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Assessing the Validity of the Retranslation Hypothesis
in the Finnish Translations of the Novel *Mary Poppins*

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ABBREVIATIONS

JKJ 2010: Jaana Kapari Jatta's translation, first published in 2010

MM 1982: Marikki Makkonen's translation, first published in 1982

ST: Source text *Mary Poppins*, the revised version, by Travers, Pamela Lyndon (2006, 1st published 1934).

TT 1936: Tyyni Tuulio's translation, first published in 1936

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ABSTRACT

Uudelleenkääntämisessä on kysymys saman lähtötekstin kääntämisestä samalle kohdekielelle useamman kuin yhden kerran. Yksi mahdollisuus tutkia uudelleenkäännöksiä on tarkastella niitä uudelleenkääntämisen hypoteesin näkökulmasta. Tämän hypoteesin mukaan myöhemmät käännökset ovat aina lähempänä lähtötekstiä kuin alkuperäinen käännös. Tässä tutkielmassa tarkastellaan ensisijaisesti uudelleenkääntämisen hypoteesin paikkansapitävyyttä englanninkielisen romaanin *Mary Poppins* kolmessa suomenkielisessä käännöksessä. Tutkielman toissijainen tavoite on tarkastella näitten kolmen käännöksen metonyymisyyttä. Metonyymisyydellä tässä tutkielmassa viitataan lähtötekstin kulttuuristen viittausten kohteluun käännösprosessin aikana. Toisin sanoen, miten ja missä määrin eri käännökset ilmentävät lähtötekstin kulttuuria. Sekä metonyymisyyttä että uudelleenkääntämisen hypoteesin paikkansapitävyyttä arvioidaan tässä tutkielmassa tarkastelemalla mitä kahdesta käännösstrategiasta kääntäjät ovat suosineet lähtötekstin kulttuuristen viittausten yhteydessä. Assimiloivat käännösstrategiat etäännyttävät käännöksen sekä lähtötekstistä että lähtökulttuurista, kun taas aggressiiviset käännösratkaisut lähentävät kohdetekstiä lähtötekstiin sekä tuovat lähtötekstin kulttuurin lähemmäs käännöksen lukijoita.

Tutkielman tulosten mukaan tässä materiaalissa uudelleenkääntämisen hypoteesi on paikkansapitävä. Tästä syystä voidaan todeta, että vieraat kulttuurit ja käytänteet ovat tänä päivänä tunnetumpia sekä lukijoille että kääntäjille, jolloin lähtökulttuuriin kiinteästi liittyviä viittauksia ei enää jouduta assimiloimaan niin paljon. Nykyään lukijat myös hyväksyvät enemmän 'outoutta' tekstissä, mistä syystä käännökset voivat tänä päivänä ilmentää lähtökulttuuria selvemmin. Tulosten perusteella on mahdollista myös väittää, että käännökset todellakin ikääntyvät, minkä vuoksi uudelleenkääntäminen on tarpeellista ja jopa välttämätöntä. Tutkielman tulokset viittaavat myös siihen, että lähtötekstin toinen käännös on metonyymisempi kuin ensimmäinen ja kolmas käännös. Tosin sanoen, toisessa käännöksessä lähtökulttuuri on selvimmin läsnä. Tästä voidaan vetää johtopäätös, että toinen käännös on suunnattu varttuneemmalle lukijakunnalle kuin kaksi muuta käännöstä.

KEYWORDS: Retranslation, the retranslation hypothesis, metonymics of translation, material culture, social culture

1 INTRODUCTION

A case where there is more than one translation of the same source text into the same target language is called retranslation (Chesterman 2000: 22). The study of retranslation opens up new possibilities to view translations and translating because simple and straightforward comparative studies of the source text and target text might be, at least to some scholars, insufficient. Retranslations are a fascinating object of study because one has the possibility to compare two or more translations of the same source text not only with the source text but with each other as well. Regarding retranslations Kaisa Koskinen and Outi Paloposki (2003: 21) have suggested several new research possibilities, such as what retranslations are, what kind of an action retranslation is, why certain texts are retranslated and others are not, and what happens to texts when they are retranslated.

Retranslation has a long tradition, and various types of texts have been retranslated in the course of time. The most famous of all retranslated texts, according to Helin (2005: 152), is the Bible, which has been translated, for instance, into Finnish four times. In literary translation retranslation is often related to translating classics of literature that already enjoy canonical status. On the other hand, novels that are candidates for the canon of classics of literature are more easily retranslated than other types of literature. (Venuti 2004: 25–27.) It should, however, be noted that theoretical texts are retranslated as well. Sebnem Susam-Sarajeva (2003: 2) for instance, mentions semiotician Roland Barthes and his works that have been translated and retranslated into Turkish several times.

In Finland, retranslation of academic texts is rare, whereas retranslation of literature is a more frequent phenomenon (Koskinen & Paloposki 2004). Novels that have been translated into Finnish more than once include such classics as Lewis Carroll's *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* (four translations into Finnish), Rudyard Kipling's *The Jungle Book* (five translations) and Emily Brontë's *Wuthering Heights* (five translations) (Petäjä 2004: C5). Moreover, the primary material of this particular study,

the novel *Mary Poppins*, has been translated into Finnish three times. In recent years, retranslations have been also widely discussed in the Finnish press, for instance, in 2004 and 2006 in the newspaper Helsingin Sanomat. Since the publishing of a retranslation of a novel tends to receive a great deal of interest in the press (Koskinen & Paloposki 2004), retranslating cannot be considered a mere curiosity that only interests the academic world and thereby remains an unknown activity among the general public.

There are a number of reasons why different texts are translated more than once into the same target language. The basic assumption of retranslation is that it occurs when the earlier translations are found to be somehow lacking, inaccurate and/or dated. (Susam-Sarajeva 2003: 2; Jianzhong 2003: 193–194.) Languages change, as do societies, ideologies, and even audiences and cultures as a whole. All these developments contribute to the need of retranslations because, it is argued, all translations inevitably age and, therefore the audience is in need of new and better translations. (Helin: 2005: 145–148; Jianzhong 2003: 194.) Sometimes a text might even be retranslated because of the translator's own ambition; he/she is determined that he/she will be able to provide a more accurate version of the source text (Venuti 2004: 30). Consequently, as Jianzhong (2003: 193–194) adds, it is generally assumed and expected that the retranslation is somehow better than the previous translation(s), and that it will displace the previous translation(s).

The study of retranslations is not a new phenomenon in the field of translation studies, quite the opposite in fact. There are several studies of retranslations, and scholars in the field of translation studies have tried to provide an answer to questions such as what retranslation is and how the subsequent translations differ from one another (Koskinen & Paloposki 2003: 21). In Finland, scholars such as Pekka Kujamäki, Outi Paloposki, Kaisa Koskinen and Riitta Oittinen have been writing about retranslations. Kujamäki, for instance, has discussed the eight different translations of the Finnish novel *Seven Brothers* into German, and Riitta Oittinen has been studying the four Finnish translations of *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*. These studies have been comparative studies where the main interest has been to compare the existing

retranslations with each other and with the source text. There are, however, other, less popular ways to study retranslations as well.

Retranslation hypothesis provides one perspective on the study of retranslations. According to the hypothesis, if there are more than one translation of the same source text into the same target language, the later translation(s) tend(s) to be closer to the source text than the earlier one(s) (Chesterman 2000: 23). This hypothesis is based on the assumption that first translations are more domesticating and retranslations more foreignizing. According to Paloposki and Koskinen (2001: 28–29) the basis for the assumption is the fact that if the source text culture is unfamiliar to the target text audience, there is a dire need to domesticate the unfamiliar aspects in order to make the text understandable and readable for the receptor audience, and thus more acceptable as well. Paloposki and Koskinen also argue that if and when the retranslation is produced and published many years after the initial translation, the retranslation will inevitably gain from the passage of time; it is likely that in the course of time the source text culture has become more familiar to the target text readers. Paloposki and Koskinen continue by arguing that in such case there will not be as strong need to domesticate the foreign elements of the source text as before, and the readers of the source text will probably tolerate more unfamiliar elements in general in the target text as well.

In spite of the recent interest in retranslations, only few scholars have, however, found the retranslation hypothesis worth testing. Although Kujamäki and Oittinen, for instance, have studied retranslations, they have not specifically tested the retranslation hypothesis. It is, in fact, common that although scholars have studied retranslations, they only mention the retranslation hypothesis in passing. (Paloposki & Koskinen 2001: 28–33.) There are, in actual fact, only a few studies where the retranslation hypothesis has been the main focus of the study *per se*, therefore, studying retranslations and testing the retranslation hypothesis in the same study seems to be a topic that calls for further study. Consequently, the main purpose of this study is to contribute to this lack in research and to examine and test the retranslation hypothesis in my material, the English novel *Mary Poppins* and its three Finnish translations.

In this study Maria Tymoczko's idea of "the metonymics of translation" (Tymoczko 1999b: 41) has been chosen as the theoretical tool to test the validity of the retranslation hypothesis in the primary material. Here, metonymics of translation is defined in the following manner: translation is perceived as an activity determined by rewriting and selection. Because texts are filled with various kinds of information, such as various types of cultural references, it will be impossible to translate all the aspects of the source text comprehensively, otherwise the translation would contain too much information. Therefore, a translator has to choose which aspects of the source text, hence aspects of the source culture, will be translated and which aspects will be left untouched. (Tymoczko 1999a: 22–23.) Because translators are not only transferring words from one language to another but also cultures as a whole, the main interest of this study is the "cultural elements" (Tymoczko 1999a: 45) of the source text and how these cultural elements are rendered in the three translations. In other words, this study first identifies those strategies that the translators have used when translating the cultural elements of the source text. Secondly, the translation strategies are examined based on the retranslation hypothesis. The aim of the study is, therefore, twofold; the purpose of this study is both to examine the validity of the retranslation hypothesis in the material and to see how the three target texts represent metonymically the source culture.

Because the idea of both culture and of cultural elements is broad both in scope and content, it is necessary to restrict it somehow. Therefore, only the most frequent elements of culture in the novel *Mary Poppins* are chosen as the main interest of this study. These frequently appearing cultural elements are then divided into three main categories; "material culture", "social culture" (Tymoczko 1999b: 45) and intermediate category. The category of material culture contains such concrete, tangible objects as are food and drink. The category of social culture includes the most frequent abstract element in the novel, proper nouns. Furthermore, a third category, namely a kind of intermediate category between material and social culture was deemed necessary. The need for this third category arose because of a certain source culture related custom that turned out to have a crucial importance in the novel, that is, the custom of having a cup of tea and especially having afternoon-tea. Tea as a drink is something tangible and concrete, hence material culture, but drinking tea can also be understood as a culture-

defining custom, hence social culture. All cultural elements provide for the story's depiction of the setting; in other words, they place the story in a specific time and place, and help the reader to identify with the characters and the story.

In order to find out whether the retranslation hypothesis applies to this particular material, the analysis concentrates on examining the translation strategies used in the context of the chosen cultural elements of the source text. In practice this means analysing whether the three translators have favoured either "assimilative" or "aggressive" (Tymoczko 1999a: 21) translation strategies in their translations. When using assimilative strategies a translator will change the cultural elements into something more familiar and more easily recognizable to the target text audience, whereas when using aggressive strategies the source text's unfamiliar elements are preserved also in the target text, regardless of their difficulty and unfamiliarity to the target text readers. According to the retranslation hypothesis, thus, it is assumed that the initial translation would be more assimilated whereas the retranslations should be more aggressive. The analysis will, eventually, reveal if this is the case in this particular material and moreover, the analysis will also reveal which cultural elements metonymically represent the source culture in the target texts.

The primary material of this study, *Mary Poppins*, was originally published in England in 1934, and it has been translated into Finnish in its entirety twice and partially once. The novel was first translated in 1936 by Tyyni Tuulio, and a partial retranslation, which I consider to be a revised version of the 1936 translation, was published in 1982, by Marikki Makkonen. Makkonen mainly revised the initial translation, hence her translation has been called a partial retranslation. However, since Makkonen made such substantial changes in her translation and since these changes have had a significant effect on how the source culture is viewed in the target culture, in this study her revision is treated as the first retranslation. The second retranslation, which is also a translation of the entire novel, was done by Jaana Kapari-Jatta and it was published in 2010. *Mary Poppins*, or *Maija Poppanen* in Finnish, is a novel intended for children and young readers, but it might also interest adult audiences, as adults often read such stories aloud to children. The fact that the novel has been translated three times would support the

argument that it is, indeed, a canonical classic of its genre, namely literature for the adolescent.

This study will continue with the description of material and method used in this study, and in the following chapter I will focus the special nature of translating and retranslating for children. This discussion is then followed by an account on the cultural elements in the novel *Mary Poppins* in chapter two. Retranslation, the retranslation hypothesis and the metonymics of translation are discussed in more detail in chapter three. In chapter four the detailed analysis of the local translation strategies in the context of the cultural elements will reveal whether or not the retranslation hypothesis is applicable to this particular material, and the final conclusions are presented in chapter five.

1.1 Material

The primary material of this study has been the English novel *Mary Poppins* and its three Finnish translations called *Maija Poppanen*. *Mary Poppins* was initially published in England in 1934, and it is written by Pamela Lyndon Travers. Travers, born in 1899, spent her childhood in Queensland, Australia, and she moved to England in the early 1930s. In England she settled down in London, and in the winter of 1933 she began to write the story of Mary Poppins, an extraordinary, vain and snappy, yet dependable and surprisingly authoritative nanny. The first novel *Mary Poppins* was soon followed by a series of books depicting the adventures of the same protagonist. (Picardie 2008.) The primary material of this study, however, has been only the first novel of the series, called *Mary Poppins*.

Mary Poppins tells the story of the nanny Mary Poppins and her four protégés, the Banks family children, Jane, Michael, John and Barbara. Mary Poppins is, indeed, a unique nanny because she can, among other things, fly, speak with animals and the wind. With their special nanny the Banks children experience many marvellous and fantastic adventures and meet many unusual people. Even though Mary Poppins is such

an unorthodox nanny, she is also the authoritative adult the children can always count on. *Mary Poppins* has been a success all over the western world right from its initial publication in England in the late 1930s. The novel has been translated into 25 languages and has sold millions of copies over the years (Silvey 1995: 648). It has also been made into a film by Disney in the 1960s (Heinänen 2010). The novel is still reprinted, and both translated and retranslated, thus suggesting that it possesses enduring charm.

Mary Poppins was first translated into Finnish by Tyyni Tuulio in 1936, and her translation was reprinted six times; in 1956, 1963, 1965, 1967, 1970, and 1980. The second translation, that is, the first retranslation of *Mary Poppins* into Finnish was done by Marikki Makkonen and published in 1982. Makkonen's translation, however, was only a partial translation, that is, she did not translate the whole novel herself but only revised parts of Tuulio's initial translation. Although in many parts of the novel Makkonen has followed Tuulio's initial translation very closely, she has, nevertheless, made substantial changes in other parts. She has, for instance, left the names of the characters in English whereas Tuulio has substituted them with Finnish names. Although Makkonen's translation could be seen as a mere revision, in this study it is, nevertheless, treated as the first retranslation because the changes she has made carry significant weight with the purpose of this study. Makkonen's retranslation was reprinted twice; in 1995 and 2009. Finally, the third translation, that is, the second retranslation of *Mary Poppins* was done by Jaana Kapari-Jatta and its first edition was published in 2010. Unlike Makkonen, Kapari-Jatta translated the entire novel. Interestingly, the publishing company WSOY has acted as the publisher the whole time. (Fennica 2011.) In this study, I have used the 1956 edition of the novel as the primary source text, and the 1980 edition of Tuulio's translation, the 2009 edition of Makkonen's translation and the 2010 edition of Kapari-Jatta's translation as my primary target text sources. Henceforth in this study Tyyni Tuulio's translation is referred to as TT 1936, Marikki Makkonen's translation as MM 1982, and Jaana Kapari-Jatta's translation as JKJ 2010.

As attempting to define culture and cultural elements is an enormous, almost insurmountable task, in this thesis culture and its elements under study have been first divided into exact categories. There are a number of ways of categorizing cultural elements, and Maria Tymoczko (1999b: 47), for instance, divides culture as a whole into two categories; *material culture* and *social culture*. According to Tymoczko (1999b: 47) material culture references are elements that are concrete and tangible, such as food items and clothing. Social culture references, on the other hand, are more abstract, for instance, different customs and habits. For the purpose of this study I have categorized the most prominent features of the source text's cultural elements according to these two major categories. However, it has been felt necessary to create a third category as well which falls in between the two categories introduced by Tymoczko. I have called this third category the *intermediate category*. Representatives of these three categories have been such cultural references that are frequently present in the novel, and that possibly also define the source text culture more or less alien in the target text culture.

After a close examination of the source text the most prominent feature of the material culture in the novel, with the total of 86 references in the source text, has appeared to be food and drink. Examples of references to food and drink are, for instance, "scones" (Travers 1956: 83) and "lime-juice cordial" (Travers 1956: 12). When examining the social-culture elements of the source text the most prominent feature of that category has clearly turned out to be proper nouns. The examination has revealed that there are 35 cases of first and last names and 11 descriptive names in the source text, although in some cases the first and last names have been categories as both 'normal' proper names and descriptive names, depending on their usage. There are also 6 references to real-life, historic characters. Examples of proper nouns in the source text are first and last names, such as "Mr. Banks [...] Mrs. Banks [...] Jane [...] Michael" (Travers 1956: 2), place names, for instance "the City [and] St. Paul's Cathedral" (Travers 1956: 104), and names of historic real-life people, for instance, "William the Conqueror" (Travers 1956: 120). The third, intermediate category included all the references to having tea and having afternoon-tea. There are altogether 12 chapters in the novel, and in eight of them having a cup of tea or afternoon-tea is mentioned, for instance, in chapter three

“Laughing Gas”; “...and in the centre stood an enormous table laid for tea” (Travers 1956: 31).

All the cultural elements identified and chosen for study served a number of functions in the novel, for instance, they were clear signs of the uniqueness and specialty of the source culture and as such possibly more or less unfamiliar to the target text readers. All these cultural references set the story in a specific time and place, characterizing both the setting and the characters in the novel helping the reader to identify with the story and its characters.

1.2 Method

The aim of this study has been twofold. Firstly, the main purpose has been to assess the validity of the retranslation hypothesis in this particular material, that is, in the three Finnish translations of the English novel *Mary Poppins*. Secondly, I also wanted to discover which aspects of the source culture the translators have chosen to retain in their target texts. I concluded that the best way to approach these two goals would be to look into the source text’s cultural elements and see how they have been rendered in the target texts. Therefore, to examine the cultural elements in this thesis Maria Tymoczko’s idea of “the metonymics of translation” (Tymoczko 1999b: 41) has been considered to be the most appropriate tool.

Metonymics of translation refers, in short, to selection. All texts contain a great deal of information, for instance, many different types of cultural references. Because of this abundant nature of information, during a translation process it would be impossible to select all the information available in the source text and transfer it into the target text. Therefore, a translator has to make conscious decisions about which features of the source text and source culture will be retained in the target text and which will be disregarded. If the translator would translate all the features and all the information available in the source text, the information load of the target text would be too high. It therefore follows that in order to make the translation task possible in the first place and

the translation readable, the translator has to choose which aspects of the source text and of the source culture to favour and which aspects to leave out in the translation. (Tymoczko 1999b: 41–48.) In this sense translation is all about selection and rewriting; favouring something at the expense of something else, and rewriting the source text into an altogether new text. For the reasons just provided, in this thesis the view of translation as metonymic action was applied to the selection of the source text's "cultural elements" (Tymoczko 1999a: 21) for translation. In other words, I wanted to find out which aspects of the source culture the three translators have selected to preserve in their translations and how they have done that.

