *metre*. The book also contains such way-of-life realia as *mignonsuklaa* translated simply as *chocolate*, *ulkohuussi* translated as *an outdoor toilet* and *lasten punainen huopatossu* rendered as *a child’s red slipper*.

Examples of realia referring to social organisation include *Hesperia* (PA) translated as *the mental hospital*, *Oikeuslääketieteen laitos* (PO) translated as *the morgue*, *Puolustusvoimat* (PO and PA) rendered as *the army*, and *terveyskeskuksen psykologi* (PA), who has become *the local shrink*.

An example of the rare cases of political realia is the former Minister of Foreign Affairs (and current Minister for Foreign Trade and Development) *Paavo Väyrynen* (PA) curiously rendered as *the prime minister*. Industrial-level realia are exemplified by the ship machinery manufacturer *Wärtsilä*, omitted in the target text. The instances of realia belonging to the subcategory of social conditions or social problems relate to the Finnish term *pultsari*, a drunk or a tramp in English.

### 6.2.5 Cultural realia

Cultural realia are not very common in the novels, but they are more common in PA than in PO. The reason for the relatively low numbers of cultural realia might be that Joensuu’s crime novels are about ordinary policemen and wrong-doers they are trying to catch. There is not much room for different forms of culture there, in the sense of “high culture” (works of art, famous artists etc.). When something relating to culture is mentioned, it tends to have mostly to do with so-called “popular culture” – with things such as pubs and sports.
“High culture” in the form of some artists (like Sibelius) and works of art (symphonies, paintings etc.) is also present to some extent in PA, unlike in PO. This might be because the one of the key figures in the former is a writer and an artistic person, and his son – the bullied boy Matti – seems to become as artistic as his father. Also some cultural sites are mentioned in both of the novels, but as with historical realia, they are most often used to create the cultural-geographical landscape of the crime stories.

The distribution of realia in the subcategories of cultural realia is presented below in Table 9.

TABLE 9. Cultural realia in the novels (types).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cultural realia in the novels: absolute numbers</th>
<th>PO</th>
<th>PA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Religion</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Media</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Culture and leisure activities</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Cultural realia in both of the books refer most often to culture and leisure activities, such as restaurants, sports centres, sports and events. Among the realia belonging to this subcategory PO has Kolmospesä translated as *the nearby restaurant* and pesäpallo rendered simply as *baseball*. Examples in PA of cultural realia belonging to this subcategory are Hartwall-Areena translated as *Hartwall-Arena* and taiteidenyö rendered as *the city festival*.

The subgroup of religious realia covers Christian churches, parishes and some comparable items that British and international audiences otherwise familiar with the Christian religion can be expected to be unfamiliar with. Examples are Agricolan seurakunta in PO, translated as *Agricola parish*, and Kirkon perheasiaintoinisto in PA, rendered as *the community office*. In addition, I have included in this subcategory terms referring to the ancient Finnish pagan tradition and myths, such as manala and Tuonela in PA, both referring to the world of the dead. In PA there are also a number of terms referring
to an invented form of religion. These words are not realia in the strict sense but I will take a brief look at them in the following subchapter.

Lastly, the subgroup of media includes references to the Finnish media, such as the national broadcasting company *YLE* (PA) or *Yleisradio* (PO), and the subgroup of education references to the Finnish school system, such as the age when children go to school: *Alle koulukäisiä* (“under school age”) mentioned in PO thus refers in the Finnish system to children under seven.

Next before turning to translation strategies used in the translations, I will take a look at some special cases of realia.

### 6.2.6 Other realia

Tables 4 and 5 on realia types and tokens in the novels included a category labelled “other” In this category, there were only two instances, one in each of the two novels. They represent cases where Finnish cultural realia are created in the target text even though no such realia exist in the comparable part of the source text; this may be to compensate for some omission of realia earlier in the text. In PE, for instance, Hackston writes about small, **crisp pieces of boiled sweets**, whereas in the source text Joensuu talked about **purukumi**, chewing gum.

In addition to these two instances of “other” realia items, there are two groups of items that are not included in Tables 4 and 5, or in the analysis above. Firstly, I have not included words referring to the Finnish police and its organisation in the analysis. They are not realia items in a strict sense, as the police is organised and the policemen ranked in rather similar ways in different countries. As these are not, however, entirely identical in Finland and elsewhere, and so give the translator a chance to express local colour, I have decided to mention them here. In PO there are 33 different police terms (types), whereas in PA there are 26 of them. Examples include *Kuolemat* (“the section dealing with deaths”) ja *Ryöstöjaos* (“the section dealing with robberies”) in PO, and *Rikosuhripäivystys* (“victim support line”) and *TUNT* (a database of some sort) in PA.
In PA there are also terms referring to an invented religion. One of the main characters of the novel is Pappi, the Priest, who has created a religion and worships his own goddess Maammo. His religion seems to be a combination of Christianity, pagan traditions and something imaginary. Its vocabulary is a mixture of words that seem Latin and words that seem perfectly Finnish. For instance, he calls the “helpers” of Maammo’s sacred work Orange Apostles. (In reality they are the orange underground trains of Helsinki.) The Priest calls himself maahinen, “an earthling” of Maammo. The number of different items belonging to the subgroup of invented religion is 16.

Next I will turn to the strategies used to translate realia in the two novels.

6.3 Strategies used for culture-bound items

In this section I will outline the actual strategies used by the translators. I will first show general trends in the strategies used in the two translations. In the following sections I will then present specific examples of strategies for realia in the novels and explain in more detail when each strategy was used. The examples have been arranged according to the type of strategy, so that each strategy is illustrated with one or more examples. From now on I will not refer to types or tokens as in the previous sections, but to coupled pairs (Toury 1995: 77), that is, pairs of replacing and replaced segments of text. Their number is larger than that of types but smaller than that of tokens, as tokens of realia have been translated in a different way on some occasions but not on all occasions.

Determining what strategy was used proved to be difficult at times. As suggested above, not all real-life phenomena fit categorisations and sometimes strategies have been combined. I have thus added the category “other strategies” to the categorisation presented above. This additional category is reserved for some peculiar or rare cases and I will discuss it separately.

Combination of strategies happened especially with direct transfer. In such cases a part of a realia item was transferred directly and part of it literally or in a re-creative way. I will treat such cases separately in the subsection dealing with direct transfer, giving numerical information separately for full and partial direct transfer. These cases differ from
explicitation in the form of addition, as in this case nothing is actually added to explain the realia, but some of the existing elements are translated.

Table 10 below presents the distribution of strategies in the novels when police terms and invented religious terms have been left out. Personal names are included in the data. However, in the following subsections I will discuss personal names and other categories of realia separately most of the time. I will thus again split the data. I will also take up separately, in separate subsections strategies for the police terms and invented religious terms mentioned in the previous subsection.

**TABLE 10. Translation strategies for realia in the novels.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>STRATEGY</th>
<th>NOVEL</th>
<th>SM</th>
<th>PE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Direct transfer (full)</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>25.2</td>
<td>141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Direct transfer (partial)</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Calque</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cultural adaptation</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Superordinate</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>16.5</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Explicitation/addition</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Explicitation/replacement</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>14.0</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Omission</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>10.4</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Replacement by Swedish term</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>12.2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Replacement by standard form</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Official equivalent</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>278</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>332</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 10 shows that full direct transfer is the most often used strategy in both of the novels. If we add to this the cases where part of the realia item is transferred directly and part of it is translated literally or in a re-creative way, the percentages are even higher, over 30 in SM and almost 50 in PE. The next most often used strategies are a superordinate term and explicitation/replacement. Omission seems to be the fourth most often used strategy in

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3 Note that in Table 10 and in other tables in the following subchapters percentages may not sum to 100 due to rounding.
SM, whereas in PE the strategy is among the least used ones. The table also shows the fairly frequent use of Swedish names instead of Finnish ones in SM, whereas this strategy is not used in PE. The table, however, perhaps gives a distorted picture of the translation of realia, because the treatment of personal names tends to differ from the translation of other realia items. The picture thus changes somewhat if personal names and other types of realia are looked at separately. From now on, I will deal with personal names and other categories of realia separately.