The retranslation hypothesis, on the other hand, was tested by studying which global translation strategies the translators have selected to use in the context of the source text's cultural elements. In practice the analysis concentrated on the distribution of the two global translation strategies; "*assimilative* strategies" and "*aggressive*" (Tymoczko 1999: 21) strategies. According to Tymoczko (1999a: 21) when a translator brings the source text closer to the reader by fading out the culturally unfamiliar elements and changing them into something more familiar and more easily recognizable for the target text audience, he/she is practicing an assimilative strategy. In using an aggressive translation strategy, on the other hand, the source text's unfamiliar elements are left in the target text and the reader is brought closer to the source text. Moreover, Paloposki and Koskinen (2001: 28) state that the retranslation hypothesis is based on the assumption that first translations are always less faithful to the source text, hence more assimilated, whereas the subsequent translations are more faithful to the source text, hence aggressive.

Translations, which are either assimilative or aggressive, are produced by using different local translation strategies. Both Tymoczko (1999a: 25) and Peter Newmark (1988: 103) offer several possible translation strategies for translating cultural elements. Assimilative translation strategies would be omissions, additions, adaptation, neutralisation and explication of the source text, providing footnotes and glossaries, using cultural equivalents or "accepted standard translation[s]" (Newmark 1988: 103). On the other hand, aggressive translation strategies are literal translations, transference

and implication of the source text. The main purpose of the analysis was to examine if the initial translation is more assimilated than the two retranslations, thus, the analysis concentrated on the distribution of the aggressive and assimilative translation strategies in the context of the chosen cultural elements in the three translations. This examination eventually revealed whether or not the retranslation hypothesis was applicable in this particular material. Moreover, the examination of the distribution of the aggressive translation strategies also provided an answer to the question which aspects the three translators had chosen to be metonymic of the source culture in the target texts.

In the following section this thesis provides an account of the special characteristics of translation and retranslation for children. The discussion is important because it explains some of the decisions the translators have made during the translation process. Chapter two elaborates the nature of the cultural elements in the source text and introduces the object of study, that is, material culture, social culture and the intermediate category in more detail. Chapter three first examines retranslation as a phenomenon and then discusses the retranslation hypothesis. It then provides a more detailed account of metonymics of translation. In chapter four the translation strategies in the context of the chosen cultural elements of the novel will be analysed in detail. As the aim of this thesis is twofold, the main purpose of the analysis is, firstly, to provide evidence for or against the retranslation hypothesis and its applicability in this particular material. Secondly, chapter four also concentrates on the aspects that are metonymic of the source culture in the three translations. Finally, chapter five is dedicated to conclusions.

1.3. Translating and Retranslating for Children

Defining both childhood and children's literature is a complicated task. Firstly, children's literature as a genre appears to be so multifaceted and secondly, it is also difficult to determine what the term 'childhood' comprises of. 'Childhood' as a concept and the notion who belongs in that category seems to change constantly, according to the time and place in question and according to the needs, expectations and what is

seen appropriate by the authority – the adults (Lathey 2010: 6.) Eithne O’Connell (2006: 16), however, quoting Oittinen (1993a: 11) concludes that children’s literature is “literature read silently by children and aloud to children”. O’Connell continues, quoting Reiss (1982: 7), that children’s literature is both the literature read by and to children, but also the literature that is written especially for children and young readers. Another key issue to remember about children’s literature is that it is usually written by somebody who is not a member of the primary audience – by an adult. (O’Connell 2006: 16–17.) Moreover, Emer O’Sullivan (2006: 149) notes that children’s literature has a special nature of belonging to two categories simultaneously; it often has both educational and entertaining value at the same time.

The genre of the original novel *Mary Poppins* is more or less ambiguous. On the other hand, then novel’s story has a great deal of fantasy elements, and it could be assumed that these would primarily attract very young readers, thus, according to what Oittinen claims (1993a: 11), it would be classified as children’s literature. Moreover, when *Mary Poppins* was translated and published the first time in Finnish, in the Finnish Library Society’s journal, *Arvosteleva Kirjaluettelo* it was described as “a typical English children’s novel characterized by absurd foolishness” (Hendolin 1937: 115, quoted in Heikkilä-Halttunen 2007: 474, my translation). On the other hand, the novel is quite lengthy, there are many complicated sentence structures, and there are only a few, black and white illustrations by Mary Shephard. The length of the novel would, therefore, suggest that this novel would be primarily read aloud to most children, at least to children who cannot yet read themselves or have just learned to read, or that the children reading the story by themselves would have to be somewhat older, for instance, more than 10-years old. In libraries and bookshops *Mary Poppins* is placed in the children’s department, which would indicate that this novel, indeed, is children’s literature. On the other hand, the story is a mixture of fantastic and everyday elements and also, at some level, a story about the basic values in family life, which would attract more mature readers as well. This would classify *Mary Poppins* as an “ambivalent text” (O’Connell 2006: 17) which can be read by many and regardless of age.

The ambiguous nature of what children's literature actually is has also to do with prestige. O'Connell (2006: 18–20) argues that the reason for the low prestige of children's literature could be that literature whose primary audience is children and young readers is often targeted to a rather small group of people. A small target audience, thus, makes children's literature more or less marginalized in the field of literature and culture as a whole. Children's literature is also often presumed inferior to other types of literature, and it is usually left out from the canon of classics of literature as well. O'Connell further argues that because children's literature has such a low status in the literary field in general, translating this type literature is considered a somewhat inferior task as well. Because of the low status of literature for young readers translations of children's books may be commissioned from less qualified translators, and this may lead to translations of poor quality, which further enhance the low status of children's literature in general. (O'Connell 2006: 18–20.) On the other hand, a classic, as O'Sullivan (2006: 147) sees it, can be defined as a story that has been a commercial success for a long period of time, maybe over many generations, and in several countries.

Classics are the books that are reprinted time after time in the course of many years. Therefore, it would be reasonable to argue that in the case of many children's books, such as *Mary Poppins*, it would be appropriate to introduce them into the canon of literature as well. I would also like to argue that *Mary Poppins* is a classic of its own genre. This argument is supported by the fact that for instance in Finland, *Mary Poppins* has been translated three times and it has been reprinted several times; the first translation was reprinted six times and even the second, revised version of the first translation, twice.

The status of children's literature in the literary field takes up the question of the status of translators of children's literature as well. Gillian Lathey (2010: 111–112) concludes that if all translators of literature tend to be more or less invisible *per se*, that is, they are often left without any credit in the creative process of producing texts, the translators of children's literature seem to be the most visible of *all* translators. Heikkilä-Halttunen (2007: 485) notes that in Finland, throughout the 20th century many of the translators of

children's literature have also been noted authors themselves and highly appreciated in both professions. Tyyni Tuulio, for instance, who translated *Mary Poppins* the first time in 1936, was both a translator and a writer. Her first published works as a writer were travel stories, whereas her first translation was *Jane Eyre* in 1915. Tuulio was an ambitious translator who was not afraid to translate all kinds of texts: she translated children's literature, poetry, novels, and plays. Jaana Kantola (2007: 595–597) argues that even though Tuulio was appreciated as a productive and versatile translator during her own time, the prevalent attitudes towards women writers and translators in general were still rather harsh in the early 1900s; translating was seen as a mere past-time activity and a way for women to keep themselves busy between household chores.

Marikki Makkonen, who translated *Mary Poppins* into Finnish the second time in 1982, on the other hand, has been a prolific translator of literature for the adolescent, at least during the 1970s and 1980s. Her working languages have been German, English and Swedish, and in addition to translating *Mary Poppins* the second time in 1982, she has translated such novels as Diane Jones' fantasy novel *Charmed Life*, and in collaboration with other translators Astrid Lindgren' collection of stories *Julberättelser* (Fennica 2011.) Other than the database of the National Library of Finland (Fennica) it was rather difficult to find any other information on Marikki Makkonen, even though it is evident that she has been a productive translator. This would back up Lathey's notion that translators tend to be left in the background, unless they are otherwise prominent in society, for instance, merited as famous writers, critics or journalists as well. At least it seems that translators who worked more than 30 years ago and only as translators of children's fiction, like Makkonen did, are more invisible than other translators. Moreover, it seems that contemporary translators of children's literature, such as Jaana Kapari-Jatta, are more visible than they were at Makkonen's times.

The fame of Kapari-Jatta, the translator of the third and latest Finnish translation of *Mary Poppins* in 2010, could perhaps indicate that in contemporary Finland translators are not that invisible anymore. At least some translators seem to be more prominent than others. Kapari-Jatta's fame is undoubtedly the result of her work with J.K. Rowling's *Harry Potter* novels, which she has translated into Finnish. In 2008, she even

wrote a book *about* her own work of translating the *Harry Potter* novels, called *Pollomuhku ja Posityyhtynen* (Kantola 2008). Kapari-Jatta began her career in the 1980s' by translating *Nancy Drew* books (Metso 2005), and she is also known for her translations of the works by Oscar Wilde, Edgar Allen Poe and Roald Dahl (Kantola 2008), indicating that professionally she has been more versatile than, for instance, Marikki Makkonen, who according to Fennica, translated almost exclusively children's literature.

It is also important to acknowledge that the primary audience of children's literature, that is, the children, usually has very little impact on what kind of literature is translated and published for them, and how the source texts are treated during the translation process. In fact, what is deemed to be 'good' for children is most often dictated by adults, and in the case of literature, by publishers, editors, critics, and lastly, also by parents. (Lathey 2006: 5; O'Connell 2006: 17.) Zohar Shavit (2006: 26–39) argues that due to the peripheral nature of children's literature, translators of children's books are more free to manipulate the text than translators of other types of literature. According to Shavit, the translators are allowed, and even encouraged, to adapt the text to the prevailing norms of what is good and suitable literature to children. The notion of suitability and 'good' varies, naturally, between different cultures and in the course of time, but often taboo subjects or clearly ideologically difficult subjects are deemed unsuitable for child readers. When considering the target audience, the translators have to consider such facts as the age and reading comprehension of the readers. This can lead to extensive changes in the target text, such as omissions, additions and change of function and/or relation of events and elements in order to make it more appropriate and more comprehensible to a child reader. Shavit also notes that publishers of children's literature are active players in this process; they usually have a say and a substantial influence on how children's literature should be translated. According to Oittinen (2007: 492), it should also be remembered that translators themselves have certain expectations of the target audiences of their translations, and that as well has a great affect what translation strategies they eventually resort to.

When *Mary Poppins* was published the first time in Finnish, in 1936, most children's novels that were translated at that time originated from the Anglo-American part of the world, and the dominance of that particular cultural area is very strong still today (Heikkilä-Halttunen 2007: 472). In the 21st century, most of the children's literature published in Finland is still translated from other languages. In fact, in 2008, 75% of all children's literature published in Finland was translated literature (Tiittula 2010: 255). At the time when the first translation of *Mary Poppins* into Finnish was published, Finnish writers and other prominent figures inside the contemporary literary field gave suggestions to publishers what novels should and could be translated. Still, the tendency was to prioritize literature that had educational value, and that was regarded to promote 'good' moral values. The publishers were quite conservative, and in the early 1900s especially fantasy literature was considered to be far too demanding and confusing for the readers. At that time translations were also often abridgements of the originals, and intertextual references and extensive descriptions of the setting, which were considered possibly unfamiliar for the readers, were often reduced or omitted in the target texts. (Heikkilä-Halttunen 2007: 472–476.) Heikkilä-Halttunen refers to such translations as "adaptations", and many of these translations were reprinted year after year, without even the slightest revisions. Knowing this, it seems interesting that *Mary Poppins* was even translated into Finnish at all in the 1930s, as with its many fantasy elements and unorthodox adult characters it does not strike to have, for instance, any educational value. Tyyni Tuulio's initial translation was, however, reprinted numerous times from the 1930s until the 1980s, when WSOY, the publishing company, commissioned a revised translation of the novel from Makkonen, and finally, a comprehensive retranslation from Kapari-Jatta in 2000s.

One of the very first tasks a translator is faced with when beginning with a new translation commission is to define the target audience of the translation, if that has not yet been done by the client. The notion that children's novels tend to have a versatile audience can cause some unforeseen difficulties during the translation process. Oittinen (2006: 93–95) points out that when the audience of the target text is both adults and children the translator, has to consider both the visual and acoustic elements of the text; how the text appears on the page and what it sounds like when it is read aloud to a child.

Possible illustrations are also an important part of any children's book. They also make an impact on the text's "sound and rhythm" (Oittinen 2006: 94), especially on its "inner rhythm the reader can feel" (Oittinen 2006: 94), because illustrations often affect the layout of the novel a great deal. In children's books there might also be poems and songs to translate, and according to Oittinen, especially songs should be singable in the target language as well. She remarks that all the elements of the source text, be they visual, verbal or acoustic, should be transferred to the target text as well, and these elements should have a similar effect also on the target text's audience as they have among the source text audience. Lathey (2010: 7) furthermore, notes that it is very important that the translators of children's literature try to consult their 'inner child' during the translation process, in order to be able to transfer the source text's impact to the target text as well.

It is possible to argue that defining the target text audience, in fact, defines the target text genre as well, especially in the case of children's literature, and it is possible that in that process the implied reader, that is, those readers the text is specifically aimed at, changes from the original or between different translations. As I have argued before, the genre of the novel *Mary Poppins* is multifaceted and somewhat ambiguous, and in my opinion this has had an effect on the notion who the implied reader of each translation is as well. The editions of the first two Finnish translations of *Mary Poppins* (the seventh and tenth editions, published in 1980 and 2009, respectively), which I am using as my primary sources in this study, are both quite small in their physical size, the typeset is small and the paper quality is rather poor in both editions. There is no picture on the cover of the seventh edition, and on the cover of the tenth edition there is a picture of Mary Poppins who has turned her back towards the viewer. Mary Shephard's original black and white illustrations have been used in the first two Finnish translations of *Mary Poppins*, or *Maija Poppanen* as the novel is called in Finnish. The number of the illustrations, however, is quite small, therefore neither the original source text nor its first two Finnish translations could be classified as a picture book. Moreover, Mary Shephard's original illustrations make Mary Poppins look like a middle-aged, dull spinster, and not the vain, yet exciting woman capable of many extraordinary tricks as the story presents her. The illustrations also set the narrative firmly in its contemporary

context; in the 1930s England. I would, therefore, argue that the implied reader for both the initial translation and the first retranslation is either an adult reading the story aloud to a child or a slightly more older child reader who can read by her/himself, that is, a child about 10 years of age or older.

The third and the most recent translation of *Mary Poppins* into Finnish, however, has new illustrations by a young Finnish artist, Marika Maijala. Physically the latest translation is much bigger in size than the two previous translations, in fact, it is so big that it would stand out from any bookshelf, whereas the two earlier translations are much less ostentatious in their physical appearance. The new translation is so much different on the outside than its two predecessors that it is almost like another story entirely and this notion is further enhanced by Maijala's illustrations. There is a big, colourful picture of Mary Poppins on the cover. The paper is thick and the typeset is clear, big and modern. Maijala portrays Mary Poppins as a young woman who clearly possesses some extraordinary qualities. She is not a dull spinster but a woman who is capable of anything at any time and in any place. Maijala's illustrations are timeless, they do not set the story to any specific time or place, in fact, the events could take place anywhere and at any time.

Consequently, I would argue that the target audience has changed between the initial translation and the retranslations of *Mary Poppins* into Finnish. Marika Maijala's new illustrations in the second retranslation change the tone of the novel entirely and move the target text closer to a child reader. Whereas the tone of the two previous translations was more every day and matter-of-fact even though the story itself contains many fantastic qualities, Maijala's illustrations add playfulness and adventure to the story which is certainly more attractive to younger readers. Maijala's new illustrations also compliment that fantasy nature of the story better than Shepard's original illustrations. Details, such as bigger font and many large, colourful and intriguingly detailed pictures, provide a 'breather' for a younger reader. When a child is tired of reading the story, it is a pleasurable and appealing possibility to go back a few pages and take a look at a picture one more time, and perhaps even find something new from in it.

Furthermore, the language of the source text is also stylistically interesting; extraordinary and surprising elements of the plot are described with simple, almost every day language. This fact further enhances the notion that there are these less than ordinary elements in the story and that *Mary Poppins* is, indeed, not an ordinary nanny. Maijala's illustrations serve this purpose perfectly because they highlight the difference between the narrative and the actual action in the story.

All in all, the length of the novel, the illustrations and the layout of the first two Finnish translations give the impression that *Maija Poppanen* is a book whose primary audience is either the adults reading the story aloud to children or older children who are capable and willing to read a longer text without any colourful pictures. The most recent Finnish translation in 2010, however, is classified as literature for young(er) audience by the publisher. The publishing company WSOY notes that they wanted to offer a new, more colourful and sharper translation of the novel that would appeal to modern children more, therefore the publisher decided not only to commission a new translation but also a new set of illustrations for the most recent translation. (Heinänen 2010.) I tend to agree with Kaisa Heinänen (2010), that the target audience of the latest translation is somewhat younger. In this study it is my aim to present evidence both to support this argument and the argument that the implied reader is different between the three translations. Furthermore, I argue that the differences in the implied readers has been the main reason for different translation strategies in the translations in the first place.

Children's novels are often retranslated for different purposes and for various reasons. According to Lathey (2010: 161–174), providing children's classics with new versions has a long tradition. As in the case of retranslating 'adult's' literature, publishers find retranslating children's literature appealing for several reasons, the commercial interests not being the least of their interests, because the retranslation also often draws attention to old classics that the public might have forgotten altogether, and while both the initial translation and the retranslation might be available simultaneously in bookshops, this might increase the sales of both versions of the same novel. Lathey continues that the initiator of the retranslation process might be a publisher, an editor, an illustrator or a translator, who are reminiscing their old, childhood favourite stories and wish to see

them retranslated again, hence “revisiting [their own] childhood” (Lathey 2010: 174) once again. Retranslations of the same children’s book may have different target audiences or they are produced for different purposes, that is, some retranslations are produced to entertain while others have a more literary and/or educational value. Some editions with extensive prefaces might be aimed at more scholarly audiences while others are clearly intended for the general public. There might be both cheaper paperback editions and more expensive, “attractively bound gift books” (Lathey 2010: 161) available at the bookshops at the same time to fulfil and meet the customers’ needs and demands. Be that as it may, Lathey reminds that the translators should nevertheless always pay attention to who they are translating for – for a child or an adult, or for both, because it is not uncommon that the target audience varies between the initial translation and the retranslation or between retranslations if there are several.

The primary material of this study, *Mary Poppins*, has previously been defined as children’s literature, and its three Finnish translations also fit the requirements of retranslation. *Mary Poppins* was first translated into Finnish in its entirety in 1936, and the first retranslation/revised version of the initial translation was published in 1982 and the second retranslation in 2010. The reasons for revising the initial translation and publishing a partial retranslation in 1982 remain a mystery, whereas the reasons for commissioning a second retranslation in 2010 are well-known. As mentioned above, the publishing house WSOY wanted to revise the whole package – both the narrative and the illustrations. According to the translator Jaana Kapari-Jatta, by commissioning a new translation the publishing company WSOY wanted to bring out a somehow more authentic and original, a more source-text faithful image of *Mary Poppins*. The publishing house had thought that the time would be right for a ‘new’ type of *Mary Poppins*, since her image has been more or less tainted by Disney, whose film of the novel characterizes *Mary Poppins* quite differently from the novel (Kapari-Jatta 2012.)

In conclusion, translating for children seems, indeed, quite a challenging task which requires specialized knowledge and expertise. Neither children nor translating for them should be undermined, although it seems that the importance of both good quality translations and the difficulty in producing such for young readers is not seen as a

priority. It is a known fact that children read stories, short or long, less and less these days, and providing poorly translated reading material for them would hardly encourage them to read more. Therefore, it seems like an important task to try to advocate for better, more diverse and carefully done translations also for adolescent readers.

2 CULTURAL ELEMENTS IN THE NOVEL *MARY POPPINS*

It should be remembered that it would be impossible to try to produce a story, be it a novel, a short story, a play or a poem, in a vacuum. A story and all the cultural references it contains is always a product of a particular time and place. Such references create a certain atmosphere for the story and make it easier for the readers to identify with the story (Hagfors 2003: 116–119.) Identifying with a story and its characters is important because by projecting the cultural references to his/her own experiences the reader is able to enjoy the story more and identify with a story and its characters.

Both culture and cultural references are enormous concepts; basically everything in a certain time and place can be seen as a cultural reference. Therefore, for the purpose of this particular study, thus, it is important to try to somehow limit and categorize the cultural references, that is, the main interest of this study. There are many possibilities available for identifying and categorizing cultural references, but for the purpose of this study, I am using the categories introduced by Maria Tymoczko (1999b: 47), namely the material culture and social culture categories. In addition to the categories introduced by Tymoczko, I found it necessary to create a third category which is somewhere in between material and social culture, hence its name the intermediate category. The objects of interest in these three categories are chosen simply by their occurrence in the source text. In other words, the most frequent cultural references in the source text are chosen to be the main interest of this study and placed in the categories accordingly.

In this study the category of material culture includes food and drink, which are both tangible, concrete objects. Examples of food and drink are, for instance, “scones” (Travers 1956: 83) and “lime-juice cordial” (Travers 1956: 12). The category of social culture, on the other hand, includes more abstract features of the source culture, such as names of characters, for instance, “Mr. Banks [...] Mrs. Banks [...] Jane [...] Michael” (Travers 1956: 2), not to mention “Mary Poppins” (Travers 1956: 9), descriptive names, for instance, “Mrs. Brill” (Travers 1956: 2), place names, for instance “the City”, “Ludgate Hill”, and “St. Paul’s Cathedral” (Travers 1956: 103–104), and finally,

names of historic, real-life people, such as “William the Conqueror” (Travers 1956: 120). The third, intermediate category includes all such expressions that have something to do with having a cup of tea and afternoon-tea. Such expressions refer not only to the concrete object, the drink, but also to social culture: the British culture-specific custom of drinking tea.

All the references in these categories serve a number of functions in the novel, for instance, they are clear signs of the source culture and as such examples of possible differences between the source text and target text cultures. All these cultural references set the story to a specific time and place, characterize both the setting and the characters in the novel, and most importantly, help the reader to identify with the story and its characters.

The following table illustrates the number of references of the different cultural elements in the source text.

Table 1. Number of cultural references in the novel *Mary Poppins*

Material Culture	Food and drink	86 references
Social Culture	Proper nouns	59 references: First and last names: 34 Descriptive names: 11 Place names: 8 References to a real-life character: 6
Intermediate Category	Having a cup of tea or afternoon-tea	Reference to having tea in 9 chapters of the total of 12 chapters.

2.1. Material Culture

Food and drink play an essential role in stories and especially in children’s stories because they have many different and sometimes even overlapping functions in the

narrative. Riitta Oittinen (2006: 86–87) observes that in children’s novels food and drink can, indeed, be considered to be the most important part of the material culture, because food is often an important part of children’s stories, as it is in children’s real life as well. Oittinen notes that food in a story is something very concrete, and child readers can easily identify with this element because they, naturally, have first-hand experience of eating and what different food items and dishes feel and taste like. Therefore, it is very important what food items and dishes are called, and how eating is described in a story. According to Oittinen, food and eating can have different roles in a story, for instance, they can represent security, joy and happiness, or uncertainty, fear and unhappiness. In a children’s novel “food [can also be] magic” (Oittinen 2006: 86). In the novel *Mary Poppins* food and eating is a recurring feature in the narrative and often also a magical element. Firstly, food itself can be a magical element in a situation, and secondly, an everyday event of the source culture characterised strongly by food turns into something unusual and unexpected – an adventure.

An example of how something edible can be magical is found from the first chapter of the novel, “East Wind” (Travers 1956: 1). Mary Poppins has just arrived at the Banks family residence and agreed to take the post as the new nanny in the household. In this scene she is in the nursery with the children, unpacking her belongings and among other things, she takes a small bottle out of her bag. The children suspect that the bottle contains medicine because the bottle is labelled “One Tea-Spoon to be Taken at Bed-Time” (Travers 1956: 11). Mary Poppins takes the spoon and “pour[s] a dark crimson fluid” (Travers 1956: 11) into it, offering it to Michael first. Michael takes the medicine unwillingly but suddenly “a happy smile ran round his face. “Strawberry ice, he said ecstatically.” (Travers 1956: 12). When it is Jane’s turn, she realizes that the medicine tastes like “Lime-juice cordial” (Travers 1956: 12), and when it is the small twins’, John’s and Barbara’s time to get their share, Michael and Jane see that now the medicine looks like milk. Finally, also Mary Poppins takes the medicine; ““Rum punch”, she said, smacking her lips and corking the bottle.” (Travers 1956: 12). This scene reveals the reader several unexpected characteristics about Mary Poppins. She might look like an ordinary nanny but extraordinary things happen around her, and she is, in fact, the generator of these magical adventures. Adventure is something that can

happen to anyone at any time and at any place, even as common place as in a nursery. An ordinary event of life – taking medicine – can be adventurous when it is the question of Mary Poppins. This scene proves to the Banks children that Mary Poppins is, indeed, not any ordinary nanny, and that marvellous things can happen around her.

An example of an everyday event which turns into an adventure can be found in the novel's third chapter, called "Laughing Gas" (Travers 1956: 29). In this scene food and drink are strongly connected to a typical event of the source culture, that is, having afternoon-tea. In this chapter Mary Poppins and the two eldest Banks family children, Michael and Jane, visit Mary's uncle, Mr. Wigg. At first the visit seems like an ordinary tea party, and once inside the house, the children see "an enormous table laid for tea – four cups and saucers, piles of bread and butter, crumpets, coconut cakes and a large plum cake with pink icing." (Travers 1956: 31). The next sight, however, is most unusual and prepares the children for a tea party they have never experienced before;

Jane and Michael looked up too and to their surprise saw a round, fat, bald man who was hanging in the air without holding on to anything. Indeed, he appeared to be *sitting* on the air, for his legs were crossed and he had just put down the newspaper which he had been reading when they came in. (Travers 1956: 32, emphasis in the text.)

As it happens, every time Mr. Wigg has his birthday on a Friday, and he laughs enough, he will be so filled up with the Laughing Gas that it will be impossible for him to stay on the ground anymore, and because of that he is now sitting up in the air. Next, Michael and Jane feel an invincible need to laugh as well, and suddenly they also are up, sitting in the air, later followed by sour Mary Poppins, who seemingly does not need such frivolities as Laughing Gas to be able to fly. Now all of them are set for enjoying the servings, which are still on the ground, however;

To this day Jane and Michael cannot be sure of what happened then. All they know for certain is that, as soon as Mr. Wigg had appealed to Mary Poppins, the table below began to wriggle on its legs. Presently it was swaying dangerously, and then with a rattle of china and with cakes lurching off their plates on to the cloth, the table came soaring through the room, gave one graceful turn, and landed beside them so that Mr. Wigg was at its end. "Good

girl!” said Mr. Wigg, smiling proudly upon her. “I knew you’d fix something. Now, will you take the foot of the table and pour out, Mary? And the guests on either side of me. That’s the idea. (Travers 1956: 40–41.)

It is characteristic for the novel’s fantasy-like nature that during an ordinary, everyday event of the source culture, a tea party, something extraordinary happens. It is noteworthy that the food and drink consumed in this scene are very traditional and ordinary for an afternoon-tea, and as such they are straightforward references to the source culture as well. This highlights the fantasy nature of the scene, or even the whole story; even if events seem casual and every-day, and they are described with ordinary language, adventures are possible nonetheless.

Some food items and drinks and customs accompanied with them can be so culture and era specific that for a reader from a different culture and/or of a different era it would be difficult to understand these references and even more difficult to relate to them. For instance, in *Mary Poppins* in chapter ten, “Full Moon” (Travers 1956: 149) Jane and Michael are awakened in the middle of the night and suddenly they find themselves at the Zoo. In the Zoo everything is upside down: the animals are free and managing the Zoo while people are locked inside the cages. The children see Admiral Boom in one of the cages and as he is being fed by the animals, he shouts “”What – no Yorkshire pudding?” (Travers 1956: 161). If the reader does not know what kind of a dish Yorkshire pudding is, it could be difficult, or even impossible, to identify oneself with the story. This applies to children’s literature more than other kinds of literature, because this particular target audience should be able to taste, smell and feel the food discussed in the story. Children should be able to connect the food and drink in the story to their own personal experiences. If the implied reader cannot identify with the food and drink described in the story, something very profound will be missing from the reading experience indeed.

Food is not only something tangible and concrete, it also reveals a number of aspects about the characters; it reveals details about the characters and what their personalities are like, what their way of life is, how they deal with food that they are having and what is the atmosphere of the eating situation like, et cetera. Food that is consumed tells the

reader about the social and economic status of the characters. We learn whether the character is rich or poor, we learn details about the area the story and its characters are set, what foods are thought of being ordinary or ,on the other hand, elitist at a given time and place, and so on. For instance, Miss Lark, who is a neighbour of the Banks family and lives in “a very grand house, by far the grandest in the Cherry Tree Lane [which] had two gates. One [gate] was for Miss Lark’s friends and relations, and the other for the Butcher and the Baker and the Milkman” (Travers 1956: 49). She likes to feed her dog Andrew with “cream for every meal and sometimes oysters [and] breast of chicken or scrambled eggs with asparagus” (Travers1956: 51–52). This short description of Miss Lark’s food habits tells the reader that the Banks family apparently lives in a very nice neighbourhood, with big houses and rich ladies who are affluent enough to feed their pets with expensive foods. Miss Lark also buys “those little flat rolls with the curly twists of crust on the top” (Travers 1956: 49) from the Baker, which can also indicate that Miss Lark is quite a snob and seems to think of herself as a lady, since only the very best is good enough for both herself and her dog, or maybe she is only full of her own importance. She is perhaps also quite lonely, living alone in the big, beautiful house, her dog Andrew as her only companion, and that is why she has both the time and the money to pamper her dog.

Although the reader might ignore the references to food and drink while reading a story, they, nevertheless, play an important part in any story because they do have several and different functions in the story. Food and drink do not only represent what they are concretely – something the characters eat and drink – but they represent the entire source culture and its ideologies, values and also the time and place of the story. Food and drink truly embody the whole culture, and this is one of the reasons why food and drink are considered to have such an important role in this study. In the novel *Mary Poppins* there are altogether 86 references to different dishes or beverages. This makes food and drink the most prominent material culture feature in the novel, and that is why these references are chosen to represent the material culture of the source culture as a whole.

2.2 Social Culture

Social culture includes, according to Tymoczko (1999b: 47; 1999a: 30), proper names and issues that are related to law, customs and habits in the source culture. Social culture is a type of a metatext of culture in the source text, defining more delicately and more subtly the source culture, in contrast to clear, concrete manifestations of the material culture. Social culture expressions are more abstract than material culture expressions, yet they explicitly define the source culture as well, and have a number of functions in a story. Material culture references are similar to social culture references in that they also connect the story and its characters to a specific time and place, and help the reader to identify with the characters in the novel. In this study, proper nouns, that is, first and last names, place names and names of historic people are considered to be the most important and most prominent social culture references in the novel *Mary Poppins*.

Proper nouns, that is, first names and last names of characters, have several different functions in the story. According to Christiane Nord (2003: 183), the most important function for proper names is “to identify an individual referent” (Nord 2003: 183), that is, help the reader to differentiate between the characters in the story. Nord continues that proper names can, for instance, reveal the age and/or the gender of the character, thus, Mary Poppins and Jane are clearly female names whereas Michael and Bert are male names.

Furthermore, novels might contain proper names that serve as “descriptive names” (Nord 2003: 184), that is, names that one way or the other describe the character in question. In *Mary Poppins* (1956: 2–3), there are many characters who have a descriptive name, indeed, it seems that in this novel descriptive names are preferred over other types of names, which in turn highlights the story’s fairy-tale nature. To provide an illustration, the Banks family cook Mrs. Brill, bears a name that makes a reference allusion to a fish. Moreover, Mr. and Mrs. Banks’ last name can be considered as a descriptive name; the father of Jane and Michael works in the City, thus it is likely that his workplace is a bank, hence Mr. Banks. Banks, however, can also be considered

as an ordinary last name. For that reason it is one of the names in the novel that has a kind of a double function serving as both a descriptive name and as an ordinary last name. Lastly, it could be argued that Mary Poppins has a descriptive last name as well. It is possible to suggest that ‘Poppins’, which as such does not mean anything, derives from the word ‘pop’ which has several meanings suitable for characterizing Mary Poppins. For instance, ‘pop’ could refer to her sudden and magical arrival in the Banks family residence when she suddenly *pops up* at their house. It is late afternoon, and Jane and Michael are sitting “at the window waiting for Mr. Banks to come home, and listening to the sound of the East Wind” (Travers 1956: 5), when suddenly they see a figure at the gate;

Then the shape, tossed and bent under the wind, lifted the latch of the gate, and they could see that it belonged to a woman, who was holding her hat on with one hand and carrying a bag in the other. As they watched, Jane and Michael saw a curious thing happen. As soon as the shape was inside the gate the wind seemed to catch her up into the air fling her at the house. It was as though it had flung her first at the gate, waited her to open it, and then had lifted and thrown her, bag and all, at the front door. (Travers 1956: 5–6)

Mary Poppins’ visit, however, will only be a short one because she is only *popping in* the Banks family as their nanny, as she declares to Michael and Jane later on in the nursery; “I’ll stay till the wind changes” (Travers 1956: 14). ‘Pop’ could also refer to Mary Poppins’ character, as she is quite short tempered and snappy. In fact, often her temper is like a cork of a champagne bottle that *pops* open, unexpectedly and suddenly, almost without warning. Furthermore, Mary Poppins is also always referred to with her whole name, that is, both her first and last name are always mentioned in contrast to other characters who are always referred to either by their first or last names. This difference in the reference technique regarding Mary Poppins sets her apart from other characters in the story. In consequence, the reader understands that Mary Poppins is the protagonist and the most important character in the whole novel, and the other characters are only there to support her role in the story.

If first and last names are able to describe the characters in number of ways, proper nouns can also reveal the geographical area where the story is set (Nord 2003: 183).

Most of the names of the characters in *Mary Poppins*, such as Mary, Michael and Jane, are clearly of Anglo-American origin, thus placing the story in an English speaking setting, but they do not clearly and implicitly tell the reader in which country precisely the story is set. Place names, on the other hand, usually reveal the exact location of a story (Nord 2003: 183). In the novel's seventh chapter, "The Bird Woman" (Travers 1956: 103) Mary Poppins, Michael and Jane are "walking up Ludgate Hill on the way to pay a visit to Mr. Banks in the City" (Travers 1956: 103), and on their way there they arrive at "St. Paul's Cathedral, which was built a long time ago, by a man with a bird's name. Wren it was but no relation to Jenny" (Travers 1956: 104). These place names suggest that the novel is set in Britain. Moreover, it is also possible to conclude that the exact place where the story is set is London, because the economic district in London is, indeed, called the City, and Sir Christopher Wren's Cathedral, St. Paul's, is also located in London. Thus, these place names set the story in specific place and culture. It is also important to note that even though *Mary Poppins* is a story that has many fantasy elements, it is still a story that is set in an actual, 'real' location, thus emphasising the plausibility and 'real-life' nature of the characters and the setting, in spite of the fairy tale and fantasy elements in the story.

In addition to referring to fictional characters, proper nouns can also refer to real-life characters, for instance, to historic people (Nord 2003: 183), and in *Mary Poppins* there are some such references. A reference to a real-life character firmly connected to the source culture setting can be found in the chapter "The Day Out" (Travers 1956: 16) where Mary Poppins is meeting with her friend, the Match-Man. When Mary Poppins sees the Match-Man, he is painting a picture on the pavement, and "putting brown stripes on a banana and brown curls on Queen Elisabeth's head" (Travers 1956: 18). These types of intertextual references often refer to the real world of the author, and their function and impact is dependent on the reader's previous knowledge. (Nord 2003:186). Reference to Queen Elisabeth sets the story firmly to Britain, allowing that the reader is familiar with the fact that there has been a queen called Elisabeth who once reigned the United Kingdom. It has to be assumed that Travers is here referring to Queen Elisabeth I who reigned in 1558–1603 (The Royal Household 2008/09), since the novel was first published in 1934. After all, the present monarch, Queen Elisabeth II,

was accessioned almost twenty years later after the initial publication of the novel, that is, in 1952 (The Royal Household 2008/09). Thus, the reference to Queen Elisabeth also sets the story in a specific era; in the first half of the 20th century.

Similarly to geographical names, also names of historic people can have specific forms in other languages and cultures, that is, a name in one culture may have a totally different spelling and pronunciation in another setting, thus making it difficult to understand the reference in the target culture (Nord 2003: 184). Such a case of this can be found in the novel's 8th chapter called "Mrs. Corry" (Travers 1956: 112). In this chapter Mary Poppins is doing some shopping in town with Michael, Jane and the baby twins. After purchasing fish at the fishmonger's and meat at the butcher's, the next item on Mary Poppins' shopping list is gingerbreads, and eventually the children find "themselves outside the most curious shop they had ever seen" (Travers 1956: 116). Inside the shop they meet two very large women, Annie and Fannie, who are standing behind the counter, and their mother, Mrs. Corry. Mrs. Corry is very old and very small, in contrast to her two large daughters, and somehow she seems to know who the children with Mary Poppins are, although they have never met Mrs. Corry or her two daughters before. The whole shop and all the groceries sold there seem to be magical, and suddenly Mrs. Corry

broke[s] off two of her fingers and gave one each to John and Barbara. And the oddest part of it was that in the space left by the broken-off fingers two new ones grew at once [...] "Only Barley-Sugar – can't possibly hurt 'em," the old lady said to Mary Poppins. [...] "What a pity," Michael couldn't help saying, "they weren't Peppermint Bars." "Well, they are, sometimes," said Mrs. Corry gleefully. [...] "What will they be next time?" asked Jane. "Aha!" said Mrs. Corry. "That's just the question I never know from day to day what they will be. I take the chance, my dear, as I heard *William the Conqueror* say to his mother when she advised him not to go conquering England." (Travers 1956: 120, my emphasis.)

In the above extract, where Mrs. Corry is referring to William the Conqueror, she is using a phrase to make her point, and unless the reader knows who William the Conqueror is, the edge of the phrase is lost. Also, William the Conqueror, who was the crowned King of England in 1066 (The Royal Household 2008/09), has a name that has

different spellings in different cultures and languages. Moreover, using a phrase that refers to him also sets the story in a specific location, because it would be plausible that only someone from an English-speaking setting would use such a phrase.

In summary, a total of 59 proper nouns were found in the source text. Of these 59 proper nouns 34 are first and last names, 11 are descriptive names (although some names seem to have a double function, that is, some first and last names are also considered to be descriptive names), 6 references to real-life characters and 8 place names. The number of these references make the proper nouns the most prominent social–culture feature in the source text, thus the number of occurrences is the main reason why proper nouns are chosen to represent the source culture’s social culture in the target text and target culture as well.

2.3 Intermediate Category

In novels there can be a number of closely source culture related customs and habits that are connected with food and drink as well. According to Tymoczko (1996b: 45), such descriptions of culture are part of the “subjective experience” the story evokes, and as such metonymic in representing the whole source culture. In other words, culture specific dishes can begin to represent metonymically the whole source culture. Tymoczko continues that these evocations in turn can make references to other aspects of the source culture as well, for instance, customs and habits connected to eating. Food and drink can, therefore, also serve as markers of social culture, because many situations that are connected to eating are also the ones that can define the source text culture clearly and univocally. This notion further enhances the idea that texts, indeed, are clusters of information filled with both intratextual and intertextual references.