**TABLE 11. Translation strategies for personal names.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>STRATEGY</th>
<th>NOVEL</th>
<th>SM</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>PE</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Direct transfer (full)</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>43.6</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>62.2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Direct transfer (partial)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>7.9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Calque</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Superordinate</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Explicitation/addition</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Explicitation/replacement</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>7.9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Omission</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5.9</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Replacement by a Swedish term</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>33.7</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Replacement by a standard form</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5.5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5.9</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>10.2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>101</td>
<td>100.1</td>
<td>127</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 11 shows that personal names, including nicknames, are often transferred directly or by using a strategy involving direct transfer. In PE full or partial direct transfer is involved in more than 70 percent of the cases, whereas in SM the percentage is just under 45. This difference between the translations is perhaps explained by the peculiar tendency of the translator of SM to replace Finnish names and nicknames by Swedish ones. The use of other strategies is comparatively rare in both of the novels.

Table 12 below illustrates that with other categories of realia, direct transfer or strategies involving direct transfer are still clearly the most frequently used strategies (30.2% plus 4.9%) in PE, whereas in SM they only come second (14.7% plus 9.6%) and are used much less often. In SM the most often used strategy is the use of a superordinate term,
which comes second in PE. Thus it seems that differences between the translations begin to emerge. In addition to the different order of the two most often used strategies, SM differs from PE in the use of omission. Whereas omission is the fourth most frequently used strategy in SM, it is among the least used ones in PE. There are, however, some similarities between the translations as well: Explicitation/replacement is the third most frequently used strategy in both of the translations.

TABLE 12. Translation strategies for realia (names excluded).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>STRATEGY</th>
<th>NOVEL N</th>
<th>NOVEL %</th>
<th>SM N</th>
<th>SM %</th>
<th>PE N</th>
<th>PE %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Direct transfer</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>14.7</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>30.2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Direct transfer partly</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>9.6</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Calque</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cultural adaptation</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Superordinate</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>24.9</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>18.0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Explicitation/addition</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Explicitation/replacement</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>19.8</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>14.1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Omission</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>13.0</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Replacement by a standard form</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Official equivalent</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>7.3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>6.8</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>7.3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>177</td>
<td>100.1</td>
<td>205</td>
<td>99.8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The translators have resorted to “other strategies”, including re-creative translation (of names) and the perhaps erroneous change of denotation, rather rarely. The percentages of these strategies are relatively low. The differences in the order of strategies are illustrated in Table 13.
TABLE 13. General trends of strategies used in the translations (order of frequency).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SM</th>
<th>PE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Superordinate</td>
<td>1. Direct transfer (full or partial)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Direct transfer (full or partial)</td>
<td>2. Superordinate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Explicitation/replacement</td>
<td>3. Explicitation/replacement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Omission</td>
<td>4. Official equivalent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Other</td>
<td>5. Other</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Cultural adaptation</td>
<td>7. Explicitation/addition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Official equivalent</td>
<td>8. Replacement by a standard form</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Replacement by a standard form</td>
<td>10. Calque</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Generally speaking, the translator of SM has most often used direct transfer or strategies involving direct transfer to translate names. She has also often resorted to the peculiar use of Swedish names instead of Finnish ones relatively frequently. Thus the translation strategies for names contribute to the foreignising global strategy on the one hand, and to a strange “Swedishisation” of the novel. This “Swedishisation”, or the use of Swedish “equivalents” to replace Finnish-culture realia items, could be said, in a sense, to contribute to the foreignising strategy, as it presents to the British (and international audiences) something that does not really sound British or familiar. On the other hand, this type of foreignisation does not necessarily make the Finland in her translation “taste” the same as in the source text. She has perhaps aimed at easing understanding and making the text more familiar to the target audience and possibly retaining local colour (and credibility) at the same time, even though this colour may not be particularly Finnish. Other realia items Taylor has most often translated by using a superordinate term. She has also often resorted to the use of explicitation in the form of replacement and omission. These three strategies, generally speaking, contribute to the domesticating global strategy. On the other hand, the second most often used strategy for these other categories of realia is direct transfer or direct transfer together with another strategy, which contributes to the foreignising global strategy.
The translator of PE has, similarly, used a combination of strategies aiming at different ends and contributing to different global-level strategies. However, the translator relies somewhat more on strategies that contribute to the foreignising global strategy. With names Hackston has most often used strategies involving direct transfer and the proportion of direct transfer in his translation is higher than in Taylor’s. He has not resorted to the strategy of replacing Finnish names by Swedish ones. Realia belonging to other categories he has most often translated by using direct transfer or direct transfer in combination with another strategy. On the other hand, he has also quite often used superordinate terms and explicitation in the form of replacement contributing to the domesticating global strategy. However, the percentages of such strategies are lower in his translation. In addition, he has not resorted to omission as often as Taylor.

In conclusion, if we compare the use of strategies contributing to the foreignising and domesticating global strategies, Hackston has used more foreignising than domesticating strategies with personal names and roughly as much foreignising and domesticating local strategies with other realia items. Taylor has used more foreignising strategies with names and foreignising strategies with other types of realia. And if we compare the two translators, both of them have often used foreignising strategies, but Taylor has used fewer foreignising strategies, statistically speaking, than Hackston.

We should remember, however, that sometimes strategies can, in principle, be used for different purposes, and placing them on as scale ranging from foreignising to domesticating strategies simplifies the picture. Only a detailed analysis of specific examples would help in determining what the effect of the strategies used was. As the data analysed in this thesis proved to be rather extensive, the following analysis of specific examples is necessarily rather limited. Within the scope of this study it is not possible to analyse the examples in the greatest possible detail either. The following is, therefore, more like an excursion to the use of different strategies in different contexts. A more detailed analysis would require another study. The results of this analysis are, therefore, mainly based on statistical data and reveal general trends.

The following passages of texts often show more than one strategy in use at a time. This may be somewhat distracting, but, on the other hand, the passages show the nature of the novels and their translations: Realia are everywhere in the novels.
6.3.1 Direct transfer

In this subsection I will present cases where full or partial direct transfer was resorted to, i.e. direct transfer was used alone or together with literal or re-creative translation of a part of the realia item.

As Tables 12 and 13 above illustrate, full or partial direct transfer is the most common strategy for personal names in both of the two novels. Direct transfer was actually used with only personal names and other proper nouns, except in one case in PE. In this case *sauna*, a Finnish social realia item, was transferred directly. The other proper nouns transferred directly were most often cultural geographical realia. On some occasions they were also social, cultural and historical realia. On these occasions the proper nouns referred to, for instance, well-known historical figures and brand names, which, as explained earlier, were not categorised as personal names. Appendix 1 illustrates in more detail how direct transfer has been used with other types of realia.

As Table 12 showed, direct transfer or a strategy involving direct transfer was also the most often used strategy with other categories of realia in PE. In SM the strategy was used somewhat less with other realia items, but it was still the second most often used strategy. Next I will give some examples of direct transfer in the translations. First I will give an example of full direct transfer. Then I will illustrate how direct transfer had been used in combination with another strategy.

The following passage illustrates the use of direct transfer with both personal names and place names.

Hän pysähtyi *Kapteeninkadun* ja *Tehtaankadun* risteykseen suojatien eteen, aivan kuin olisi ollut aikeissa ylittää kadun ja jatkaa suoraan, mutta vaivihkaa hän täyysi vasemmalle ja erotti hyvin, että hänen suunnaltaan laskien *Mikko Matias* meni neljännenteen portaaseen. (PA 220; emphasis added.)

He stopped at a pedestrian crossing at an intersection of *Kapteeninkatu* and *Tehtaankatu* and looked carefully to the left. From this point he could see that *Mikko Matias* went into the fourth door along. (PE 126; emphasis added.)
In the next example one of the place names, *Sakara-niminen kadunpätkä*, has been translated by combining direct transfer of *Sakara* with rather literal translation of the rest of the realia item. As I mentioned earlier, I do not consider such literal translation of an inseparable part of the realia item as, for instance, explicitation in the form of addition. There is also an example of cultural adaptation in the passage, as *metriä* ‘metres’ has become *yards*, but I will return to this strategy later.

– Sitten te olette melkein perillä! Tulkaa *Sakara-nimistä kadunpätkää*. Jatkakaa ajokieltomerkin ohi kävelytielle. Siitä satakunta metriä, ehkä kaksi
– te näette kyllä.
Thurman painautui ohjauspyörän päälle ja tähysi ulos.
(PP 128; emphasis added.)

‘Can you tell me more precisely where you are? We’re approaching along the Kontulankaari from the north.’
‘You’re almost there! Turn off up *a short road called Sakara Street*. Carry on after the “no exit” sign, along the pedestrian way. A few hundred yards and – well, you’ll see us.’
Thurman was leaning forward, looking for the right street name.
(SM 92; emphasis added.)

In both of the examples direct transfer brings local colour but does not seem to hinder understanding. In the latter example the use of partial translation seems a reasonable choice as the literal translation is used for a common noun part of the place name. It helps in making clear that we are indeed talking about cultural geography at this point as well.

There were, however, some instances where the direct transfer of a realia item posed a potential threat to understanding, as they failed to convey even the denotation of the realia item. In the following passage, Mononen is transferred directly. Nothing in the passage signals that the name *Mononen* refers to a pathologist.

– Hela kaipaa edelleen Väkivaltaa. Onko kukaan kuulolla?
– Mikä se osoite on?
– Hakaniemen metro, Tupala sanoi. – Siellä on joku tehnyt suikkarin. Pelkkänä hillona se kuulemma on, mutta niin pahasti teleissä kiinni etteivät ne meinaa saada sitä pois.
– Minä lähden. Mutta lähetä nyt sinne Tekniikka avuksi ja *Mononen* myös.
‘The Switchboard still needs someone from Violent Crimes. Is there anyone on the line?’
‘What’s the location?’
‘Hakaniemi underground station,’ said Tupala. ‘Someone’s gone and topped themselves. Completely mangled up apparently, jammed in along the undercarriage, so they’re having a hard time getting him out.’
‘I’ll take it. Send forensics down there, and Mononen too.’

An obvious example of direct transfer in the context of society/way of life is sauna, which has been rendered as sauna in PE. An example of this strategy with culture/leisure is the translation of Hartwall-Areena, a multifunctional indoor arena located in Helsinki, as the Hartwall Arena in PE.

In his choice of strategy, especially for proper names, the translator of PE seems more consistent throughout the translations. For instance, ordinary street names such as Kapteeninkatu and Tehtaankatu, and personal names such as Koskinen and Viitasaari are always rendered in a similar way, directly. The other translator of uses a variation of strategies in similar situations. In the example above, the street name Kontulankaari was transferred directly like such street names as Keinutie and Tanhuantie and surnames such as Halme, Norri and Rissanen on other occasions. On some other occasions street names such as Pasilanraitio and Tuukkalantie are partly transferred literally, partly translated as Pasilan Lane and Tuukkalan road, and personal names such as Pekka Oja, Rouva Autio and Saarela are changed to more Swedish-sounding names, Peter Olin, Mrs Asp and Sandvik.

This does not really reduce the local colour of the novels, but sometimes the Swedish-sounding names make one wonder about the motives of the translator: Did she think that Swedish names would be less foreignising and thus better understood by British and international audiences? Did she think that these audiences were somehow more familiar with Swedish? I will return to this point later.
6.3.2 Calque

Here I will present cases where realia items have been rendered into English by using a calque.

As tables 12 and 13 illustrate calque was one of the most rarely used strategies in both of the novels. It was used with some names – or rather nicknames – in PE and on some occasions with other realia items in both SM and PE. These other realia items belonged rather evenly to the categories of (cultural) geography, history, society and culture. Social realia belonged to the subcategory of social organisation and way of life/brand names, whereas cultural realia belonged to the subgroup of leisure. All of them were proper nouns.

In the following passage the nickname of a girl called Leena is rendered into English by using a calque.

Hetken hän luuli että se oli tyttöjen jumppamaikka, mutta se olikin se kasilla oleva Plösö-Leena, tai Moukarinheitäjä, niin kuin jotkut sanoivat, ja sillä oli jo ote Jannen korvasta ja se väänsi sen melkein rusetille niin että Janne putosi polvilleen (PA 73; emphasis added).

For a moment he thought it might be the girls’ PE teacher, but it was Fat Leena from Year Eight. Some of the other children called her the Hammer Thrower. She had Janne by the ear and twisted it so hard that he fell to his knees (PP 43; emphasis added).

In the following example from PA, the geographical realia item, the name of the bridge Pitkäsilta has been calqued.

Uii! Transporter porhalsi Pitkänsillan yli, ja heti kun vastaan tuleva raitiovaunu oli mennyt, Harjunpää näki Pelastuslaitoksen autot ja niiden vilkkujen sinisenä lepattavan meren (PP 63; emphasis added).

The Transporter sped across Long Bridge and, once the tram coming towards him had passed, Harjunpää could see in front of him a number of Emergency Service vehicles and a tide of flashing blue lights (PP 36; emphasis added).
In the next extract the brand name *Ajanmies* belonging to the subgroup of social realia has been rendered as *A man of his Time*. The explicitation *A name of a clothes shop* has been added. The result does not seem, however, familiar or fluent English, but still rather foreign.

Hän yritti hengittää syvään ja rauhallisesti, katsoi maassa hervottomana makaavaa miestä. Vaalean paidan rinnuksessa oli teksti: ”*Ajanmies*”. Harjunpää kääntyi selin ja katsoi merelle. Jotenkin hän tiesi että miehen hengitys oli enää pelkkää refleksimääistä liikettä. (PO 24; emphasis added.)

He made an effort to take a slow deep breath, looking at the man lying limply on the ground. *A name of clothes shop* was printed on the front of the white shirt, ’*A man of his Time*’. Harjunpaa turned to face the sea. Somehow he knew that although the man was still breathing it was nothing but a reflex. (SM 19; emphasis added.)

In the following example the popular cultural realia item *Vanhan Kellari* has been rendered into English by using a calque. Also explicitation clarifying that the bill is a restaurant bill has been added to the translation.

Siinä oli siannahkalompakko, Nousiaisen papereita, pari seteliä ja edellisiltana päiväty, lähelle kolmeasataa nouseva *Vanhan Kellarin* lasku (SM 46; emphasis added).