In the novel *Mary Poppins* there is one strongly source culture related custom and a recurring feature which is more dominant than other customs in the novel, that is, drinking tea, and especially having afternoon-tea. Furthermore, having a cup of tea is a typical British custom, and references to drinking tea will, thus, set the story to a

specific culture and location. As tea is both a tangible food item and part of an important source culture related custom, it was, therefore, felt necessary to create a third category which is between the material and social culture category, namely the intermediate category.

One way or the other, having tea is mentioned almost in every chapter of the novel. The events in the second chapter of the novel “The Day Out” (Travers 1956: 16), for instance, are based on the custom of having afternoon-tea. In this chapter Mary Poppins is meeting with her friend, the Match-Man, to have afternoon-tea and “the raspberry-jam-cakes they always had on her Day Out” (Travers 1956: 19). Tea, however, is not universally as popular a drink as it is in the British culture. In Finland, for instance having a cup of coffee is more customary and tea is a less popular drink. In 2010, for example, Finns drank approximately 150 litres of coffee per capita, whereas the consumption of tea was only 10 litres per capita. In Britain, on the other hand, the situation is quite the opposite; in 2010 the British drank more than 113 litres of tea per capita. Even in other parts of Central Europe tea is a more popular drink than in Finland; in 2010 the other Europeans consumed approximately 31 litres of tea per capita. (Teehuone.fi: 2010.) Therefore, both the custom of having afternoon-tea and food traditionally consumed with tea are such culture specific markers which are possibly less familiar in the target culture setting.

An example of a culture specific food item that is connected with the custom of having afternoon-tea can be found in the novel’s sixth chapter, “Bad Tuesday” (Travers 1956: 81). Michael is in the kitchen watching Mrs. Brill, the Banks family cook, to make scones. Scones, after all, are a typical English pastry, which are usually eaten during afternoon-tea. If the reader of the target text is not familiar with the context, it is possible that he/she will not be able to understand the connection between this pastry and the custom of having afternoon-tea, thus the nature and function of the pastry is lost.

In addition to having a cup of tea in the first place, the custom of offering a cup of tea to children might seem unfamiliar or even unhealthy in the target culture setting. For

instance, in chapter three, “Laughing Gas” (Travers 1956: 29) where Mary Poppins, Michael and Jane are “on their way to Mary Poppins’ uncle, Mr. Wigg” (Travers 1956: 29) to have afternoon-tea. As the story proceeds, both the adults and the children alike are having a cup of tea; “More tea? he said to Jane” (Travers 1956: 41). The children are also served tea in chapter four, “Miss Lark’s Andrew” (Travers 1956: 49). In this chapter the children have been in the garden for some time, and are now on their way back inside the house, “upstairs to the nursery and Tea” (Travers 1956: 63), indicating that Mary Poppins will serve tea both to her protégés and to herself as well. It is a well-known fact that tea is a drink that has a great deal of caffeine in it, and at least in Finland it is advised by the Valtion Ravitsemusneuvottelukunta (The National Board of Nutrition) not to give too much caffeine drinks, such as tea, to children (Valsta, Borg, Heiskanen, Keskinen, Männistö, Rautio, Sarlio-Lähteenkorva & Kara 2008: 6), thus the custom of offering tea to children might seem very alien to the target text readers.

The novel comprises twelve chapters altogether, and in nine of them tea or afternoon-tea is referred to, one way or the other. Tea and having afternoon-tea have a double function in the story; tea both a concrete drink and a closely source culture related custom which binds material and social culture together. Moreover, having a cup of tea is such an important part of British way of life and culture, they are inseparable, therefore, it is possible to argue that this custom can metonymically begin to represent the whole source culture. Therefore, it seems reasonable that in this study this custom has a category of its own.

3 RETRANSLATION AND THE METONYMICS OF TRANSLATION

In this chapter, I first will discuss retranslation as a phenomenon and secondly the retranslation hypothesis. Finally, I will also focus on the metonymics of translation by Maria Tymoczko (1999b: 41) in more detail. The idea of the metonymics of translation is focal for this thesis, as it will be used as the tool to test the retranslation hypothesis in my material.

According to the retranslation hypothesis, if there are several translations of the same source text into the same target language, the subsequent translations tend to be closer to the source text and source culture than the previous ones (Chesterman 2000: 23). The metonymics of translation, on the other hand, means that translation is an action defined by selection – certain aspects of the source text are always favoured at the expense of others (Tymoczko 1999b: 48). In this study, translation as metonymic action refers to the selection of the source text's cultural elements for translation and how that selection affects which aspects of the source text have been chosen to metonymically to represent the source culture in the target text. To test the retranslation hypothesis I will, therefore, analyse which cultural elements of the source culture have been chosen for translation in the three Finnish translations of the novel *Mary Poppins*, and which translation strategies the translators have favoured in this context.

3.1. Retranslation and the Retranslation Hypothesis

In translation studies, retranslation refers to a case where the same source text has been translated more than once into the same target language (Chesterman 2000: 22). As previously mentioned, the English novel *Mary Poppins* was published in England in 1934, and it has been translated into Finnish three times; twice in its entirety and once partially. The initial translation of *Mary Poppins* was translated by Tyyni Tuulio and it was published in 1936. Tuulio's translation was reprinted six times over the years and it was not until 1982 when the second translation by Marikki Makkonen was published. Makkonen's translation, however, is here referred to as a revision of the 1936

translation, because it is recognizably Tuulio's translation with only minor changes added by Makkonen. Makkonen's translation was reprinted twice. The third translation of the entire novel was published in 2010, translated by Jaana Kapari-Jatta. (Fennica 2011.) Therefore, the three Finnish translations of *Mary Poppins*, or *Maija Poppanen* as the novel is called in Finnish, fill the basic requirements of a retranslation.

There are a number of reasons why texts are retranslated, and it has been argued that certain texts, in fact, even require retranslation. The basic assumption of retranslation is that it occurs when the earlier translation or translations are found to be somehow lacking, inaccurate and/or dated. (Susam-Sarajeva 2003: 2.) Lawrence Venuti (2004: 34) notes that translations are always closely linked to the time and era of their production, thus over the years the translations will inevitably age. Therefore, because also languages, societies, ideologies, audiences and cultures as a whole change over time, retranslation is practically a necessity (Helin: 2005: 145–148). In the case of *Mary Poppins*, there are 46 years between the first Finnish translation and its revised version, and 74 years between the first and third translation of the entire novel. It could be assumed, for instance, that both language and translation practices have changed a great deal in the course of over 70 years. Päivi Lehtinen (2004), for instance, notes that translating for children and young readers was not taken very seriously in the past; it did not matter much how the text was translated because the audience was 'only' adolescents. Therefore, it is reasonable to expect that the initial translation would be dated and even inaccurate.

In the case of *Mary Poppins* it is more than likely that the expectations of the readers and what they are accustomed to read have changed over the years. It is therefore highly likely that the initial translation now perhaps contains vocabulary and sentence structures that contemporary readers, both children and adults, would find archaic and even difficult to understand. Moreover, it can also be assumed that modern children are more familiar with foreign cultures and practices because travelling abroad is much more common these days than it was in the early 1900s. Besides, thanks to the media and the internet the world has become 'smaller' and it is now possible to get acquainted with the foreign and/or new with only a few clicks of the mouse. We can therefore

argue that contemporary readers and especially child readers of *Mary Poppins* are able to tolerate more strangeness in a text than children in the 1930s Finland. Kaisa Heinänen (2010) mentions in her review of the latest translated version of *Mary Poppins* in Helsingin Sanomat, the Finnish newspaper, that the language, indeed, has been updated, and the text has been reshaped into something more suitable for the modern reader.

Retranslation is not a new phenomenon, and several different types of texts have been, and still are, retranslated. Retranslation is an action that is often related to translating classics of literature that enjoy canonical status or to novels that are candidates for the literary canon are retranslated more often than other types of literature (Venuti 2004: 25–27). Kaisa Koskinen and Outi Paloposki (2003: 3) argue that to retranslate classics is to confirm their status as classics and highlight their special status over other types of literature. In recent years several novels intended for young readership, in addition to *Mary Poppins*, have been retranslated into Finnish, for instance, *Peter Pan*, *Little Women*, *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*, and *The Secret Garden* (Ahola 2006: C1). The fact that children's literature is retranslated shows firstly, that its prestige has grown over the years, and secondly, that retranslating children's literature is seen as a more and more important action in general (Lehtinen 2004). I would argue that *Mary Poppins* is a canonical classic in its own genre, that is, literature for the adolescent, and that has been one of the reasons why it has been retranslated in the first place. The fact that the Finnish translations of *Mary Poppins* have been reprinted ten times and that the novel has been translated three times are prove of that. Indeed, retranslation seems to be a phenomenon that strengthens the canon of literature; classics are retranslated more often than other novels, and the fact that retranslations of a novel exist would promote the notion that the particular novel is indeed a classic and therefore part of the canon of literature.

Occasionally there might be, of course, more practical reasons why a text needs to be retranslated. Alice Martin, an editor at the publishing company WSOY which has published the translations of the novel *Mary Poppins* in Finland, mentions several reasons for commissioning and publishing retranslations (Martin, a telephone

conversation Heino–Martin 25.11.2011). For instance, if a publishing house is buying the publishing rights to a previously published novel from another publishing house, these rights might not include the rights to reprint the novel's original translation. This means, then, that a retranslation has to be commissioned separately. Martin adds that mistakes are not uncommon either; a publishing house might not be aware that there already exists a translation of a given text, and they commission a translation and market it as 'the first' translation. According to Martin, this has happened when it has been several decades since the initial translation has been published and the source text has not been very well known in general. In the case of *Mary Poppins*, the reason for the commissioning of the first retranslation is only guess work. Although several decades had passed since the first translation had initially been published, it was impossible to find any other affirmation why the retranslation had been commissioned. In the case of the most recent translation, however, the publisher had simply wanted to commission a new translation to accompany the new illustrations. The publisher had also wished for a more faithful representation of the protagonist Mary Poppins. The reason was that, in the publisher's opinion, Disney's well-known representation of the extraordinary nanny is inaccurate and less faithful to the original one presented in the source text. (Kapari-Jatta, an interview 10.11.2012 .)

Although Jianzhong (2003: 193–194) states that the retranslation is always better than the previous translation(s), and that it will displace the previous translation(s), the assumption seems to be an overstatement. In the case of *Mary Poppins*' Finnish translations, for instance, all the three translations are still easily available in libraries, and at least Makkonen's translation is still available in some bookshops. It should also be remembered that earlier translations will, nevertheless, continue to exist and be found in private collections, on the bookshelves of 'ordinary' people, in libraries and second-hand bookshops, even long after the last editions have been sold out. For that reason it is not feasible to expect that earlier translations would be automatically displaced by the retranslations.

Retranslation is also inevitably connected to commercial interest, especially in the field of literary translation. Koskinen and Paloposki (2003: 26–33) note that retranslations

often attract the interest of both the press and the critics which can increase, not only the sales of the retranslated novel, but also boost the sales of other works by the same author. The latest translation of *Mary Poppins* was acknowledged in the press during its publication in 2010, although the reviews, for example in Helsingin Sanomat, mostly concentrated on the new illustrations, and the language was hardly commented on. Publishing companies also seem to like to present themselves in the role of benefactors when they are commissioning and publishing retranslations. (Koskinen & Paloposki 2003: 26–33.) Alice Martin from the publishing company WSOY told me that the publishing house WSOY has, indeed, been rather enthusiastic in the retranslation business in recent years. In addition to the retranslation of *Mary Poppins*, there is, for instance, an on-going project to retranslate all Shakespeare plays into Finnish. (Martin 2011, a telephone conversation Heino–Martin 25.11.2011.)

Retranslations, like any translations, can be produced from direct or indirect sources. “Direct retranslations” (Jianzhong 2003: 193) are retranslations that are translated directly from the same source text. “Indirect retranslations” (Jianzhog 2003: 193), on the other hand, are retranslations that have been made from indirect source texts, that is, through mediating language. In addition to retranslations that are produced either direct or indirect sources, Anthony Pym (1998: 82–83) distinguishes two other types of retranslations; “passive retranslations” and “active retranslations”. According to Pym, passive retranslation refers to subsequent translations which, for one reason or other, do not compete with each other, and it is even possible that the whole existence of retranslations is not acknowledged at all. Active retranslations, however, are all published in the same cultural area and relatively closely in time; they thus have something in common as. Pym further points out that active retranslations can all be done by the same translator, or they can be commissioned by the same client.

It is clear that at least two of the Finnish translations of *Mary Poppins* are direct, active retranslations, namely the initial translation published in 1936, and the second retranslation published in 2010. Both of these translations are translated directly from the same source text, published in the same cultural area, and commissioned by the same patron, the publishing house WSOY. There is only one notion that would argue

against defining the initial translation and second retranslation as direct and active retranslations. This notion is the fact that these two translations have not been published relatively close to each other. In fact, there have been more than 70 years between the publishing these two translations. It is, however, questionable if the first retranslation of the novel, published in 1982, is a retranslation in its own right, or merely a revision of the first translation. A revision “focuses on a previous translation, retranslation on the original” (Chesterman 2000: 22). It seems, indeed, evident that the first retranslation is a revision of the first translation because in most parts Makkonen’s translation is clearly based on the first translation. The first retranslation would, thus, be considered as an active, indirect retranslation, or even, an indirect revision of the first target text. In this study, however, this translation is treated as the first retranslation because the changes Makkonen has made, be as few as they are, are such that have a major impact on the target text as a whole.

Retranslation is a subject that has been studied often. Researchers in the field of translation studies have tried to provide an answer to questions such as why retranslation occurs in the first place, why certain types of texts are retranslated and others not, and how are the subsequent translations different from one another (Koskinen & Paloposki 2003: 21). In Finland, Riitta Oittinen, for instance, has been studying the four Finnish translations of Alice’s Adventures in Wonderland. It is often assumed that a retranslation is closer to the source text than the previous translation. This assumption is also called “the retranslation hypothesis” (Chesterman 2000: 23.) For one reason or another, however, scholars have generally not tested the retranslation hypothesis *per se*. Because of that testing the retranslation hypothesis seems to call for further study, and that is also the main purpose of this particular study.

It is often argued that first translations are more domesticating and retranslations more foreignizing. The reason behind this argument is usually the case when the source text culture is unfamiliar to the target text audience, hence the need to domesticate the unfamiliar aspects in order to make the text understandable and readable for the receptor audience, and thus more acceptable as well (Paloposki & Koskinen 2001: 28–29.) They also argue that if and when the retranslation is produced and published many years after

the initial translation, the retranslation will inevitably gain from the passage of time; it is likely that in the course of time also the source text culture has become more familiar to the target text readers. Paloposki and Koskinen continue by arguing that in that case there will not be such a strong need to domesticate the foreign elements of the source text anymore, and the intended audience of the source text will probably tolerate more unfamiliar elements in general in the target text as well. In such case the retranslation hypothesis would be applicable and the retranslation would, indeed, be closer to the source text than the domesticated, initial translation.

3.2 Translation as Metonymic Activity

There are a number of ways of viewing what kind of an action translation is and Maria Tymoczko (1999b: 41–42), for instance, sees translation as rewriting. According to Tymoczko, rewriting is producing the same text again, shaping and moulding it into something different and yet recognisably similar as some other text. The same applies to translation as well. Both rewriting and translation evoke all the versions of the text or the story, either its predecessors or contemporaries which the readers have encountered before. Through this intertextual nature of texts and translations, readers are capable of learning about and understanding literature, its genres and conventions. (Tymoczko 1999b: 41–46.) When, for instance, the novel *Mary Poppins* is read, this reading evokes all the previous readings of other English children's literature the reader has encountered, the times the reader has heard someone read the same story aloud, stories that tell about nannies, all the fantasy literature the reader has read, et cetera.

The essence of both rewriting and translation, on the other hand, is that they are both metonymic. Metonymy refers to selection, that is, to a selective process through which a small part begins to represent some bigger whole. (Tymoczko 1999b: 42.) For instance, it is possible to argue that the story of *Mary Poppins* reflects, in a way, all the stories of its own genre, a larger whole of which it is a part – English children's literature of the 1930s – or as a part of even some larger whole, that is, Western European children's literature. The writer of *Mary Poppins* has deliberately chosen aspects of the source

culture and the genre, either in content or in form, that mark the story as specifically English/Western children's literature of a specific era.

Similarly, translation is metonymic because it inevitably involves selection. A translator must make more or less conscious decisions which features of the source text will be represented in the target text, in other words rewritten, because it would be impossible to include everything in the target text (Tymoczko 1999b: 48). From this follows that, as no source text can ever be translated completely, the target text will always be somehow different than its source text (Tymoczko 1999a: 23). In consequence of this, in order not to make the translation's information load too high, a translator has to also choose which source text and source culture aspects to favour and which aspects to disregard. These decisions are important because they have a significant role in how the source culture is perceived in the target culture, that is, what aspects of the translation eventually begin to represent metonymically the source culture as a whole in the target text. (Tymoczko 1999b: 46–47.) In its metonymic sense, translation is all about selection – favouring something in the expense of something else.

The “metonymic aspect” (Tymoczko 1999b: 46) is even more important when we are dealing with “non-canonical [and] marginalized literature” (Tymoczko 1999b: 47) which is usually loaded with such cultural information that can be problematic for the target culture readers. The novel *Mary Poppins* can be conceived as marginalized literature because it is literature intended for an adolescent audience. Consequently, it is very important to carefully consider the choices of translation strategies because the intended audience of this particular novel usually has very little say in what kinds of texts are translated for them and how they are translated. It is also likely that the source culture is more or less unfamiliar to the intended audience of children's literature, that is, the adolescent readers, due to their lack of experience of literature and life in general, therefore it is more than likely that the culturally unfamiliar elements will cluster. It is important for the translator to recognize the responsibility in producing a text for this child audience. For that reason, the translator should carefully consider which parts of the source text will be chosen to represent metonymically the entire source culture and how this will be done, because as Tymoczko (1999a: 21) reminds us, translation is not

only about translating words but translating and rewriting entire cultures, for the needs and purposes of the receiving culture and the target readers.

There are usually some aspects in the source text that are more demanding than others. According to Tymoczko (1999b: 47–50), challenging aspects of the source text which might cause difficulty among the target readers are usually such references to material or social culture which clearly define the source culture different and alien in the target culture context. Tymoczko further argues that a translation should always be produced by keeping in mind the target readers and the purpose of the translation. After all, a translation that does not answer the demands, needs and expectations of the target readers or that is in other ways incomprehensible, is more or less useless. Therefore, though it is very important, it is not always self-evident how the material and cultural references should be rendered in the target text.

There are a number of reasons why certain elements are more challenging to translate than others. Tymoczko (1999b: 47) concludes that it could, for instance, happen that the source text is produced in a culture that is more or less unknown to the target text readers, thus practices of the source culture can be unfamiliar in the target culture. If the distance between two cultures is very high, it is typical that there is a great deal of these culturally unfamiliar elements in the source text. (Tymoczko 1999a: 22.) Moreover, it might be that the text was originally written a number of years before the translation was produced, as was the case with the novel *Mary Poppins* and its three Finnish translations. *Mary Poppins* was first published in England in 1934, the first Finnish translation was published two years later, second in 1982, and the third in 2010, in other words, in this case a significant number of years has passed between the production of the original source text and the second retranslation. It is also possible to argue that at the time when the initial Finnish translation of the novel was published in Finland in 1936, the source text culture was still more or less unfamiliar to the contemporary audience, not to mention contemporary children who I consider to be the primary audience of this novel. This is so even though Finland and England both belonged, and still do belong, to the same, relatively close cultural sphere, that is, the Western world and Europe.