On Harjunpaa’s lap lay a much smaller bag which contained a pigskin wallet, some personal documents, a few bank notes, and a restaurant bill for *The Old Cellar*, totalling nearly 300 marks, with yesterday’s date (SM 25; emphasis added).

On the basis of the examples in the translations I am not sure whether Nedergaard-Larsen’s (1993: 226) argument that this type of strategy “has the advantage of retaining local colour without seeming unduly exotic” is convincing in this context and whether this strategy contributes to a foreignising global strategy. In the examples above at least some of the local colour seems to be lost – or does *the Old Cellar*, for instance, sound typically Finnish? On the other hand, compared to some other strategies, this strategy certainly
seems to be closer to the foreignising end of the scale. Thus I will, after all, consider this strategy as contributing to the foreignising global strategy.

### 6.3.3 Cultural adaptation

As Table 10 illustrates also cultural adaptation is among the least frequently used strategies in both of the novels. This strategy is not used with personal names and only rarely with realia belonging to other categories. It is only resorted to with common nouns.

What, then, is culturally adapted? In both of the novels this uncommon strategy is used with some cultural and social realia. The social realia belong to the subcategories of social organisation and ways of life, whereas the cultural realia belong to the subtypes of leisure and religion.

In the following example the Finnish society/way-of-life realia item *metriä* ‘metres’ has been culturally adapted as *yards*.

Mikael horjui hetken aloillaan. Ja sitten hän säntäsi päättömään juoksun, äkkiä ja ääneti, mutta hän ei ehtinyt *kymmentäkään metriä* kun Leo jo tavoitti hänet. (Joensuu 1983: 8; emphasis added.)

Mikael swayed uncertainly for a moment and then sprinted off, fast and speechless, but he hadn’t gone *ten yards* before Leo caught up with him. (Joensuu 1986: 7; emphasis added.)

Cultural adaptation happened most often with measures and the adaptation of measures seems to be typical of both of the novels. In PE *kilometrit* has been rendered as *miles* and *metrikuusikymmentätasentinen* as 5’2’’.

An example of cultural adaptation with cultural realia is illustrated by the rendering of *pesäpallo* as *baseball* in SM and *pesislätsä* as *a baseball cap* in PE. The use of these terms gives the reader the idea that people in Finland have similar sports as the Americans. The trace of the Finnish national sports, Finnish baseball, is lost.
Cultural adaptation seems to bring the text closer to the target text readers and ease their understanding, and it thus contributes to the domesticating global level strategy. I think that in these examples – or in the two translations – cultural adaptation is also used with care, so that the result is quite credible. Or would somebody living in England (especially 20 years ago) stop to think what measures Finnish people use? It thus seems that the strategy can in sometimes be used so that the credibility is not compromised too much. (C.f. Nedergaard-Larsen 1993: 231, 234.) On the other hand, some of the local colour of the novels is inevitably lost.

### 6.3.4 Superordinate term

The use of a superordinate is the most often used strategy for other than names in SM and the second most often used in PE. It is also used twice to render names in SM. In SM superordinate terms are used mostly with cultural geographical realia, quite often with social realia and sometimes with cultural realia, whereas in PE superordinate terms are used most often with social realia and sometimes with cultural and cultural geographical realia. As Table 14 above showed, this strategy is used with both proper nouns and common nouns, but more often with proper nouns.

The rather common tendency of the translator of SM to replace cultural geographical realia items with superordinates is illustrated, for instance, by the rendering of streets called Untamalantie and Humikkalantie as the road, or the rendering of Näkinsilta and Pitkäsilta as the bridge. Similarly, but more rarely, in PE, for instance, Helsinki has been translated as the city and Pikku Roba has been generalised to a downtown area.

In the following passage Finnish social realia (way-of-life realia) has been translated by a superordinate: HK:n sininen has become just sausage, and the local colour is definitely lost.

– Vaiti! Se rahjus ei minua kiinnosta. Mutta minua kiinnostaa kyllä se, kuka on mennyt koskemaan Karin HK:n siniseen? (PA 123; emphasis added.)
‘Quiet! I’m not interested in that good-for-nothing. I am interested in who’s been eating Kari’s sausage.’ (PE: 71; emphasis added.)

The next example shows how a brand name has been replaced by a superordinate term. Thus *Viapori pulloa* has become just *beer bottles* and *kruunukorkit* just *caps*. In the second sentence the brand name *Viapori* appearing alone has been omitted altogether.

Leikkikentän lampi oli tyhjennetty. Sen pohjalta oli löytynyt muun roinan ohessa neljä siruksi kivistettyä *Viapori pulloa*. Kentällä leikkineiden lasten hiekkakakuista oli poimittu koristeina olleet *kruunukorkit* – neljää oli lukenut niinikään ”*Viapori*”, ja ne oli kaikki irrotettu pulloista muulla kuin korkinavaajalla. Sormenjäljet olivat ehtineet tuhoutua niin siruista kuin korkeistakin. (PO 140; emphasis added.)

The pond was drained. In the bottom, amongst other rubbish, were four broken *beer bottles*; from the children’s sand box the police had retrieved four *caps* which had been wrenched from the bottles with the aid of something other than a bottle opener. There were no fingerprints left, either on the bottles or on the caps. (SM 101; emphasis added.)

Also good examples are the cultural realia item *Pesä* translated as *the restaurant* in SM and *Heureka* rendered as *a museum* in PE. The geographical (or better: botanical) realia item referred to in the introduction has also been translated by using a superordinate. Thus *juhannusruusujen tuoksu* referring to a certain type of roses has been translated by using the superordinate *roses*, or *the smell of roses*, in SM.

The personal names that were rendered by using a superordinate term, were *Häivölä* and *Äijälä* both rendered as *the man* in different contexts. These both were in SM. As explained earlier, in the use of a superordinate, there is “an upward movement on a hyponymy scale” whereas in explicitation “the movement goes in the opposite direction, and the technique involves not as much hyponymy as meronymy” (Pedersen 2005: 6). In the cases where a personal name was replaced with *the man*, there was movement upward that lead to their categorisation as instances of the use of superordinates.
The examples above show that the use of superordinates results in less detail, less specificity (Leppihalme 2001: 143) and a loss of local colour (Florin 1993: 125-126). Thus the strategy quite clearly contributes to the domesticating global strategy.

6.3.5 Explicitation

In this subsection I will discuss and present examples on explicitation involving addition and explicitation as replacement. From now on I will talk about addition when I refer to explicitation involving addition, and to replacement when I talk about explicitation involving replacement.

Replacement was the third most often used strategy in both of the novels with other types of realia than names. In SM it was most often used with cultural geographical realia but also with cultural and social realia, whereas in PE replacement was used almost as often with the subtypes of geographical, social and cultural realia. Replacement was used also with names, but rarely. In general, it was used more often with common nouns and only sometimes with proper nouns.

Addition is among the least used strategies in the both of the novels. Addition was only used twice to render names in PE, whereas no names in SM were translated by using this strategy. It was rarely used with realia belonging to other categories: twice for cultural geographical realia in SM and eight times for cultural geography or culture/leisure in PE. In general, addition was used only with proper nouns.

The extract below illustrates replacement in the novels. It shows how society/way-of-life realia can be translated by using replacement. Thus *salmiakkipastilli* was explained to be a *diamond-shaped boiled sweet*:

Korkeutta vuorella oli viidestätoista reiluun pariinkymmeneen metriin – riippui vähän paikasta – ja pituutta sillä oli reilut kolmesataa metriä, leveyttä enimmillään satakunta. Se soukkeni molemmista päistään kiilamaiseksi niin että muistutti *salmiakkipastillia*. (PA 20; emphasis added.)

The mountain’s height varied between fifteen and twenty metres depending on the precise spot; it was almost three hundred metres long and about
hundred or so metres wide. It narrowed to a point at both ends, making the whole structure resemble *a diamond-shaped boiled sweet*. (PE: 9; emphasis added.)

The translation reduces the local colour as it renders *salmiakkipastilli* as *boiled sweet*. On the other hand, the addition of the description of the shape is perhaps more important here.

The following example is taken from SM. The cultural realia item belonging to the subgroup of leisure is here replaced by an explicitation. In the process something gets omitted and some local colour is lost, but the denotation is made clearer – even clearer than in the source text.

Äiti oli keittiössä. Se silitti pyykiä. Hajusta sen tiesi – ilmassa oli kiva, lämmin haju – ja siitä että äiti hyräili hiljaa. Äijä ei ollut kotona. Se oli lähtenyt jo kuudelta Kolmospesälle. (PP 53; emphasis added.)

Mother was in the kitchen. You could tell she was ironing by the smell, a nice warm smell – and also because she was humming. Sod wasn’t in, he’d left *for his doorman’s job* at six. (SM 29; emphasis added.)

The following example illustrates perhaps even better the advantages of clarification of meaning through replacement. In this case, even the Finnish audience is unfamiliar with the connotations of the term.


‘I’ve sent the men there,’ said Norri in a low voice. ‘They’re putting together a list of all incidents reported in Kontula that night. On their way back they’ll pick up the watch *from Lost and Found*, we’ll have it checked for prints…’ (SM 72; emphasis added.)
The passage below illustrates the way addition has been used in the translations. In all occasions an explicitating word or a few words are added to a proper noun as in the example below, where the realia item *Forum* has been rendered as *the Forum shopping centre*.

He kiersivät metrohallin ylätasanteen – kompassiruusua tuskin erotti ihmisvirran alta – ja sitten he lähtivät jo siihen tunneliin, joka johti Sokokseen ja Mannerheimintien alitse aina *Forumin* alakertaan asti. (PA 318.)

They wandered around the upper level of the underground station – they could barely make out the compass beneath the crowds of people – then they headed towards the tunnel running under Mannerheimintie, leading to the basement level of *the Forum shopping centre*. (PE: 184.)

Similarly, in PE the cultural realia item *Pentti Saarikoski* has been rendered as *the poet Pentti Saarikoski* and in SM the cultural geographical realia item *Mellunkylä* as *the next suburb, Mellunkylä*. Explicitation in the form of addition seems to preserve more of the local colour of the text. On the basis of the examples found in the two novels it thus seems that by using this strategy the translators manage both to clarify the meaning of the denotation and hence ease understanding, and keep the source-cultural flavour of the text. In addition, explicitation in the form of addition seems to be more foreignising than explicitation in the form of replacement, as it does not erase the original realia item.

### 6.3.6 Omission

Omission is rarely used with names in both of the translations. However, it is more common with names in SM. In addition, with other categories of realia omission is the fourth largest category in SM, whereas in PE it is used less frequently and is only the sixth largest category. In SM omission is resorted to fairly often with cultural geographical realia and sometimes with names, and social and cultural realia. In PE the strategy is sometimes used with names and cultural, social and cultural geographical realia. Whereas in SM only
proper nouns sometimes get omitted, in PE both proper nouns and common nouns are omitted.

This decrease in the use of omission might to some extent result from the increasing familiarity with Finnish culture in Great Britain and Europe over time. It is possible that translators today feel that they do not need to resort to omission as much as earlier. However, there might be other reasons as well, such as inter-individual differences between the styles and competences of the translators.

In the following example the cultural geographical realia item Jäkärläntielle (or polun Jäkärläntielle vievää osaa kohti) specifying the street name nearby has been omitted. The omission here seems to remove some of the rather detailed description of the location of a future crime scene. A local reader who knows Eastern Helsinki may, because of the Finnish description, be able to picture exactly where the crime takes place. On the other hand, the specific description would not tell much to people unfamiliar with this location in reality. But it would, again, give local colour to the passage. I would also argue that, for instance, the direct transfer of the realia item would not hinder understanding but give local colour to the text.

He lähtivät kävelemään kaikki kolme. Leo ohjasi kulun huomaamattomasti polun Jäkärläntielle vievää osaa kohti – siellä kasvoi mäntyjä ja tiivistä pensaikkoa. Mikael tuli pari askelta muiden perässä. (PO 116; emphasis added.)

They started walking, all three. Leo was guiding them toward the dense undergrowth and small pines. Mikael followed a few steps behind. (SM 85; emphasis added.)

In the following passage the cultural geographical realia that are omitted are perhaps more redundant – in the sense of both denotation and source-cultural flavour – as some realia elements are left in the text by transferring them directly. In the first example the street called Jäkärläntie has been omitted whereas two other realia items, the name of the suburbs Vesala and Kontula, have been kept.
Bergman – Mikael Bergman. Ja ne muuten asuvat Jäkärläntiellä Vesalassa, ihan Kontulan kupeessa (PP 195; emphasis added).

‘Bergman. Mikael Bergman. And they live in Vesala, next to Kontula’ (SM 102).

Translators may indeed omit something that is considered redundant or unimportant (Nedergaard-Larsen 1993: 231–232), as the second and the third example perhaps show. However, it seems to me that the translator of SM (example one) has also omitted something that is more of interest for local readers (Leppihalme 2001: 144–146) than to foreign readers unfamiliar with the scenes. In comparable situations the translator of PE has, however, rendered (cultural-geographical) realia faithfully, and, in general, he has rarely resorted to omission.

6.3.7 Other strategies

In this subsection I will take up different ways of translating realia that do not fit any of the categories presented above. First, I will discuss the cases in which a Finnish realia item has been replaced by a Swedish-sounding term. Second, I will shortly discuss cases where a non-standard realia item has been replaced by its standard Finnish form. Third, I will discuss the instances where a Finnish realia item has been translated by using an official equivalent. Lastly, I will discuss what in the tables have been included in the category “other strategies” per se, that is, translation in a re-creative way and the change of denotation are included in the subcategory of “other strategies”.

The translator of SM has replaced some Finnish-culture-bound items with Swedish “equivalents” (or with other Finnish names). This applied exclusively to names and nicknames. In fact, Taylor used this strategy fairly often, for little more than a third of all names. Note that Hackston did not use this strategy even once.

The strategy is illustrated by the following example where Tupala has become Tornberg and Kyösti Mehtonen has become Markus Michelsson. Harjupää has been
transferred directly but without umlauts on the a’s in -pää and Harkönen has been transferred to Harko, to a shorter form without umlauts on ő.

– Noin, Tupala aloitti ja tuijotti vakavana kenkiinsä. – Ylikomisario Kyösti Mehtonen määräsi puhelimitse minun ilmoittamaan sinulle että hän määrää ylikonstaapeli Harjunpään ja vanhemman konstaapelin Härkösen ilmoittautumaan hänen virkahuoneessaan niin pian kuin mahdollista… (PO 99–100; emphasis added.)

‘Yes,’ Tornberg stared at his shoes in a serious mood. ‘Chief Superintendent Markus Michelsson telephoned and asked me to let you know that Detective Inspector Harjunpaa and Detective Sergeant Harko are ordered to report in to his office as soon as possible.’ (SM 73; emphasis added.)