Translation involves also “assertion of cultural dominance” (Tymoczko 1999a: 28). Tymoczko argues that because of cultural hegemony, when texts are translated from a dominant culture language into a minority culture language, such as from English into Finnish, the tendency is to preserve in translation also those source culture elements which are more or less unfamiliar in the receiving culture. Tymoczko concludes that because of the cultural hegemony of the source culture, the target text readers are presupposed to have knowledge of the practices and cultural references and allusions of the source culture, thus they need not be explicitly presented in the translation either. Most of the literature translated in the early 1900s’ Finland came from the English-speaking countries (Heikkilä-Halttunen 2007: 472), and therefore it is quite possible that the dominance of Anglo-American culture and literature have affected also the translation strategies of *Mary Poppins* into Finnish, at least in the case of the first translation in 1936. This could be assumed to be the case even more in the later translations of *Mary Poppins*, because the hegemony of Anglo-American culture has not at any rate diminished during the latter half of the 20th century, in fact, quite the contrary.

When the source culture and the target culture are very different, the importance and difficulty of the selection of the elements for translation is highlighted. After all, according to Tymoczko (1999b: 57), through translations the readers construct the ideas of what people and different cultures are like, and that is why the choice exercised by the translator is so important. The translator can, for instance, conclude that because of the vast cultural distance between the two cultures, the intended audience of the translation will tolerate less unfamiliarity and strangeness in the target text. The translator is, thus, dealing with the question of how these culturally unfamiliar elements should be translated, or transferred to another culture so that the intended audience would comprehend them as well and the target text would be understood. The translator might, therefore, choose a translation strategy in which to fade out the unfamiliar aspects of the source text and use references that are more familiar to the implied readers. (Tymoczko 1999a: 21–23.) Tymoczko refers to this global translation strategy as “*assimilative*” (1999a: 21), which according to her (1999b: 48), is also perhaps the easiest solution, because human beings always tend to somehow explain and simplify

difficult and/or unfamiliar issues by interpreting them according to the closest familiar pattern to them.

On the other hand, the source and target cultures are not always very different from one another. In fact, often the two cultures are relatively familiar with each other's cultural elements and practices nonetheless. This does not exclude the fact that there can also be elements in the source text that could be unfamiliar and challenging for the target readers. However, if the source and target cultures are relatively close to each other, the translator may choose to preserve also those elements which may be less clear, because it is more likely, nevertheless, that the target text audience will understand these elements as well, to a certain degree at least. It is also possible that because the two cultures are culturally less distant from one another, the target text readers will tolerate more unfamiliar elements in the target text as well. (Tymoczko 1999b: 46.) Tymoczko (1999a: 21) notes that while translating the translator may, thus, choose to highlight the culturally unfamiliar elements, and while doing that the translator is utilizing "*aggressive*" (Tymoczko 1999a: 21) global translation strategies.

There are many local translation strategies available for assimilative and aggressive translations. Maria Tymoczko (1999a: 25) and Peter Newmark (1988a: 103) offer several possibilities for translating the cultural elements by using assimilative strategies. Omissions, additions, adaptation, neutralisation and explication of the source text, providing footnotes and glossaries, introductions or other commentaries accompanying the translation, using cultural equivalents or "accepted standard translation[s]" (Newmark 1988a: 103) would all lead to assimilated translations. Tymoczko (1999a: 29) points out that all these strategies would, however, raise the question of faithfulness or fidelity to the source text. She states that if a text is highly assimilated by, for instance, omitting all the unfamiliar material culture expressions or by adapting unfamiliar social culture aspects to such that are more familiar among the target readers, it is clear that the text has been brought closer to the reader, in other words, domesticated. Aggressive translation strategies, on the other hand, according to Tymoczko (1999a: 25) and Newmark (1988a: 103), involve literal translations and transference. Aggressive translations, in turn, would be more faithful to the source text,

hence foreignized, or as Tymoczko (1999a: 29) puts it, the audience would be brought to the text, in contrast with assimilative translations. Aggressive translations can also be more demanding for the target readers, because it is possible that they contain more challenging and unfamiliar elements than assimilative translations.

The following chapter concentrates on the detailed analysis of the local translation strategies in the context of the source text's cultural references. These references are divided into three categories: material culture, social culture and intermediate category. The analysis of the local strategies will reveal which global translation strategies the three translators have favoured, that is, whether they have used more assimilative or aggressive strategies, which will lead to the conclusion whether or not the retranslation hypothesis is applicable in this particular material. As the purpose of this study is twofold, the analysis will also eventually reveal which source culture aspects the translators have chosen to metonymically represent the source culture in the target texts. The analysis begins with a brief account of the purpose, method and material of this study in addition to a brief summary of the main findings. This is followed by a detailed analysis of translation strategies complimented with examples and figures.

4 ASSESSING THE VALIDITY OF THE RETRANSLATION HYPOTHESIS

The purpose of this study is twofold; firstly to test the validity of the retranslation hypothesis in my material, that is, in the three translations of the novel *Mary Poppins* into Finnish, and secondly to see which source text and source culture aspects the translators have chosen to metonymically represent the source culture in the target texts. The main interest of the analysis is in the two global translation strategies, aggressive and assimilative, that are used in the context of the cultural elements of the source text.

For the purpose of the analysis the cultural elements of the source text are divided into three different categories; material culture, social culture and intermediate culture. Food and drink are chosen as representatives of material culture in the source text, and there are 86 material–culture references in the source text. Social culture references are more abstract than concrete material culture references, and in this study social culture references that are of interest are proper nouns. There are 59 different proper nouns in the source text, including first and last names, descriptive names, place names and names of historic people. References to having a cup of tea or afternoon-tea are placed in the intermediate category. Having tea is mentioned in 9 of the 12 chapters of the novel.

In order to be able to conclude whether or not the retranslation hypothesis is applicable in this material, the analysis concentrates on examining which local translation strategies the three translators have used in translating the cultural elements of the source text. The close examination of the local translation strategies, on the other hand, will reveal which of the two global translation strategies the three translators will favour, that is, whether they use assimilative or aggressive strategies while translating the source text's cultural elements. According to the retranslation hypothesis, the translator of the initial translation should always use more assimilative strategies, whereas the translator(s) of the retranslation(s) should use more aggressive strategies. The main purpose of the analysis is, therefore, to examine if the translator of the initial translation use more assimilative strategies, and if the translators of the two

retranslations use more aggressive strategies while translating the cultural elements of the source text.

It could be argued that the metonymic aspect of the three translations will be revealed as a side product of the examination of the retranslation hypothesis. Once the material has been thoroughly analysed, it will be possible to conclude which aspects of the source text and culture the translators have chosen to metonymically represent the source culture in the target text. Metonymy, after all, is the same as the degree of aggressiveness in each translation, that is, those aspects that have been translated aggressively are also the ones that metonymically represent the source culture in the target texts. The analysis will also reveal what kinds of differences there are in the degree of metonymy between the three translations.

After the local translation strategies had been analysed according to the three different categories, the findings of the analysis revealed a great diversity between translation strategies between the three translations. It seems that in the context of the material culture references all the three translators have been favouring aggressive translation strategies over assimilative ones. However, the analysis also revealed that in the context of material culture the initial translation, indeed, is more assimilated than the subsequent retranslations, hence in the context of the material culture references the retranslation hypothesis seemed valid.

In the context of the social culture references, however, the analysis revealed that assimilative translation strategies were the most popular ones in all the three translations. Moreover, one of the main findings of the analysis was that in the context of the social culture references, the first retranslation was the least assimilated one of the three whereas the second retranslation was, very surprisingly, the most assimilated one of *all* the three translations. The explanation to this phenomenon has to do with the nature of the source text's social culture references themselves, namely the proper nouns, without a doubt. In the first translation the translator had chosen to keep almost all the proper nouns in their source text form, that is, most of the first and last names had not been adapted or translated into Finnish whereas in the third translation all the

first and last names had been replaced with Finnish counterparts, as was also the case with the initial translation. Since first and last names are the most prominent feature of the social culture references in the source text, the effect of the chosen translation strategy is significant. In the context of social culture references, therefore, the retranslation hypothesis would seem to be valid only partially, since only the first retranslation is closer to the source text than the initial translation. Based on these findings, I would be inclined to draw the conclusion that the retranslation hypothesis is not acceptable in this particular category.

The case of the intermediate category appeared to be very interesting as well. In the initial translation more than half of the references of having tea were assimilated whereas in the first retranslation the case was vice versa; aggressive strategies were used in little more than half of the references. In this category the second retranslation, on the other hand, was in a league of its own; 100 % of all the references to tea and having afternoon-tea were preserved in the target text. In other words, the translator had been favouring aggressive strategies throughout her translation. In the case of the intermediate category the final conclusion, thus, is very straightforward; the two retranslations are, indeed, closer to the source text than the initial translation, therefore, in the context of the intermediate category the retranslation hypothesis would be applicable.

The results of the analysis seem to suggest that material culture references, that is, food and drink, and the references of the intermediate category, that is, the custom of having a cup of tea, were chosen to represent metonymically the source culture in all the three translations. Social culture references, that is, proper nouns, on the other hand, are more metonymic of the source culture only in the first retranslation. These results would, thus, also suggest that the first retranslation is more metonymic of the source culture as a whole than either the initial translation or the second retranslation. Moreover, because aggressive strategies have been found more popular in the two retranslations than in the initial translation, it would be reasonable to argue that as a whole, the two retranslations are more metonymic of the source culture than the initial translation, making also the two retranslations more faithful to the source text than the initial translation.

The following subchapters are dedicated to the detailed analysis of the local translation strategies of references in material, social and intermediate category. These subchapters provide a more detailed viewpoint on how the findings were spread between assimilative and aggressive global strategies and why. The subsequent analysis is constructed according to the cultural element categories, that is, the local translation strategies in the context of material culture are analysed first, which is then followed by a detailed analysis of the cultural elements. The references in the intermediate category are analysed last and, finally, the conclusions of the analysis are drawn together at the end of this chapter.

Henceforth in the analysis Tyyni Tuulio's translation is referred to as TT 1936, Marikki Makkonen's translation as MM 1982, and Jaana Kapari-Jatta's translation as JKJ 2010, and the source text, the novel *Mary Poppins*, will be referred to as ST.

4.1 Strategies Used in Translating Material Culture References

Food and drink are an important part of the material culture of any novel because they can be seen as concrete representations of the source culture. Riitta Oittinen (2006: 86–87) argues that food and drink, indeed, have one of the most important roles in children's literature, because children can easily identify with food and drink and situations connected to it due to their own personal experiences. Oittinen continues that that is why it is very important what food items and dishes are called and how eating is described in a story.

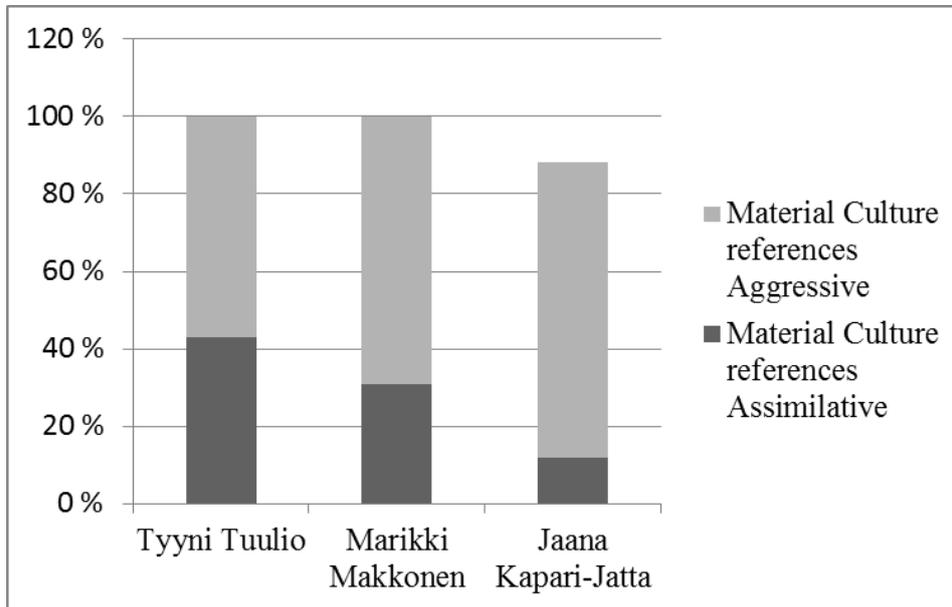
There are 86 references of food and drink in the source text *Mary Poppins*. Food and eating is a recurring feature in the narrative, and often also a magical element. Eating and/or drinking have many different, yet overlapping functions in the story. First of all, food itself can be a magical element in a situation. Moreover, an everyday event of the source culture characterised strongly by food, such as eating or purchasing food items, turns into something unusual and unexpected, into a fantastic adventure. Food and drink

also set the narrative to a specific time and place, thus they are strong markers of the source culture as well. It is, therefore, very important which translation strategies have been used in connection with food items.

Peter Newmark (1998a: 97) notes that there are several different local translation strategies available in translating food items, indeed, possibly even the widest range of strategies for translation of any other cultural reference. Of possible translation strategies, according to Newmark, finding a “one-to-one equivalent and transference” (Newmark 1998: 97) are the most advisable procedures. These would also be aggressive strategies, because they would make the source culture more visible to the target text reader. Frimmelova (2010: 58), on the other hand, reminds that if the source text refers to a food or drink that is unfamiliar in the target text culture, it cannot have the same effect on the target text reader either. In such cases she, thus, recommends assimilative strategies, such as adaptation or finding a cultural equivalent. Newmark (1998a: 103), moreover, argues that before choosing a translation strategy the translator should take into account such factors as the purpose of the translation, the intended readers, how important is the reference in the whole, that is, the context in which the reference appears both in the source and in the target text, and how that referent will appear in the text in the future, hence the importance of it when looking at the ‘big picture’.

The results of the analysis show that in TT 1936’s initial translation 43% of the cases of material culture were assimilated and in 57% of the cases aggressive strategies were used, whereas in MM 1982’s second translation 31% respectively 69%, and finally JKJ 2012’s third translation 12% respectively 88%. The results are also presented in the table 2.

Table 2. Distribution of aggressive and assimilative global translation strategies in the category of material culture



The conclusion of the analysis in the context of the material culture references reveal that, as a whole, aggressive strategies are the most popular ones in all the three translations. On the other hand, one of the results of the analysis is that the initial translation is more assimilated than the two subsequent retranslations. In other words, in the case of the material culture references it seems that the retranslations hypothesis would be valid. In other words, because aggressive strategies have been used more often in the two retranslations, hence they would be closer to the source text than the initial, more assimilated translation, in this case the retranslation hypothesis would, thus, be accurate.

Since aggressive strategies were the most popular ones between all the three translations on the whole, it is relatively easy to find a case where all the translators have used an aggressive strategy. For example, in the second chapter, “The Day Out” (Travers 1956: 16) where Mary Poppins is having afternoon-tea with a friend of hers, the Match Man, and on her way to meet him she thinks to herself;

- (1) ST: of the *raspberry-jam-cakes* they always had on her Day Out (Travers 1956: 19, my italics).

The ST reference has been rendered in the translations as follows:

- (2)TT 1936: Maija Poppanen ajatteli niitä *vadelmahilloleivoksia*, joita he aina söivät hänen vapaapäivinä. (Travers 1980: 18, my italics).

- (3)MM 1982: Maija Poppanen ajatteli *vadelmahilloleivoksia*, joita he aina söivät hänen vapaapäivinä (Travers 2009: 16, my italics).

- (4)JKJ 2010: Maija Poppanen ajatteli *vadelmahilloleivoksia*, joita he söivät aina kun hänellä oli vapaapäivä (Travers 2010: 24, my italics).

In this case all the translators have favoured an exactly same, literal translation strategy and translated the ST reference *raspberry-jam-cakes* as *vadelmahilloleivoksia* [raspberry-jam-cakes]. It is not a surprising strategy since all the components of the ST referent are simple to understand, easily found from any dictionary and thus easily translated into the target language as well. There are several similar cases of unproblematic and clear material culture references in the ST, both in linguistic and cultural terms. Therefore, it is not surprising that in the case of material culture references aggressive translation strategies were the most prevalent ones in all the three translations.

Assimilative translation strategies were less dominant in all the three translations. There are, however, some cases, though only a few, where all the three translators have used an assimilative local translation strategy. The next example is from chapter eight, “Mrs Corry” (Travers 1956: 112), where Mary Poppins and the children have been shopping for groceries, and while buying gingerbreads they end up in the most curious shop. This example also demonstrates a case where an ordinary, everyday event characterized by food, such as shopping for groceries, turns into a fantastic adventure. The gingerbread

shop is an extraordinary place for various reasons, for instance the owner, Mrs Corry, seems to be a very exceptional old lady. When the babies are crying she, for example, does something quite curious:

she broke off two of her fingers and gave one each to John and Barbara. And the oddest part of it was that in the space left by the broken-off fingers two new ones grew at once. Jane and Michael clearly saw it happen. “Only Barley-Sugar – can’t possibly hurt ‘em,” the old lady said to Mary Poppins. (Travers 1956: 120.)

Eventually the children and Mary Poppins buy the gingerbreads and finally Mary Poppins says;

(5) ST “I’m afraid we must be off now, Mrs Corry,” said Mary Poppins. “There’s *Baked Custard* for lunch, and I must be home in time to make it. That Mrs Brill—“ (Travers 1956: 125, my italics).

In the three translations the ST passage has been rendered in the following way:

(6)TT 1936: ”Pelkään, että meidän on nyt lähdettävä, rouva Korinen”, sanoi Maija Poppanen. ”Lounaaksi pitää olla *munapiirakoita*, ja minun täytyy ehtiä kotiin valmistamaan niitä. Tuo rouva Kampela— (Travers 1980: 87, my italics).

(7)MM 1982: ”Kyllä meidän nyt on lähdettävä, rouva Corry”, sanoi Maija Poppanen. – Lounaaksi pitää olla *munapiirakoita*, ja minun täytyy ehtiä kotiin valmistamaan niitä. Tuo rouva Brill— (Travers 2009: 82, my italics).

(8)JKJ 2010: ”Meidän on ikävä kyllä lähdettävä nyt, Maija Poppanen sanoi rouva Korrille.” Lounaaksi on *uunimunakasta*, ja minun täytyy rientää valmistamaan se. Rouva Silokala— (Travers 2010: 114, my italics).

Here all the three translators have chosen an assimilative translation strategy, namely adaptation. All of them have changed the source text dish, *Baked Custard*, into

something completely different; TT 1936 has initially translated the dish into *munapiirakoita* [egg pastries] (example 6), and MM 1982 uses the same translation (example 7), whereas JKJ 2012 has translated the reference as *uunimunakasta* [oven omelette] (example 8). The difficulty in translating the ST referent is obvious; Baked Custard is a very good example of a material–culture reference that is a concrete representation of the source culture. Baked Custard is made of eggs, milk and sugar and seasoned with nutmeg and cinnamon. It is baked in the oven and usually served either warm or chilled, but it is more of a dessert rather than a main course, as to what the translations *egg pastries* or *oven omelette* are referring to. (Tasteofhome 2012.)

The reference has undoubtedly been problematic for all the three translators as the dish has no straightforward, one-on-one equivalent in the target culture. After all, using all the senses while reading a story is an important aspect of children’s literature (Oittinen 2006: 87), therefore, the most plausible explanation for choosing the assimilative translation strategies is that all the translators have decided that it is best to adapt the dish to the closest possible target culture reference. This way the reader can better identify with the story and not be confused by an unfamiliar dish. It can be assumed that TT 1936, nonetheless, has had some idea what kind of a dish is in question, because she has translated the material culture referent into a dish that has eggs as its main ingredient. MM 1982, on the other hand, has apparently been satisfied with the initial solution as well, which emphasizes the notion that her translation is a mere revision of the initial translation where no special attention has been paid for such minor details. JKJ 2010, however, has changed the name of the dish because she has perhaps assumed that *oven omelettes* are more familiar to contemporary readers than *egg pastries*.