As I have pointed out, there seems to be little logic to the translator’s choice of this strategy for some names and, perhaps most notably, for some surnames. Some names she has transferred directly and by using other strategies. The translator may have thought that Swedish names (and occasionally other Finnish names) were somehow more familiar or easier to pronounce for the British and other English-speaking audiences. Her aim may thus have been to ease understanding and make the text sound more familiar by “adapting” it culturally. On the other hand, replacement by a Swedish name differs from cultural adaptation in the sense that the result is not necessarily familiar and fluent. The strategy thus also contributes to the foreign effect. This foreign effect is not, however, entirely Finnish. One could argue that the translation makes Finland look more Swedish than it actually is. In Finland both Finnish and Swedish are official languages, but Swedish names are not as usual as Finnish ones – at least in all circles – and the languages are not mixed in everyday life as much as SM suggests.

Both the translators replaced familiar (non-standard) realia items by their standard Finnish forms on some occasions. This strategy was used sometimes with personal names, especially nicknames, cultural geographical realia, and in PE once with a cultural realia item. Examples include the street called Espa in everyday language, which was translated as the Esplanade in PE, Kaisu translated as Kaisaniemi in both of the translations, and Sibbe translated as Sibelius in PE.
The replacement by a standard form has perhaps eased grasping the Finnish realia item without erasing the source-cultural flavour of the translations. Where the two translators have resorted to this strategy, its use thus seems justified. Otherwise the audience would perhaps been unable to grasp what characters or places the translators were referring to. Or would a foreigner understand that Kaisaniemi and Kaisu refer to the same place?

On some rather rare occasions Finnish-culture-bound items were given their official English translations. For instance in PE, Sibelius’ composition Satu was rendered as En Saga, the composition’s original Swedish name and also its internationally used name. Other examples of what could be perhaps best be categorised as official equivalents include the translation of measures with their standard English forms. Thus metri has been translated as metres in PA and markat as marks in SM. Strangely, there is some incoherence in Hackston’s translation in this sense, as he renders measures by using both cultural adaptation, which he uses most of the time, and replacement by an “official equivalent”.

The measures are perhaps borderline cases of realia – or perhaps not even realia at all – in the sense that, unlike genuine realia items, marks and metres are known even though not used throughout the English-speaking world as well. They could thus perhaps be ignored in a study dealing with realia. However, as their role is not made real in literature dealing with realia, I have wanted to mention them here.

On some occasions the translators took a re-creative approach to invented names and nicknames. This happened seven times in PE and three times in SM. In PE, for instance, a creature called Kikkadaaraa-Messa became the Cupboard Monster, Kusikuttu was translated as Mr Piss Pants, and a boat called Suvi-Huvi as Summer Idyll. Re-creative translation seems to have been used to re-name some realia items that belong to children’s reality and other invented names, as the examples above illustrate.

Finally, there were instances where a realia item was replaced by something else so that the denotation of the item changed. The reason for the change of denotation is not always clear. The translator may have aimed at easing understanding, or a translation error may have occurred. In PE, for instance a cluster of names Kari tai Hönö was translated as
IT and nimipäivät as birthday. Paavo Väyrynen, or more precisely the expression Ja minä taas Paavo Väyrynen was translated as Right, and I’m the prime minister. In reality a person called Paavo Väyrynen has never been a prime minister of Finland, but rather minister of education, minister of labour, minister of foreign affairs and minister for trade and development. In SM VR:n henkilökunta (the staff of the national railway company) has been rendered as the nearby engineering works. Also curiously, some items that have equivalents in English were not rendered by using what could be considered their “official equivalent”: In PE, a man called Kengu turned into Roo and strangely not Kanga as in Winnie the Pooh. Similarly, Peter Pan became Tinkerbell.

6.3.8 Special cases

Lastly, as I mentioned earlier, there were in both of the novels police terms and in PA some invented religious terms that are not realia items in the full sense of the word, but rather borderline cases. I will start by describing how invented religious terms were translated in PE. Then I will take a brief look at the translation of police terms. Within the scope of my study concentrating on realia I will not, however, go into great detail.

In PE there were 16 types of invented religious terms. These seem to have been either transferred directly or translated literally, word for word. In a few cases, the translator has come up with something else, what might be called a “re-creative” translation. Words that seem to have found their way to Finnish through Christianity and the Bible plus Latinate words were transferred directly or by using a strategy involving direct transfer. Thus Apostoli became Apostle, Oranssi Apostoli was rendered as the Orange Apostle, and Advocatus Mamillus as Advocatus Mamillus. In addition, the name of the goddess, Maammo, was transferred directly. The more “imaginary” aspects of the religion seem to have been translated literally in most of the cases. Thus Pyhä Alkuräjähdys has been translated as the Holy Big Bang and, for instance, Viisi Viisasta, referring to a holy statue or a monument (in reality a lift or lifts in the Sanomatalo building), has been rendered the Five Wise Ones. A few items has been translated by other ways. Thus
Haaravarvas and Karvanokkainen, referring to pigeons that the Priest sacrifices, have been translated as a web-footed pigeon and as the golden-beaked pigeon.

The strategies that Hackston used with invented religious terms are, generally speaking, similar to those used for realia items. He seems to have been consistent in that he has also in this context chosen strategies that can be labelled foreignising.

Police terms, on the other hand, have been translated by rather different strategies. It seems that both translators have used explicitation in the form of replacement, replacement by a superordinate term, omission and official equivalents. Sometimes also other strategies have been used: the denotation has been changed or the translators have chosen a strategy different from the official equivalent available. In some cases I was unable to confirm whether the translation was an official equivalent, as all the terms are not actively used in such English material introducing the Finnish police, like web pages. On such occasions it is possible that the translators have sought help from the British (or American) English police vocabularies. As there seems not to be comprehensive lists of the official translations of the police terms, it is understandable that Hackston considered Finnish police terms a source of translation problems. Taylor may well have had similar feelings. The translation of police terms – and the use of official equivalents – would perhaps need a further study.

Examples of the use of official equivalents are the rendering of Helsingin Poliisilaitos as Helsinki Police Department in both of the novels, and the translation of Rikospoliisi as the C.I.D. (the Criminal Investigation Division) in SM. The rendering of KRP as the Criminal Police or as the Central Intelligence in PE illustrates how a police term can be translated by using something else than the official equivalent; in this case the official equivalent would have been the National Bureau of Investigation, or the NBI, which was not used in either of the novels.

As police terms are not genuine realia items in the sense that fairly similar terms exist in other languages and as there are practical problems in categorising the strategies used to translate them, I will not present any absolute numbers or percentages here, or discuss their translation in more detail. Next I will summarise the results of this study.
6.4 Summary of the results

This section seeks to sum up my findings on realia and translation strategies for realia in the two translations.

The total number of realia in both of the novels was quite high. There were 242 realia types in PO and 311 in PA, personal names included. In addition, there were invented religious terms in PA and police terms in both of the novels. In PO there were 34 different types of police terms, whereas in PA their number was 26. The number of invented religious terms in PA was 16. Police terms and invented religious terms are perhaps not realia in the strict sense. However, I dealt with them briefly in a separate chapter. For further analysis, I split the data in two, to personal names and other types of realia. The number of types of realia without personal names was 145 in PO, and 188 in PA. The tokens of these realia items, personal names excluded, were 301 in PO and 364 in PA. The tokens of personal names were not counted, as, for instance, personal names are often replaced by pronouns. The numbers of both types and tokens were somewhat higher in PA, probably because the book is longer.

The largest groups of the realia in the novels were personal names – including forenames, surnames, nicknames and invented names for creatures – geographical realia and social realia. The total number of references to Finnish culture and history, on the other hand, was low in both of the novels. The largest subcategories were forenames and surnames, cultural geography, and ways of life.