The analysis also reveals that in the context of a same material culture reference where TT 1936 has used an assimilative strategy and MM 1982 has adopted the initial solution without any changes, JKJ 2010, on the other hand, has often used an aggressive strategy. While the following example demonstrates such a case, it is also an example of the source text’s material culture and of a food item that has a magical function in the story. The example is from the first chapter of the novel, called “East Wind” (Travers 2006: 1). Mary Poppins has just arrived at the Banks family residence and agreed to

take the position as the nanny in the household. In the scene in question she is in the nursery with the children unpacking her belongings and among other things, she takes a small bottle out of her bag. The children suspect that the bottle contains medicine, because the bottle is labelled “One Tea-Spoon to be Taken at Bed-Time” (Travers 2006: 11). Mary Poppins takes the spoon and “pour[s] a dark crimson fluid” (Travers 2006: 11) onto it, offering it to Michael first who takes the medicine, though unwillingly. Next it is Jane’s turn;

(9) ST: Mary Poppins, her face as stern as before, was pouring out a dose for Jane. It ran into the spoon, silvery, greeny, yellowy. Jane tasted it. “*Lime-Juice cordial*, she said, sliding her tongue deliciously over her lips. (Travers 2006: 12, my italics.)

This reference has been rendered in the translations in the following way:

(10) TT 1936: Maija Poppanen, yhtä ankaran näköisenä kuin ennenkin, kaatoi nyt Annalle hänen osuuttaan. Neste virtasi lusikkaan hopeankimalteisenä, vihertävänä, kellertävänä. Anna maistoi.”*Sitruunahyytelöä*, hän sanoi ja nuoli huuliaan autuaana. (Travers 1980: 13, my italics.)

(11) MM 1982: Maija Poppanen, yhtä ankaran näköisenä kuin ennenkin, kaatoi nyt Janelle hänen osuuttaan. Neste virtasi lusikkaan hopeankimalteisenä, vihertävänä, kellertävänä. Jane maistoi.”*Sitruunahyytelöä*, hän sanoi ja nuoli huuliaan autuaana. (Travers 2009: 12, my italics.)

(12) JKJ 2010: Maija Poppasen ilme oli yhtä tiukka kuin ennenkin ja hän kaatoi annoksen Anjalle. Neste valui lusikkaan hopeaisena, vihertävänä, kellertävänä. Anja maistoi sitä. ”*Limettimehua*”, hän sanoi ja nuoleskeli nautinnollisesti huuliaan. (Travers 2010: 15, my italics.)

The reference *Lime-Juice Cordial* has been translated as *Sitruunahyytelöä* [lemon jelly], by TT 1936 and MM 1982 (examples 10 and 11). In this case both TT 1936 and MM 1982 have used the same translation and an assimilative strategy when they have changed the entire fruit from lime to lemon. This procedure is called adaptation. The translators have decided that it is necessary to change the source text reference into

something more familiar in the target culture. TT 1936 at least must have concluded that lemon would be a much more familiar fruit to the target text audience than lime would be in the 1930s Finland, and MM 1982 has apparently not found any reason to change the initial translation. It should be remembered that especially for children it would be very difficult to relate to the story if there are food items, dishes and drinks that are unfamiliar to them and beyond their own experience (Frimmelova 2010: 58). Frimmelova concludes that this inevitably means that the story cannot have the same kind of an effect in the target culture as it has in the source culture and among source culture readers.

The latter part of the reference, *cordial*, which is literally concentrated juice or tasty medicine, has been changed into a jelly in the TT 1936's and MM 1982's translations. This is also an assimilative strategy. The reason behind this solution is only guess work; perhaps the dictionary available to TT 1936 did not include the word 'cordial' as a foodstuff in it, as the word has different semantic connotations as it can also refer to being polite, civil and kind. Moreover, because it seems that MM 1982 has used exactly the same translation strategy as in the first translation, this would further emphasise the notion that MM 1982's translation, indeed, is only a partial retranslation, more or less only an updated or revised version of the initial translation.

JKJ 2010, however, has used an aggressive strategy in which the source text word has been rendered literally, that is, she has translated the ST referent as *Limetimehua* [lime-juice cordial], (example 12). JKJ 2010 has probably chosen this strategy because she has come to the conclusion that nearly all children in the 21st century Finland would recognise what kind of a fruit a lime is. Furthermore, JKJ 2010's dictionary must have been a better one than TT 1936's and MM 1982's, because *cordial* is translated correctly as juice and not as jelly. This example demonstrates well the importance of taking into account the time and place in translation: some food items are more unfamiliar during some era and place but the situation can change over time.

Even though the results of the analysis show that TT 1936 has used less assimilative strategies in her initial translations than MM 1982 and JKJ 2010 in their retranslations,

the most difficult example to come across was to find a single case where TT 1936 would have chosen an assimilative strategy whereas MM 1982 and JKJ 2010 would both have chosen an aggressive strategy. One of such examples, however, can be found in chapter four, “Miss Lark’s Andrew (Travers 1956: 49). Miss Lark is the neighbour of the Banks family and she has a dog called Andrew. Andrew is very spoiled for a pet, for instance;

(13) ST: he has cream for every meal and sometimes *oysters* and he possessed four overcoats with checks and stripes in different colours. (Travers 1956: 51, my italics).

The previous ST passage has been rendered in the following way in the three translations:

(14) TT 1936: se sai kermaa joka ateriaksi ja omisti neljä päällystakkia, joissa oli erivärinen ruudutus ja nauhat. (Travers 1980: 40)

(15) MM 1982: se sai kermaa joka ateriaksi ja joskus *ostereita* ja omisti neljä päällystakkia, joissa oli erivärinen ruudutus ja nauhat. (Travers 2009: 35, my italics)

(16) JKJ 2012: se sai kermaa joka aterialla ja toisinaan *ostereita*, ja sillä oli neljä takkia, joissa oli erivärisiä ruutuja ja raitoja. (Travers 2010: 49, my italics)

Here, TT 1936 has chosen an assimilative strategy by omitting the entire references to oysters (example 14), whereas MM 1982 and JKJ 2010 have used an aggressive, literal translation *ostereita* [oysters] (examples 15 and 16). As previously in the example 10, it is possible that TT 1936 has decided that in the early 20th century Finland oysters are an unfamiliar food item for child readers. After all, it is important that a translator considers such facts as the age and reading comprehension of the target readers (Shavit 2006: 26). Oysters, indeed, have always been imported goods in Finland, and it is

possible that more than 70 years ago children would not have understood what kind of food oysters are in the first place, and secondly, why it would be odd that a dog would be served such a thing. TT 1936's decision is, therefore, perfectly legitimate and understandable. MM 1982 and JKJ 2010, however, have made an opposite decision. This reference characterizes the fact that Miss Lark and her dog Andrew have an unusual relationship. It highlights the fact how pampered the dog really is and what kind of a wealthy, fussy spinster the Banks family has as their neighbour. Therefore, the ST reference to oysters is also important from the narrative point of view, which would explain MM 1982's and JKJ 2010's decision to use an aggressive strategy.

In conclusion, the results of the analysis suggest that since aggressive translation strategies were found to be the most frequent ones in the context of the material–culture references in all the three translations, references to food and drink are metonymic of the source culture in all the target texts as well. The results, however, are somewhat conflicting between the three translations. Since JKJ 2010 has used the most aggressive strategies of all the three translators, in her translation food and drink are more metonymic of the source culture than, for instance, in TT 1936's translation. The analysis revealed that both TT 1936 and MM 1982 had assimilated all such references to food and drink that have even a slightly foreign feel to them. For instance, “crumpets [and] coconut cakes” (Travers 1956:31) have turned into “leipää ja voita [ja] piparkakkuja” (Travers 1980: 26; Travers 2009: 23) [bread and butter [and] gingerbreads] in the initial translation and in the first retranslation, whereas JKJ 2010 has translated them literally as “teeleipiä ja kookoskakkuja” (Travers 2010: 34) [crumpets and coconut cakes]. One reason for TT 1936's and MM 1982's translation strategies might be that while they were considering a translation strategy they took into account the level of comprehension of the intended readers. It seems that both MM 1982 and JKJ 2010 concluded that it would be best to assimilate such closely source-culture related dishes in order not to obstruct the understanding of the text and the story as a whole. JKJ 2010, on the other hand, has apparently given more credit to her intended readers' level of knowledge and intellect, and translated most of the perhaps more unfamiliar dishes literally as well. However, as most of the ST references to food and drink are quite ordinary and everyday dishes in the target culture as well, this would

explain why on the whole aggressive strategies were found more frequent than assimilative strategies.

The results of the analysis of the material culture references show that translating food and drink in children's novels, indeed, is a challenging task, and that during the translation process, translators have to take into account several issues. Because all the elements of the source text should have a similar effect also on the target text audience as they have on the source text audience (Oittinen 2006: 94), it is not surprising that while translating names of dishes and drinks translators do not resort to only one translation strategy, for instance adaptation, but use several different strategies in one translation assignment. This was evident also in the three translations of *Mary Poppins*; all the translators used a wide variety of translation strategies, that is, both aggressive and assimilative, in their respective translations.

4.2 Strategies Used in Translating Social Culture References

Proper nouns are the most frequent expression of social culture in the source text, and that is why this social culture reference is chosen to be the main interest of the analysis in this chapter. In the novel *Mary Poppins* there are a great deal of all kinds of proper nouns. In fact, there are all together 59 different proper nouns in the source text. Out of all the proper nouns there are 34 first and last names, 11 descriptive names, 6 names of real-life characters and 8 place names. In some cases a first or a last name can have a double function, that is, in addition to as serving as a first or last name, the name is also a descriptive name. In such cases the name has been placed in both categories.

Translating proper nouns is always very challenging because they can have so many different functions in a story. Proper nouns, for instance, identify both the characters and the time and the place of the story in many ways. This characterization helps the reader to identify with the story (Frimmelova 2010: 53–56.) According to Gillian Lathey (2006: 7), the difficulty in translating proper names is highlighted when translating for an adolescent audience, because the intended readership may find it

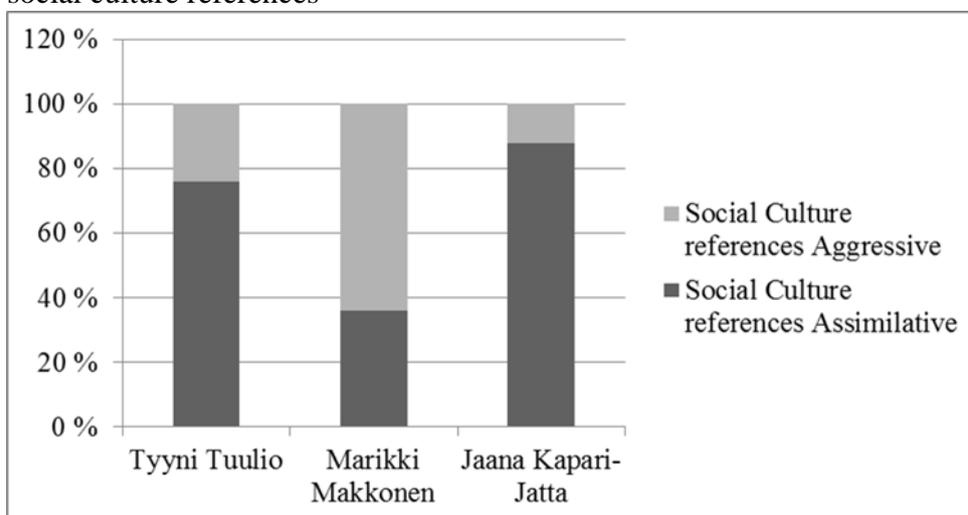
difficult to relate to people and places with foreign names due to their limited knowledge and experience of the world. Lathey further argues that because of this proper names are often assimilated one way or the other in children's literature. Christiane Nord (2003: 183) also notes that since there basically are no rules for translating proper nouns, translators use a variety of techniques while translating proper nouns. Nord continues that in no means do translators resort to only one type of strategy inside one translation. In fact, translators can use many different strategies inside just one work.

Frimmelova (2010: 54–57) gives three possible translation strategies for proper names; transference, naturalization through transcription, and cultural context adaptation. She argues that transference and transcription would be the least appealing solutions, especially when it is a question of children's literature, since these procedures may make the story more difficult to read which again makes it more difficult to emphasise with the story and its characters. It seems that in translating proper nouns in children's novels Frimmelova favours cultural context adaptation. This is a procedure where a translator makes the effort to find such a cultural equivalent for the name that has a similar effect in the target text as it has in the source text. This is of special importance especially when it is a question of a descriptive name. Birgitte Schultze (1991: 91–92) on the other hand, would prefer direct transfer, adaptation, substitution, semantic translation or "a transfer of an artistic device", which could be seen as the equivalent strategy of Frimmelova's cultural context adaptation. Of these translation procedures only transference and direct transfer, which basically are refer to the same thing, would be aggressive strategies and all the rest would be assimilative strategies.

The results of the analysis reveal that the three translators have, indeed, used a wide variety of translations strategies in connection to the proper nouns. It is also evident that the translators have not resorted to only one strategy in each work, but they have applied many different strategies inside one work. According to the results of the analysis, in 76% of the cases TT 1936 has been using assimilative strategies and in 24% of the cases aggressive strategies, whereas MM 1982 has been using 36% respectively 64%, and JKJ 2010 88% respectively 12%. These results suggest that, in

the context of proper nouns, the retranslation hypothesis would not be applicable, or is applicable only partly, since the results are conflicting. The first, more aggressive retranslation would be closer to the source text than the initial translation, whereas the second retranslation is less faithful to the source text than neither of the previous translations. In fact, the results of the analysis confirm that the second retranslation is even more assimilated than the initial translation. The results of the analysis are also presented in the table 3., below.

Table 3. Distribution of aggressive and assimilative translation strategies in category of social culture references



The following part of this chapter is dedicated to a detailed analysis of the local translation strategies which the three translators have used in their work. The analysis will reveal the distribution of the aggressive and assimilative translation strategies between individual works, and provide an answer whether or not the retranslation hypothesis is applicable in the context of social–culture references.

There are some cases where all the three translators have used a similar assimilative strategy. The most obvious example of assimilation is perhaps the translation strategies chosen for translating the name of the protagonist, *Mary Poppins*. The name has been translated as *Maija Poppanen* originally by TT 1936. She has used two different

assimilative translation strategies, namely substitution and transfer of artistic device. While translating the first name *Mary* as *Maija*, TT 1936 has been using the procedure of substitution. After all, both the source text reference and its target text counterpart are common and popular female names in both cultures. Consequently, both names also have the same initial letter. As argued before, Mary Poppins' name has double function. Firstly, it is a simple first and last name, and secondly a descriptive name as well. Newmark (1988b: 71) notes that in fiction, first and last names often have "deliberate connotation through sound and meaning". This seems to be the case with Mary Poppins' last name as well. Both the sound and meaning of her last name have been preserved successfully in TT 1936's translation. Firstly, the bilabial sound in the beginning of the name, *Poppins/Poppanen*, is very similar in both languages. The sound can be described hard or sudden, surprising even, and the sound would indeed characterize Mary Poppins very well. It is possible to suggest that the Finnish translation of her last name, *Poppanen*, refers to a Finnish verb 'popata' [burn]. This verb is a juvenile expression which is usually used for warning children to stay away from something that is hot and that might consequently hurt you, for example an oven or a fireplace. Mary Poppins, on the other hand, is a lady who is capable of only a limited amount of affection and tenderness, and an aura of mystery surrounds her all the time. Therefore, it is perhaps better not get too close to her unless you want to get hurt. Secondly, neither *Poppins* nor *Poppanen* refer directly into anything concrete or existing in the real world, thus the last name is a nonsense name in both languages. All this put together makes the translation very successful indeed, because TT 1936 has managed to transfer all the aspects and characteristics of Mary Poppins' name also in the target language.

Newmark (1998b: 71) notes that while choosing a translation strategy for proper nouns, translators should always consider whether there already exists a translation that is already generally accepted in the target culture. This is an important consideration in retranslation as well. A translator is inevitably faced with the question whether it is advisable to find a new translation for a proper name that has perhaps established a certain status over the years in the target culture already. Therefore, it is more than likely that both MM 1982 and JKJ 2010 have been considering this question in the

beginning of their translation project. It seems that both of them have come to the same conclusion; *Mary Poppins* has achieved such status as a canonical classic in the target culture that it would be unnecessary, and perhaps even dangerous, to try to invent a new name for the protagonist. Accordingly, both MM 1982 and JKJ 2010 have used a similar assimilative translation strategy as TT 1936, and *Mary Poppins* is called *Maija Poppanen* also in the two retranslations.

In the context of other first and last names all the three translators have used quite different strategies. According to Oittinen (2007: 491), in literature first and last names are rarely translated. Illustrated children's novels, however, tend to make an exception to the rule. In the case of first and last names in the novel *Mary Poppins*, both TT 1936 and JKJ 2010 have used a similar assimilative strategy throughout their translations. Both of them have chosen to substitute all the first and last names with Finnish names. The Banks family children, for instance, all have Finnish names; *Jane, Michael, John and Barbara* are in TT 1936's translation called *Anna, Mikko, Jukka and Saara*, respectively, and in the JKJ 2010's translation *Anja, Veikko, Tauno and Inkeri*, respectively. MM 1982, on the other hand, has used an aggressive strategy of transference/direct transfer throughout her translation. This means that in the first retranslation most of the novel's first and last names are rendered in their original, English form. Consequently, MM 1982's chosen aggressive strategy for translating the proper nouns is also the most distinctive difference between the initial translation and the first retranslation. That is why, in this translation, MM 1982's translation is considered to be a retranslation and not only a revision of the initial translation. Moreover, the chosen strategy undeniably affects how assimilated or aggressive the translations are, since first and last names are the most frequent examples of proper nouns in the novel.

The translation strategies of first names inevitably have a significant effect on the acoustic element, that is, the "sound and rhythm" (Oittinen 2006: 94) of the text. In other words, what the text sounds like when it is read aloud to a child. It is possible to read the text aloud more fluently when the characters have a familiar sounding name,

for instance, Anna or Mikko because the reader does not have to stop to think how to pronounce a foreign name.

The chosen translation strategies also set the story a specific location. When most of the proper nouns are replaced with Finnish names, the characters are also forced to “change [...] nationality” (Nord 2003: 185). In the initial translation and second retranslation of *Mary Poppins* the setting of the source text has been faded out when both the translators have substituted the proper names with Finnish counterparts. It is possible that this has been done in order to make the text sound more familiar to the reader and make it easier for the reader to identify with the story and its characters. Obscuring the source culture setting has been a deliberate and consistent strategy especially throughout TT 1936’s translation. In her translation also other proper nouns, for example, place names, are treated with similar assimilative strategies. MM 1982, on the other hand, has managed better to preserve the nature and feel of the source culture also in the target text.

In the context of descriptive names, both TT 1936 and JKJ 2012 have used the strategy of cultural context adaptation/transfer of artistic device consistently in rendering the names. The Banks family cook, *Mrs Brill*, for instance, is called *rouva Kampela* [Mrs Flounder] in TT 1936’s translation, and *rouva Silokala* [Mrs Brill] in JKJ 2010’s translation. In the context of all descriptive names, MM 1982, however, has used the strategy of transference/direct transfer throughout her translation. In the first retranslation, for example, Mrs Brill is called Mrs Brill in the target text as well. The chosen translation strategies in the three translations inevitably affect the results of the analysis as well. In the case of descriptive names, MM 1982’s translation solutions are more aggressive, hence closer to the source text, than either TT 1936’s or JKJ 2010’s more assimilated translations.