The distribution of realia in the novels seemed to reflect the fact that Joensuu’s books take place in a Finnish geographical and cultural geographical setting and are set against a Finnish social background. The numbers of historical and cultural realia are lower perhaps because the novels are police procedurals concentrating on the everyday work of policemen and the troubled life of wrong-doers committing crimes. In this type of novel there is perhaps a greater need to emphasise other things than, for instance, historical events and persons or cultural details.

When references to culture and leisure activities were, however, present in the novels, they most often had something to do with what could be called “low” culture –
pubs, sports and such. Also some elements of “high” culture were referred to in PA. In addition, religion was more visible in PE, which centred on a disturbed “priest”.

As to the strategies, the two novels had some general trends in common, but they had some differences as well. In analysing translation strategies I looked at personal names separately most of the time. I also discussed briefly, in a separate subsection, strategies for police terms and for invented religious terms and names. Personal names, including nicknames, were often transferred directly or by using a strategy involving direct transfer. In PE direct transfer was used for over 70 percent of the names, whereas in SM the percentage was under 45. Instead of direct transfer, the translator of SM had often replaced Finnish names and nicknames by Swedish ones. The use of other strategies for names was comparatively rare in both of the novels.

Also realia belonging to other main categories were often transferred directly or by using a strategy involving direct transfer (30.2% plus 4.9%) in PE, whereas in SM direct transfer was only the second most often used strategy (14.7% plus 9.6%) and was used much less. In SM the most often used strategy was instead the use of a superordinate term, which was the second most often used strategy in PE. In addition to the different frequencies and order of the two most often used strategies, SM differed from PE in the extent to which the translator had resorted to omission. Whereas omission was the fourth most frequently used strategy in SM, it was among the least used ones in PE. There were, however, some additional similarities between the translations as well: explicitation in the form of replacement was the third most frequently used strategy in both of the translations and the translators had resorted to other strategies more rarely. Both the translators had sometimes used “other” strategies, including re-creative translation of names and a change of denotation.

In PE personal names were thus generally speaking, considerably more often foreignised – translated by using strategies involving direct transfer, replacement by a standard form, calque and explicitation in the form of addition – than domesticated. Foreignising strategies, especially strategies involving direct transfer, were also common in the translation of names in SM, but the translator of PE foreignised more. In addition, the translator of SM used fairly often the peculiar strategy of replacement by a Swedish name, which can perhaps, in some sense, be categorised as a foreignising strategy, but its foreign effect is not really Finnish. Both of the translators used domesticating strategies for names
quite rarely, that is, they translated names by using a superordinate term, explicitation in the form of replacement and omission.

For realia belonging to other categories the translator of PE used, statistically speaking, roughly the same proportion of foreignising strategies as domesticating ones, and he foreignised more than the translator of SM. The translator of SM, on the other hand, used more domesticating strategies than foreignising ones, and foreignised less than the translator of the PE. Whereas a foreignising strategy – direct translation – was the most frequently used strategy in PE, a domesticating strategy – the use of a superordinate— was the most frequently used strategy in SM. Also omission was used more in SM than in PE.

The general strategy in PE thus seems to be clearly foreignising. The general or global strategy of the translator of SM is less clear. Both of the translations must seem reasonably foreign to an English-speaker. One could, however, argue that part of the foreignness attained by the translator of SM is somewhat peculiar, more Swedish-sounding than Finland actually is. In conclusion, even though one cannot determine definitely the global strategy of the translator of SM, it is clear that there is at least a noticeable difference in the degree of foreignness in the translations.

As to determining how well the global strategy guided the translators’ choices at a local level, it seems that the translator of PE was more coherent in his choice of local strategy for individual items than the translator of SM, who in various similar situations resorted to a variety of different strategies.
7 DISCUSSION

This chapter seeks to place the findings of the study in a wider context. I will discuss how the culture-bound items in the two novels were translated and what could have motivated the choice of strategy. Of all the factors influencing the translator’s choice I will concentrate on norms. I will return to the claim presented earlier that domestication is the norm when translating into English (Venuti 1995: 16–17).

Earlier I defined norms as “performance instructions” specifying what is prescribed and forbidden as well as what is tolerated and permitted that an individual translator acquires during his or her socialisation (Toury 1995: 55, 64). I indicated that I would discuss norms concerning the decisions made during the translation act and, especially, the initial norm concerning the translator’s basic choice between subjecting him or herself either to the norms of the source or target culture (Toury 1995: 56-59). I also pointed out that the strength of norms may vary along the temporal axis and that norms may change over time (Toury 1995: 54, 62) and that I will try and see whether these two translations offer any proof of a change in norms.

Drawing any definite conclusions about norms is, of course, impossible after an analysis of only two translations. There are two main reasons for this. First, the size of the data is limited. Toury (1995: 38) has pointed out that one pair of texts does not constitute a proper corpus for study and suggests that a translator aspiring to supply valid explanations extend the corpus either directly or indirectly, referring to explanations which have been formulated in previous studies. The situation is hardly different with two pairs of texts. The extension of the corpus through relying on findings of earlier similar studies is not possible, as to my knowledge, translating realia from Finnish into English has not been studied much before. Studies concentrating on translation from another minor language culture to a more dominant one might, of course, offer some help, but within the scope of this study it is not possible to base the discussion on them.

Second, individual variation between translators is always possible (Nedergaard-Larsen 1993: 235–236) and translators may also choose not to conform to norms (Toury 55, 64), even though non-normative behaviour is rare in actual practice (Toury 1995: 55, 64), especially among professional translators (Chesterman 1997: 76-77). Extending the corpus
one way or another would perhaps help in telling apart potentially non-normative behaviour from normative behaviour, but this have to be left to another study.

On the other hand, each small study adds to our knowledge of the world and can offer valuable insights into it. This study can thus outline some potential trends to be verified in a further study. I thus draw some tentative conclusions about norms in translating from Finnish into English on the basis of the two novels.

The translations that I analysed in the previous chapter have both been foreignised to the extent that they do not really seem fluent and natural English all the time. Instead, they contain people, places, ways of life and the like that must seem rather foreign to English-speaking audiences. However, the two novels clearly differ from each other in the degree to which they domesticate and foreignise. The translator of PE tends to foreignise rather than domesticate both names and other types of realia. The translator of SM foreignises as well, but to a lesser degree. In SM names are most often foreignised, but other types of realia are most frequently translated by using more domesticating strategies, even though foreignising is not that rare in this translation either. To sum up, the tendency to foreignise is clearer in PE.

On a local level, the two translations have some striking differences as well. The translator of SM has resorted fairly often to omission and a strategy whereby she replaces Finnish-sounding Finnish names by Swedish-sounding ones. The latter could point to a wider tendency in the past to use Swedish names instead of Finnish ones in translation. On the basis of the data it seems that a different tendency exists at the moment – that of almost always transferring names directly into English. Meaningful names seem to be an exception to this rule, as they may be translated by using re-creative strategies. Thus the results of this study support the findings of such scholars as Aixelá (1996: 59-60) who have pointed out that conventional names tend to be transferred directly, “except when there is a pre-established translation based on tradition”, and meaningful names tend to “have much greater margin of indeterminacy”. On the other hand, the tendency of modifying names may not be limited to the past only (see Impola’s translation of the Finnish novel Täällä Pohjantähden alla, Under the North Star 2001). A further study would perhaps be needed to confirm the prevailing norm in translating names from Finnish into English.