There is only one case where all the three translators have used a similar aggressive strategy when rendering a proper noun. Namely, all the translators have used the strategy of transference/direct transfer in the context of the Banks family housemaid *Ellen*’s name. She is called by the same name also in all the three translations. The answer to this translation strategy seems obvious. The name *Ellen* is a rather usual name

in both cultures, and it also has similar spelling and pronunciation in both cultures, therefore, the simplest translation solution seems to have been to transfer the name unchanged in all the three translations. Furthermore, Ellen as a proper name has neither denotative nor connotative meaning in either culture, in other words, it can belong to whichever culture. Therefore, its translation does not have any effect on how visible or invisible the source culture is in the target text. This particular example, however, should only be treated as a mere curiosity, since as a single example it has no particular weight on how assimilative or aggressive the translations are on the whole.

There are also some references to real-life characters in the ST, in fact, six all together. Real-life characters in particular set the story to a specific culture and location, thus their translations are important as well. In the translating the names of the real-life characters in *Mary Poppins* all the three translators have used more assimilative strategies than aggressive. In fact, in these cases TT 1936 and MM 1982 have used more assimilative than aggressive strategies. Both of them have assimilated five cases out of the six. JKJ 2010, on the other hand, has assimilated half of the cases, that is, three cases, and used aggressive strategies in other three cases. References to real-life characters are also the only proper nouns where JKJ 2010 has used less assimilative strategies than the other translators. This detail is noteworthy because in the context of all the proper nouns, JKJ 2010's translation was found to be the most assimilated one out of the three.

An example of assimilative strategies in the context of a real-life character can be found in the chapter eight. In this chapter Mary Poppins and the children are out buying food supplies. Last on their shopping list are gingerbreads which they go to buy from the most curious little shop the children have ever seen in their life. The owner of the shop, Mrs Corry, especially is very extraordinary. For instance, to sooth the crying twins Mrs Corry “broke[s] off two of her fingers and gave each to John and Barbara [...] “only barley sugar – can’t possibly hurt ‘em”, the old lady said to Mary Poppins” (Travers 1956: 120). Michael and Jane stare at this in amazement and witness how the broken-off fingers grow back, and Michael wishes that the fingers would have been candy. Mrs Corry remarks:

(17) ST: “Aha!” said Mrs. Corry. “That’s just the question. I never know from day to day what they will be. I take the chance, my dear, as I heard *William the Conqueror* say to his mother when she advised him not to go conquering England.” (Travers 1956: 120, my italics)

The real-life character mentioned in the extract, William the Conqueror, is the historical figure who conquered England. He was crowned as king in 1066 and reigned the country until his death in 1087. (The Royal Household 2008/09.) In TT 1936’s translation the reference to William the Conqueror has been omitted. In fact, in this particular part TT 1936 has omitted several paragraphs, for example the whole extract where Mrs Corry offers barley-sugar-fingers to the twins. In TT 1936’s translation Mrs Corry only greets the twins shortly and then turns to Michael, Jane and Mary Poppins to ask them what they would like to have. As mentioned earlier, omitting is always an assimilative strategy. The reason for these omissions remains only guess-work. It is possible that TT 1936 has found the passage unnecessary to the plot as a whole. It is also likely that TT 1936 has thought that William the Conqueror might be a historical figure who is unfamiliar to the readers and a reference to him would only confuse the text, therefore it is best to omit the name altogether. The omission, however, affects the characterization of Mrs Corry. The reference to William the Conqueror implies that she is, indeed, a very special lady. Namely, if Mrs Corry has actually heard the words spoken by William the Conqueror himself, she must be very old indeed.

This particular extract has been translated in the following way by MM 1982 and JKJ 2010:

(18) MM 1982: Juuri niin, rouva Corry sanoi. – Kas, siinä pulma. En koskaan tiedä, mitä ne kulloinkin tulevat olemaan. Minä käytän tilaisuutta hyväkseni, kultaseni, niin kuin kuulin *Vilhem Valloittajan* sanovat äidilleen, kun tämä kehotti häntä jättämään Englannin valloittamatta. (Travers 2009: 79, my italics)

(19) JKJ 2010: Jaa–a! rouva Korri sanoi. Siinäpä se. Minä en koskaan tiedä etukäteen, mitä ne ovat. Otan riskin, kultaseni, kuten kuulin *Vilhem*

Valloittajan sanovan äidilleen, kun tämä neuvoi poikaansa, ettei lähtisi valloittamaan Englantia. (Travers 2010: 111, my italics).

Both MM 1982 and JKJ 2010 have used an assimilative strategy of adaptation when translating the name *William the Conqueror* as *Vilhem Valloittaja* (examples 18 and 19). According to Schultze (1991: 91), in adaptation a name is “adjusted to a target culture’s rules of spelling and pronunciation”. Accordingly, in this case the first name *William* has received the Finnish equivalent *Vilhelm*. This name naturally follows the rules of Finnish spelling and pronunciation better than the original ST referent. Newmark (1998b: 70), however, notes that names of real-life, historical figures and their titles should always be translated, providing that the names have established and well-known, “translatable Christian names”. Translating names of real-life characters has been the trend in Finland for a long period of time, therefore, it is not surprising that MM 1982 has been using this strategy. Today, however, it is often recommended that names should be transferred in their ST form also into the translation (Hietanen 2005/2010). Therefore, it would have been reasonable to expect that in JKJ 2010’s translation the first name *William* would have been transferred unchanged. It is possible that JKJ 2010 has chosen this translation strategy because she has deliberately wanted to distance the reader from the source culture. This is because the intended readership of her translation is young children, who may not be familiar with such historical characters. Another answer to this strategy could be that JKJ 2010 has perhaps wanted to make the source text more readable by replacing the foreign sounding ST referent with a more easily pronounced target language counterpart. Moreover, as Oittinen (2005: 139) notes, today proper names are usually translated only in children’s novels, therefore, this strategy would contribute to the notion that the intended audience of the second retranslation indeed is young children.

The last example is of the translation strategies used in translating place names. This is also an example of a case where all the three translators have used a different type of translation strategy. It is also a very good example of how inside one individual work all the translators have managed to use both aggressive and assimilative strategies. The

fact that all the translators have resorted to several different strategies inside just couple of sentences, would confirm the argument that translation of proper nouns is, indeed, a very challenging task. In this particular extract the older children, Jane and Michael, and Mary Poppins are on their way to visit the children's father at his work place, and on their way there they go pass a square:

(20) ST: But at last they came to *St. Paul's Cathedral*, which was built a long time ago by a man with a bird's name. *Wren* it was, but he was no relation to *Jenny*. That is why so many birds live near *Sir Christopher Wren's Cathedral*, which also belongs to *St. Paul* [...] (Travers 2006: 105–107, my italics.)

There are several different proper nouns in this particular extract, both first and last names and place names, and there is a great variation in the translation strategies how these proper nouns have been rendered in the translations:

(21) TT 1936: Mutta vihdoin he tulivat *suuren kirkon* luo. Sen oli kauan sitten rakentanut mies, jolla oli ollut linnun nimi. *Siellä* lenteli aina paljon lintuja [...] (Travers 1980: 75, my italics.)

(22)MM 1982: Mutta vihdoin he tulivat *St' Paulin tuomiokirkon* luo. Sen oli kauan sitten rakentanut mies, jolla oli ollut linnun nimi*¹. Siksi *siellä* lenteli aina paljon lintuja [...] (Travers 2009: 69, my italics.)

(23)JKJ 2010: Lopulta he kuitenkin tulivat *Pyhän Paavalin tuomiokirkolle*, jonka oli rakentanut kauan sitten mies, jolla oli linnun nimi. Nimi oli *Wren*, ja se on englantia ja tarkoittaa peukaloista, joka on lintu. Siksi *tuomiokirkon* nurkilla asui niin paljon lintuja [...] (Travers 2010: 96, my italics.)

Throughout this extract TT 1936 has been using more assimilative strategies (example 21) than MM 1982 and JKJ 2010. She has, for example, omitted the name of the church, *St Paul's Cathedral*, while translating it as *he tulivat suuren kirkon luo* [they came to a

¹ The asterisk in MM 1982's target text indicates that the translator has given a footnote at the bottom of the page: "Sir Christopher Wren (Suom. peukaloinen)" (Travers 2009: 69).

great, big church]. This translation strategy is called explication. The following sentence of the ST, *Wren it was, but he was no relation to Jenny*, TT 1936 has omitted all together. It is possible that TT 1936 has thought that it would be impossible to translate the second sentence in such a way that would be comprehensible to the target text audience. On the other hand, it is also possible that she has simply not understood the ST reference at all, in other words, she has not has any idea how to translate it. The second sentence of the ST is, after all, a pun, in which the author makes an allusion between the architect Sir Christopher Wren, the builder of the church, and the common British bird called Jenny Wren. It should be remembered that when translating for young readers in in the early 1900s Finland, it was customary to omit all such excessive descriptions of setting that were considered unnecessary to the plot as a whole (Heikkilä-Halttunen 2007: 472–476). Therefore, this could be one possible reason for all the omissions in this extract. TT 1936 has probably concluded that the intended audience would not need this information in order to be able to follow the story. Hence the pun is redundant when looking at the story as a whole.

In addition to this omission, TT 1936 has also omitted the place names *Sir Christopher Wren's Cathedral and St. Paul* in the following sentence. She has replaced them with the adverb *siellä* [there]. These omissions make the source culture less visible to the target text readers, that is, from this particular part of the narrative it would be difficult, or even impossible, to conclude the location of the story. The choice of translation strategies would imply that the primary audience for the initial translation is, indeed, young children who are not expected to know anything or only a little about the source culture. Therefore, assimilation would make the target text easier for them to understand and enjoy. It is also noteworthy than in the context of any place name which would set the story to a specific location, TT 1936 has consistently either omitted the reference all together or used some other assimilative strategy to avoid the difficult passage.

MM 1982's translation strategies (example 22) are slightly different as TT 1936's (example 21). She has used both assimilative and aggressive strategies in these few lines. In the context of the first proper noun, *St Paul's Cathedral*, for instance, MM 1982 has used an aggressive strategy of transference. The sentence *he tulivat St' Paulin*

tuomiokirkon luo [they came to St' Paul's Cathedral] MM 1982 has transferred the name of the church untranslated to the target text. This word-for-word translation strategy is also an aggressive solution. In this context, MM 1982 has made the source culture more visible because this translation strategy sets the story firmly to a specific place which is clearly different than the target text culture. This translation strategy would prove the argument that the second translation has a slightly different target audience than the first one, namely that the implied readers would be a little older children as they are supposed to comprehend the reference to St Paul's and its connection to the source culture.

In the ST's second sentence, "[...] *which was built a long time ago by a man with a bird's name*", MM 1982 has used a slightly similar strategy as TT 1936. Namely, she has translated the sentence word-for-word. In addition to this solution, however, she has also given a footnote. In the footnote MM 1982 provides the reader with an explanation about the connection between the man and the bird. It is noteworthy that when using this strategy MM 1982 avoids the need to replace the pun with a Finnish equivalent. Using footnotes is also an aggressive strategy, because it brings the target text readers closer to the source text culture. The strategy of using a footnote advocates and explains MM 1982's strategy in the following sentence, *Wren it was, but he was no relation to Jenny*. MM 1982 has omitted the whole sentence, and this is also an assimilative strategy. She must have thought that that sentence is untranslatable, therefore she has found the information in the sentence redundant for the target text readers.

In the last sentence MM 1982 has used a similar strategy as TT 1936, namely omitted the ST's proper nouns *Sir Christopher Wren's Cathedral* and *St Paul's* and replaced them simply with an adverb *siellä* [there]. This is a curious strategy because MM 1982 has previously transferred the place name *St Paul's* untranslated into the target text. In other words she has already made the source culture more visible to the target text readers. The omissions here would reinforce Zohar Shavit's (2006: 35) notion that translators of children's literature will, as a rule, delete all such scenes that will not compromise or hinder the understanding of the plot or interfere with the characterization. The source culture will, thus, also remain more obscure, but the target

text will perhaps gain from increased understandability of the information and better readability when difficult sounding, foreign names are omitted. The translation strategies used by both TT 1936 and MM 1982 would, at this point, also support the retranslation hypothesis, because it seems that the first retranslation is, indeed, closer to the source text than the initial translation.

In this extract JKJ 2010, on the other hand, has used only assimilative strategies in her translation (example 23). In fact, JKJ 2010 has used exclusively assimilative strategies in the connection to the place names in this context. JKJ 2010 has, for instance, translated the name *St. Paul's Cathedral* as *Pyhän Paavalin tuomiokirk[ko]*, which is a perfectly acceptable strategy. According to Hietanen [2005/2010: 3], place names should be translated if a target language equivalent exists. This strategy, however, may make the source culture less visible for the target audience, provided that the readers do not know where such cathedral is located at.

It is noteworthy that by adding an explanation, JKJ 2010 has made an attempt to transfer the pun in the ST into the target text as well. She has translated the ST's sentence *Wren it was, but he was no relation to Jenny* as *Nimi oli Wren, ja se on englantia ja tarkoittaa peukaloista, joka on lintu* [The name was Wren which is English and refers to a Wren which is a bird]. In this case JKJ 2010 has used an explicative strategy, which, according to Tymoczko (1999a: 23), is also one way of assimilating a text. It should be noted, however, that even though JKJ 2010 has used only assimilative strategies in translating the places names in the novel, the source culture, nevertheless, is not completely invisible in the target text, hence the reference to English in the previous passage. Moreover, as a whole JKJ 2010's translation is, indeed, contradictory in many parts. In some cases she has managed to completely fade out the source culture whereas in other cases she makes explicative references to it, as in the case mentioned above. It seems appropriate to assume that JKJ 2010's goal has often been to make the target text more readable and the narrative more easily followed, because of the intended and/or expected readership.

Finally, JKJ 2010 has used an assimilative strategy also in translating the ST's sentence *That is why so many birds live near Sir Christopher Wren's Cathedral, which also belongs to St. Paul [...]*. She has omitted both of the names, and in her translation and refers to them simply as *tuomiokirkon nurkilla* [at the vicinity of the cathedral]. It is possible that here she has thought that the names are redundant information for the intended readers. All in all, in the context all social–culture references, JKJ 2010's assimilative translation strategies imply that the second retranslation is not closer to the original source text than the initial translation. Therefore, JKJ 2010's translation does not align with the retranslation hypothesis either.

In conclusion, the results of the analysis suggest that social culture is metonymic of the source culture only in MM 1982's translation. The reason for this conclusion is clear; MM 1982 has kept most of the first and last names and even the descriptive names in their English form in her translation, whereas TT 1936 and JKJ 2010 have adapted them into Finnish. Furthermore, in the context of social culture references, JKJ 2010's second retranslation is the least metonymic of the source culture of all the translations. The results of the analysis would support the argument that the three translations, indeed, have different target audience. I would argue that because the source culture is more explicitly presented in MM 1982's translation, the target audience of this translation is more mature readers. After all, the older the readers, the more they have experience of the world and the more easily they would accept foreign customs and names also in the target text. On the other hand, since the initial translation and the second retranslation are less metonymic of the source culture, these two translations would be aimed at younger readers. Younger readers would benefit from assimilating of difficult sounding names and foreign place names, because assimilation of these references makes it easier to identify oneself with the story and its characters.

Finally, the results of the analysis lead to the conclusion that in the context of social culture references, JKJ 2010's second retranslation is the most assimilated one out of the three. The results also reveal that MM 1982's first retranslation is the most aggressive of all the three translations, which means that it is closer to the source text than either the initial or the second retranslation. Therefore, since only the first

retranslation is closer to the source text, the retranslation hypothesis is not applicable in the context of social–culture references. After all, the precondition of the validity of the retranslation hypothesis is that *all* the retranslations are closer to the source text than the initial translation.

4.3 Strategies Used in Translating References in the Intermediate Category

References of the intermediate category are such source text references that are somewhere in between material culture and social culture. In other words, these references can be seen as both concrete and abstract at the same time. References that called for a category of their own are instances that refer either explicitly or implicitly to having a cup of tea and/or afternoon tea. Tea as a drink and especially the custom of having afternoon tea are very closely related to the source text culture. This particular custom defines the source culture essentially British and different to that of the target culture. After all, having a cup tea or having afternoon-tea is not necessarily as familiar custom to the target text readers as it is in the source culture. Therefore, it is felt necessary that translation strategies connected with this important source culture related custom should be taken into scrutiny as well. Moreover, one of the main purposes of this study is to examine the selection of the source text’s cultural elements for translation, and see how the three Finnish translations of the novel *Mary Poppins* reflect the source text culture.

Choosing a translation strategy for source culture related customs and habits can prove to be very challenging indeed. After all, a product of one culture should be understandable in another culture and another setting as well (O’Sullivan 2006: 148). According to Frimmelova (2010: 60), for instance, “activities not known in the target culture may [...] have a disturbing effect on the reader”. Newmark (1988a: 94) also notes that whenever there is a cultural referent, there can also occur a translation problem “due to the cultural ‘gap’ or ‘distance’ between the source and target language”. Newmark (1998a: 96, 102), however, points out that while translators should always remember to respect foreign cultures, they should also take into account three

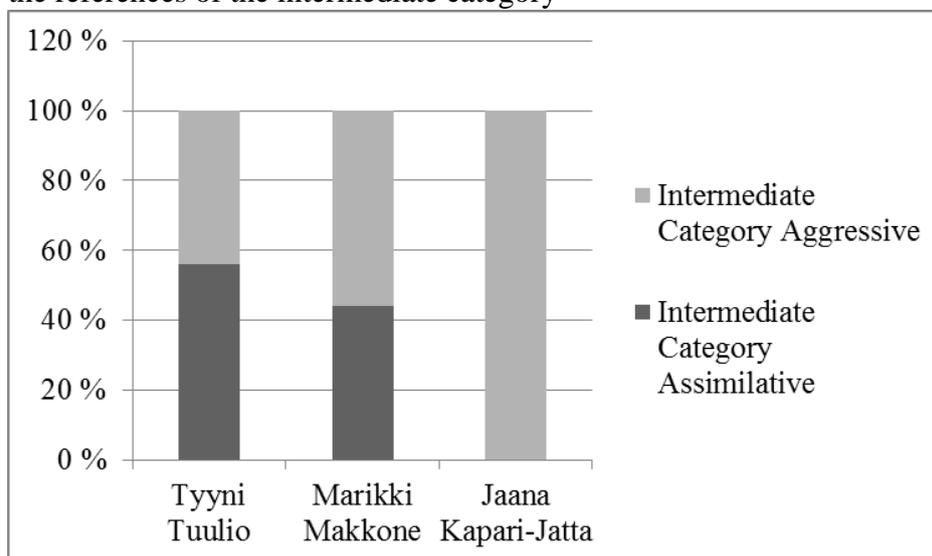
other things; the context, the readership and the setting. All these have an effect which translation strategy is the most suitable, and each case should be taken into account individually.

Peter Newmark (1998a: 96) offers two possible translation procedures for such source culture oriented customs and habits as having a cup of tea. Firstly, transference, which would provide the target text with “local colour and atmosphere” (Newmark 1998a: 96). Secondly, componential analysis, “which excludes the [source] culture and highlights the message” (Newmark 1998a: 96). Componential analysis can also be described as explication of the source text. Frimmelova (2010: 60) on the other hand, promotes only one possible translation strategy in this context; cultural context adaptation. She promotes this strategy especially in literature intended for adolescent readers. Cultural context adaptation is a procedure where the source text reference is substituted with a target culture equivalent that would correspond the source text reference as closely as possible. I would also offer omission as one possible translation strategy. Out of these suggestions transference would be an aggressive strategy, whereas componential analysis/explication, cultural context adaptation and omission would be assimilative strategies.