The decrease in the degree of domestication and the increase in the degree of foreignisation could point to a more general tendency of growing foreignisation in
translating from Finnish into English. Even though the tendency to use foreignising strategies and the increase in the use of foreignising strategies is clearest with personal names, foreignising seems to be increasing with other types of realia as well. A more extensive corpus, perhaps consisting of a more equal distribution of different types of realia, would perhaps, however, be needed to confirm how well the tendency of growing foreignisation applies to different types of realia in different texts.

The reason for the potentially growing tendency to foreignise may be the assumed familiarity of the British and international audiences with Finnish culture and society. Florin (1993: 123) has pointed out that if the audience is familiar with the source language realia, realia will not hinder or prevent communication, even without a “special approach”. Thus translators would find strategies contributing to the foreignising global strategy better justified. Leppihalme (2001: 144) has indeed pointed out that time and globalisation may well make foreign realia more familiar than earlier. It seems possible, then, that British and international audiences are getting more familiar with Finnish source culture realia and translators nowadays thus feel less need to resort to domesticating strategies.

The tendency to foreignise – and the growing tendency to foreignise – may, on the other hand, be caused by the fact that local colour is considered valuable as such in today’s translating circles. As I have pointed out, norms are connected to values and the possible values include understanding, on the one hand, and some other values on the other (Chesterman 1997: 48). Some scholars seem to value something that could be termed “local colour” (e.g. Venuti 1995). The same might be true of some communities of translators. There might, then, be a change in the values, and we are able to observe it by looking at translated texts and translation strategies used to translate them.

The third potential cause for the overall tendency to foreignise in both of the novels might have more to do with the genre. Thus the change might be more typical of the genre and not of translation from Finnish into English in general. I have analysed two novels that could be said to represent the genre of crime fiction. Florin (1993: 127) has suggested that in some genres such as adventure books foreignising strategies can sometimes create a desirable exotic element whereas in books representing other genres, such as children’s books, they may result in a failure to understand. It is possible that crime fiction differs from some other genres in the “desirability” of the foreign element in the text and that thus
the results of this study do not tell much about tendencies in translation of other genres from Finnish into English.

The data of my analysis show, however, that in the context of translating crime fiction from Finnish into English, Venuti’s (1995: 16-17) claim that in "Anglo-American culture" domestication is the predominant strategy does not necessarily hold true. The two translations that I have analysed in this thesis were not “fluent” English-language texts marked by “the absence of stylistic or linguistic peculiarities” that would have made them seem transparent (Venuti 1995: 1). As I am not certain of the national origin and the native language of the translator of SM, I cannot confirm whether this tendency not to domesticate has something to do with the national origin of the translator as Leppihalme’s (2006: 789) study suggests.

In conclusion, on the basis of the two Harjunpää novels it seems there might be a tendency to foreignise when translating crime fiction from Finnish into English. It is also possible that there is a growing tendency towards greater foreignisation. As I have pointed out, however, any generalisations of the results of the analysis that I conducted in this thesis – as to type or realia, genre and so on – would require further study.
8 CONCLUSION

Culture can be manifested in texts in several ways. In this thesis I set out to study explicit references to culture-specific artefacts, institutions and traditions (also called realia) and the ways these have been translated. I decided to include in my analysis of realia also ordinary personal names not always included in such analyses. In addition to realia and strategies, I decided to look at potential reasons for the translator’s choice of strategy. Of all possible causes I concentrated on translation norms. My research questions could be summarised as follows: What realia items were there in the novels? What strategies did the translators use to translate them? How could we explain their choice of strategy? Could the existence of a norm or norms explain their choice of strategy?

My empirical material consisted of two Finnish novels and their English translations. The novels were Matti Yrjänä Joensuu’s crime novels Harjunpää ja poliisin poika (Harjunpaa and the stone murders) published in 1983 and Harjumä ja pahan pappi (The Priest of Evil) published in 2003. The former was translated into English by Raili Taylor in 1986, and the latter by David Hackston in 2006. As an enthusiastic reader of Joensuu’s crime novels I knew that these books would prove to be an abundant source of material, as they often refer to people, places and things Finnish. In addition to their “Finnishness”, they were the only Harjunpää novels ever translated into English.

The two Finnish novels made it possible to test the claim that translation into English favours domesticating strategies as a norm. Thus I also set out to discover what happens to culture-bound items in translation from Finnish to the dominant "Anglo-American culture". As there also is a time gap of 20 years between the translations, the two novels made it possible to consider a potential diachronic change in translation strategies and translation norms. I assumed that the degree of familiarity of the British people and the English-speaking world with Finnish culture has increased and this may have affected the translation strategies the two translators have chosen.

The total number of realia in both of the novels was quite extensive. The number of realia types was 242 in Harjunpää ja poliisin poika and 311 in Harjunpää ja pahan pappi, names included. Names, excluded the number of realia types were 145 in Harjunpää ja poliisin poika and 188 in Harjunpää ja pahan pappi, and their tokens 301 and 364. Tokens
of names were not counted. In addition, there were in the both of the novels some police terms and in the more recent novel invented religious terms that I treated separately.

The largest groups of the realia in the novels were personal names, which I treated separately, and geography and society. In this type of novels there was perhaps a greater need to emphasise the geographical setting and the social reality of crimes and police work than culture and, especially, history. The distribution of realia in the novels thus reflects the fact that Joensuu’s books take place in a Finnish geographical setting and are set against a Finnish social background. When culture was referred to, it was mostly popular culture. However, the number of references to so-called "high culture" was somewhat higher in Harjunpää and pahan pappi. Historical references were very rare in both of the novels.

Both of the translators seemed, in principle, to use often local-level strategies that contribute to the foreignising global-level strategy, i.e., strategies involving direct transfer, calque and explicitation in the form of addition, and replacement by a standard form. The translator of the Priest of Evil, however, foreignised more, both personal names and other types of realia, which indicates that there might be a diachronic change in the use of strategies towards more foreignising strategies. The translator of Harjunpaa and the stone murders often foreignised names, but translated other realia items by using more local-level strategies that contribute to the domesticating global-level strategy, that is, replacement by a superordinate term, explicitation in the form of replacement, and omission, especially with other categories of realia than personal names. In addition, she sometimes resorted to the peculiar strategy of replacing Finnish names by Swedish ones, which, in a sense, contributed to the foreignised effect of her novel but perhaps gave a picture of Finland that differs from the reality.

From the rather limited material it is, of course, impossible to draw any definite conclusions, but it seems that in the context of translating crime fiction from Finnish into English there is a growing tendency to foreignise and that foreignising is gaining more ground. There may also have been a tendency earlier to translate some realia into Swedish when translating from Finnish into English. Thus this analysis does not support the idea that English readers or publishers would prefer fluent translation and domesticating strategies. The translations of Finnish crime novels taste Finnish instead. There are many potential reasons for the growing tendency to foreignise, for instance the growing
familiarity with Finnish culture, the changing values of the translators’ community and the requirements of the genre of crime fiction.

Further study, perhaps based on a more extensive and varied corpus, is still needed to confirm whether my observations about the tendency to foreignise apply more generally to other novels, other translations and other genres in translation from Finnish into English. Also further study, supplementing an analysis of texts with interviews or questionnaires conducted among translators, could perhaps help in better determining the reasons for the translators’ choice of strategy.
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Primary sources


Other Joensuu’s texts cited


Secondary sources


Databases

Arto, the Reference Database of Finnish Articles
https://arto.linneanet.fi/

Fennica, the Finnish National Bibliography
https://fennica.linneanet.fi/
**Other**

The Finnish Police
Available:

Police badges of rank
Available:

Poliisin virka-asemaa osoittavat merkit
Available:
## APPENDIX 1.

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