There are twelve chapters in the source text and in nine of them having a cup of tea or afternoon-tea is referred to. The analysis reveals diversity between the translation strategies in the three translations. While translating references to having tea TT 1936 and MM 1982 have used both assimilative and aggressive strategies, whereas JKJ 2010 has used exclusively aggressive strategies. TT 1936 has used assimilative strategies in five cases out of nine and aggressive strategies in four cases. MM 1982, on the other hand, has used assimilative strategies in four cases out nine and aggressive strategies in five cases. JKJ 2010, however, has used only aggressive strategies in all the nine cases. These results would lead to the conclusion that in the case of the intermediate category, the retranslation hypothesis is valid. In other words, since MM 1982 and JKJ 2010 are using more aggressive strategies than TT 1936, the first and second retranslation, indeed, are closer to the source text than the initial translation.

The results of the analysis are also presented in table 4., below.

Table 4. Distribution of aggressive and assimilative translation strategies in translating the references of the intermediate category



The following part of this chapter is dedicated to the detailed analysis of the different translation strategies in the context of having a cup of tea or afternoon-tea in the three translations of *Mary Poppins* into Finnish.

All three translators have used aggressive translation strategies when translating references to tea and afternoon-tea. It is possible to find an example where all the translators have used the exact same aggressive translation strategy in the same case. This extract can be found in chapter 2, “The Day Out”. Mary Poppins is having her day off and is presently on her way out to have afternoon-tea with her friend, the Match Man. When Mary Poppins meets her friend a series of extraordinary events, indeed, an adventure takes place. The Match Man, who paints pictures on the pavement, has a very special idea;

“”Mary”, he said, ”I got an idea! A real *idea*. Why don’t we go there—right now—this very day? Both together, into the picture. Eh, Mary?” And still holding her hands he drew her right out the street, away from the iron railings

and the lamp-posts, into the very middle of the picture. Pff! There they were, right inside it!” (Travers 1956: 21.)

The picture the Match Man has painted, and into which Mary Poppins and the Match Man are now magically transferred, is small woods and a green, beautiful meadow. Both of them find themselves with a brand new suit of clothes, and from the middle of a small meadow they find a table laid for two:

(24) ST: And there on a green table was *Afternoon-Tea*! A pile of raspberry-jam-cakes as high as Mary Poppins’ waist stood in the centre, and beside it *tea* was boiling in a big brass urn. (Travers 1956: 22–23, my italics)

The source text extract is rendered in the following way in the three translations:

(25) TT 1936: Ja siinä, vihreällä pöydällä, oli *iltapäivätee* katettuna! Keskellä oli pino vadelmahilloleivoksia, yhtä korkea kuin koko Maija Poppanen, ja vieressä kiehua porisi *tee* suuressa messinkikeittiössä. (Travers 1980: 20, my italics)

(26) MM 1982: Ja siinä, vihreällä pöydällä, oli *iltapäivätee* katettuna! Keskellä oli pino vadelmahilloleivoksia Maija Poppasen vyötäisille asti, ja vieressä kiehua porisi *tee* suuressa messinkikeittimessä. (Travers 2009: 18, my italics)

(27) JJK 2010: Sinne oli katettu vihreälle pöydälle *iltapäivätee*! Keskellä pöytää oli niin iso keko vadelmahilloleivoksia, että se ulottui Maija Poppasta vyötärölle, ja keon vieressä kiehui *tee* isossa messinkikeittimessä. (Travers 2010: 27, my italics)

Here, all the translators have used the strategy of transference. In other words, by using the literal translations *iltapäivätee* [afternoon-tea] and *tee* [tea] they have transferred the references unchanged into the target text. Furthermore, in this chapter tea and the custom of having afternoon-tea are part of marvelous and magical events. It is possible that that explains why none of the three translators have found it necessary to assimilate

the custom. It does not matter if the afternoon-tea would seem an alien custom to the target text readers since all the other events related and surrounding the custom are extraordinary as well. In fact, another slightly unfamiliar custom would only highlight and accentuate the adventurous nature of the events further.

Since TT 1936 and MM 1982 have both used almost as many assimilative strategies in their translations of cases where having a cup of tea is mentioned, it is relatively easy to find an example where both of them have used a similar assimilative translation strategy. The following example can be found in chapter one, “East Wind”. Mary Poppins has just arrived in the Banks family residence and decided to start as the new nanny. In the very end of the chapter the author describes the feelings of all the residents of the household when “Mary Poppins came to live at Number Seventeen, Cherry Tree Lane” (Travers 1956: 14).

(28) ST: Mrs Brill and Ellen were glad because they could drink *strong cups of tea* all day in the kitchen and no longer needed to preside at nursery suppers (Travers 1956: 15, my italics).

Both TT 1936 and MM 1982 have omitted this whole last paragraph of the first chapter all together, thus omitting also the source text reference to having strong cups of tea. As mentioned earlier, omission is always an assimilative translation strategy. Reason behind their decisions is only guess work. Since TT 1936 has omitted both short and even longer passages from other parts of the novel as well (cf. Travers 1956: 51–52 and Travers 1980: 40), it is perfectly possible that she has had strict guidelines from the publisher to keep the translation at a certain length. After all, it should be remembered that in the early 1900s, when the initial translation was produced, it was common that translations of children’s literature were often shortened versions of the original stories (Heikkilä-Halttunen 2007: 472–476). It is also uncertain which source text TT 1936 has had at her disposal. It is not out of the question that the source text has not had this part at the time when the initial translation has been produced. After all, it is possible that Travers has added the last paragraph to the story later at some point.

In MM 1982's case, it is possible that she has, once again, been satisfied with TT 1936's initial solution to omit the paragraph and found it unnecessary to translate the passage herself. Moreover, it is noteworthy that MM 1982 uses omission always when something has been omitted in the initial translation already. This would support the notion that MM 1982's translation is only a partial retranslation.

JKJ 2010, on the other hand has rendered the source text extract in question as follows:

(29) JKJ 2010: Rouva Silokala ja Ellen olivat iloisia, koska nyt he saattoivat juoda päivät pitkät *vahvaa teetä* keittiössä eivätkä enää joutuneet valvomaan lastenkamarin päivällisiä (Travers 2010: 19, my italics).

JKJ 2010's aggressive translation strategy can be best described as transference. When using a literal translation she has transferred the source text reference of having strong cups of tea into the target text unchanged. In all the cases where tea and/or having afternoon-tea are mentioned in the source text, JKJ 2010 has used the exact same strategy of transference. Using this type of aggressive translation strategy means that the reader is brought closer to the source culture. Moreover, using aggressive strategies makes the translation more faithful to the source text as well.

There is also one particular case where TT 1936 and MM 1982 have used cultural context adaptation as their translation strategy. This one example can be found in chapter six, "Bad Tuesday". In this scene, Michael is in the kitchen and watching Mrs Brill to bake.

(30) ST: In the kitchen Mrs Brill, the cook, was making *scones*. (Travers 1956:83, my italics)

If the reader is familiar with British culture, she/he knows that *scones* are a special type of English pastries which are eaten, for example, for breakfast but very typically with tea and especially during afternoon-tea. The reference to scones is rendered the following way in the initial translation and in the first retranslation:

(31) TT 1936: Keittiössä rouva Kampela, keittäjätär, leipoi *pikkuleipiä*.
(Travers 1980: 59, my italics)

(32) MM 1982: Keittiössä rouva Brill, keittäjätär, leipoi *pikkuleipiä*. (Travers 2009: 56, my italics)

As can be seen from example 31, in the initial translation the source text reference to scones has been translated as *pikkuleipiä* [biscuits]. While doing so TT 1936 has adapted the source text dish into something more familiar and easily recognizable in the target culture. Adaptation is also an assimilative strategy. Since the ST referent *scones* refers implicitly to the custom of having afternoon-tea, the chosen strategy inevitably fades out the source culture. It is possible that TT 1936 has assumed that *pikkuleipä* [biscuit], after all, would be more familiar to the target text readers than scones. It is also more than likely that TT 1936 has had no idea what kind of dish scones really are, and perhaps the dictionary that has been available for her has not had any translation equivalent for scones either. The speculation about the dictionary, however, is only guesswork.

MM 1982 (example 32) on the other hand, has once again found it needless to change the initial translation. She has used the same assimilative translation strategy of cultural context adaptation as TT 1936. It is likely that at the time when the first retranslation has been produced, the adolescent readers would have been more familiar with foreign cultures and dishes already. At least it would have been reasonable to expect that the intended readers would tolerate more strangeness from the text as a whole, since all the proper names have already been transferred in their English form into the translation.

Therefore, it seems curious that MM 1982 has not found any reason to find another translation for scones.

JKJ2010's translation strategy for this particular extract, on the other hand, is presented below:

(33) JKJ 2010: Keittiössä rouva Silokala leipoi *skonsseja*. (Travers 2010: 76, my italics)

In this case JKJ 2010 has translated the name of the dish literally as *skonsseja* [scones]. This aggressive strategy is called transference. JKJ 2010's faithfulness to the source text in this context is not surprising. After all, it is possible to assume that she has come to the conclusion that in the 21st century, when travelling and cultural exchange are more common than ever, even a little bit less common dishes would be familiar to contemporary readers. At least the audience would probably be more acceptable to a little strangeness in a text as well.

Moreover, it is noteworthy that while translating references to having tea and afternoon-tea, TT 1936 and MM 1982 have used quite similar translation strategies in almost every case. However, there is one case where TT 1936 has used an assimilative strategy whereas MM 1982 has used an aggressive one. This case can be found in chapter four, "Miss Lark's Andrew". Presently, Mary Poppins and the children are walking in the park. Suddenly Mary Poppins decides that it is time to leave for home and says to the children:

(34) ST: Half-past three. *Tea-time,*" said Mary Poppins, and she wheeled the perambulator round and shut her mouth tight again as though it were a trap-door. (Travers 1956:56, my italics)

From this particular part TT 1936 has omitted several paragraphs, indeed, pages (cf. Travers 1956: 55–57 and Travers 1980: 43). This part of the novel contains two other, short references to tea-time as well (cf. Travers 1956: 55, 57). Therefore, all the three references to tea-time have been omitted, which is an aggressive translation strategy. There are two possible reasons for these omissions. Firstly, as mentioned earlier, it is likely that for one reason or another, TT 1936 has been forced to shorten her translation. Secondly, it is also possible that in this extract the exchange between Mary Poppins and the children has been found inappropriate either by TT 1936 or the publisher. In other words, perhaps someone has wanted to censor the text slightly. It is noteworthy that in the omitted passage (Travers 1956: 55–57) Michael argues against Mary Poppins. Perhaps at the time when the initial translation has been produced, his tone of voice and behaviour has been found too disrespectful, hence inappropriate for young readers. After all, in the beginning of the 1900s it was still very important that children acted respectfully towards their elders. Moreover, during that time children's literature still had a huge responsibility in promoting good moral values and providing educational lessons on how children should behave (Heikkilä-Halttunen 2007: 472–476). If the omission in this case can be explained by censorship, it would seem likely that the intended audience of the initial translation has, indeed, been rather young children.

In the two retranslations, however, this extract has been rendered as follows:

(35) MM 1982: Puoli neljä. *Teenjuonnin aika*, sanoi Maija Poppanen, käänsi vaunut ja sulki suunsa tiukasti kuin loukun oven. (Travers 2009: 38, my italics)

(36) JKJ 2010: Puoli kolme. *Teeaika*, Maija Poppanen sanoi, pyöräytti lastenvaunut ympäri ja sulki taas suunsa tiukasti kuin salaoven. (Travers 2010: 54, my italics)

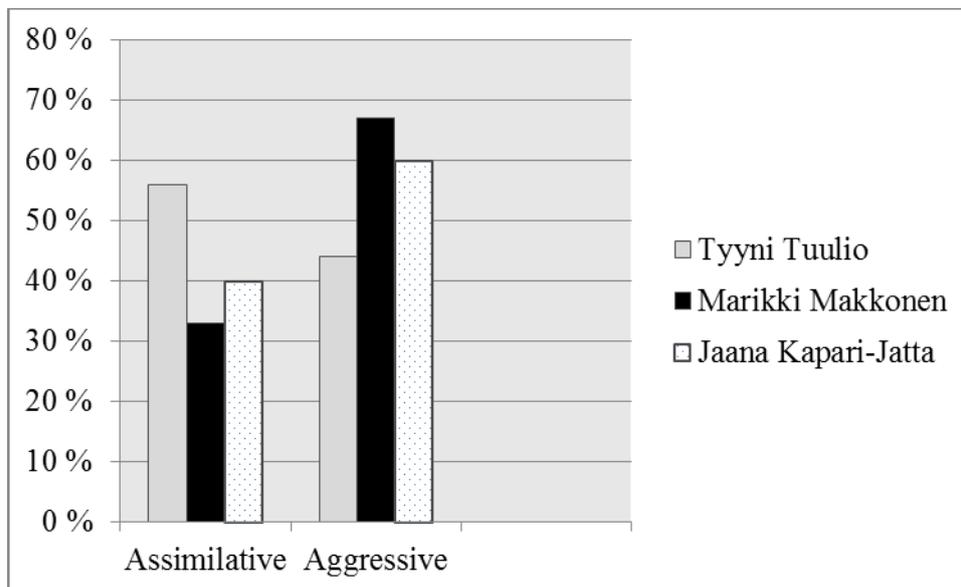
In this context, both MM 1982 and JKJ 2010 have used transference as their translation strategy. This particular case is also the only difference in translation strategies between the initial translation and the first retranslation. This single difference also makes MM

1982's translation closer to the source text than TT 1936's translation. Moreover, since JKJ 2010 has used solely aggressive strategies in all the cases, this indicates that in the context of references in the intermediate category, the initial translation is the most assimilated one out of the three. Therefore, in this context the retranslation hypothesis would be valid.

In conclusion, it becomes evident that the intermediate category has, indeed, a significant role when looking at the study as a whole. In fact, it could be argued that this category acts as a balance of power when looking at the big picture. After all, if the retranslation hypothesis would not have been applicable in this category, the results of the analysis as a whole would seem completely different. In this sense it is possible to argue that in this study, the intermediate category is perhaps the most important category of all the three categories as well.

Furthermore, regarding the metonymic nature of the three translations in the context of the intermediate category, the results of the analysis reveals that references to tea or afternoon- tea are clearly metonymic of the source culture in JKJ 2010's second retranslation. On the other hand, these references do not have such a significant role in representing the source culture in the initial translation or the first retranslation. However, it should be noted that this custom is not visible in TT 1936's or MM 1982's translations either. Both of them have used almost as many aggressive strategies as assimilative ones while translating references to having tea. Baring this in mind it is, therefore, possible to argue that references of the intermediate category are metonymic of the source culture in all the three translations, even though the degree of metonymy varies between the different translations.

In conclusion, after the global translation strategies have been carefully analysed in all the three categories, the results indicate that in this particular material the retranslation hypothesis, indeed, is valid. The summary of the global translation strategies in the translations of *Mary Poppins* into Finnish are presented in the table 5.

Table 5. Summary of the global translation strategies

The figure reveals that when the results of the analysis in all the three categories are put together, it is evident that TT 1936 is using more assimilative strategies than aggressive strategies. The case is vice versa with MM 1982 and JKJ 2010. Therefore, the results indicate that MM 1982's first retranslation and JKJ 2010's second retranslation are closer to the source text than TT 1936's initial translation. This, in turn, would mean that in this particular material the retranslation hypothesis is applicable. Conclusions of these results are discussed further in the following chapter.

Lastly, it can be argued that there clearly are aspects in all the three translations that are metonymic of the source culture. However, since aggressive strategies are found to be more popular in the two retractions than in the initial translation, it is reasonable to argue that as a whole, MM 1982's and JKJ 2010's translations are more metonymic of the source culture than the initial translation. In other words, according to both the retranslation hypothesis and the metonymics of translation, the two retractions are more faithful to the source text and the source culture than the initial translation.

5 CONCLUSIONS

The purpose of this study was twofold. Firstly, my aim was to assess the validity of the retranslation hypothesis in the primary material, that is, the three Finnish translations of the novel *Mary Poppins*. Secondly, I attempted to examine how the three translations metonymically reflect the source culture, in other words, which source culture aspects the translators had chosen to represent the source culture in the target text and target culture. Both of these objectives were approached by examining the assimilative and aggressive translation strategies in the context of different cultural elements of the source text. For the purpose of this study these cultural elements were categorized into three different categories; material culture, social culture and the intermediate category.

The retranslation hypothesis claims that retranslations tend to be closer to the source text than the initial translation (Chesterman 2000: 23). The close examination of the translation strategies in the context of those cultural elements of the source that were under study, revealed that the results of the analysis are somewhat conflicting between the three categories. In the context of both material culture and intermediate category, the results of the analysis confirmed that the two retranslations, indeed, are closer to the source text than the initial translation. Consequently, the retranslation hypothesis is valid regarding these two categories. In the social–culture category, on the other hand, the second retranslation was found to be even more assimilated than the initial translation, whereas the first retranslation was found to be the most aggressive of all the three translations. In other words, in the context of social–culture references the retranslation hypothesis was not valid. However, when the results of the analysis of all the global translation strategies used in the three translations are put together, the final conclusion is indisputable. The two retranslations are less assimilated than the initial translation. In other words, they are closer to the source text than the first translation, which means that in this particular material and case study, the retranslation hypothesis is valid.

As explained earlier in section 3.2, in this study the metonymics of translation refers to the selection of the source text’s cultural elements for translation. It therefore follows

that since it is impossible for the translator to select and transfer all the information available in the source text to the target text, she/he has to make conscious decisions which features of the source text and source culture will be represented in the target text. (Tymoczko 1999b: 41–48.) For that reason one of the aims of the present analysis was to reveal those cultural elements of the source text and source culture that were translated aggressively, as these are the aspects that are indeed metonymic in the source culture. The results of the analysis suggest that material culture references, that is, food and drink, and the references of the intermediate category, that is, the custom of having tea, were chosen to represent metonymically the source culture in all the three translations. Social–culture references, that is, proper nouns, on the other hand, are more metonymic of the source culture only in the first retranslation. These results would, therefore, suggest that the first retranslation is more metonymic of the source culture as a whole than either the initial translation or the second retranslation. Moreover, because aggressive strategies were found more popular in the two retractions than in the initial translation, it would be reasonable to argue that the two retractions are more metonymic of the source culture than the initial translation. Because of this the two retractions are also more faithful to the source text than the initial translation. Therefore, it seemed reasonable to argue that if the retranslation hypothesis is applicable in a given material, it would suggest that retranslation would also, in consequence, be more metonymic of the source culture than the initial translation.

It is possible to draw several different conclusions from these findings. Since the retranslation hypothesis was found to be valid in the context of material–culture references and in the intermediate category, this would suggest that it is easier to translate concrete objects, such as food and drink, aggressively than more abstract social–culture references. The notion that the references in these respective categories were also chosen to metonymically represent the source culture in the target text, would support the previous argument as well. One of the reasons for this might be the fact that today foreign cultures are more familiar to the intended readers of the target text. It is evident that not only do languages and societies change over time, but also the audience change; they have more knowledge of the outside world. Therefore, it is likely that they also tolerate more strangeness in a text. Consequently, it seems likely that the translators

of the retranslations have probably thought that nowadays there is no strong need to assimilate many of the food items and drinks customs anymore, as clearly contemporary readers are more exposed to foreign cultures, due to television, films, magazines, travelling and the internet.

Another reason for the validity of the retranslation in this material is the fact that these days there are better dictionaries available for translators. After all, one of the conclusions why the initial translation was so assimilated was that especially in the context of material culture references, TT 1936 might have not had an idea what the equivalent for many ST references to foods and drinks in Finnish were, simply because of poor dictionaries and lack of knowledge of the British culture at the time. It is noteworthy that during the early 20th century, English was not a very popular and well-known language in Finland, in fact, studying English became more common only after the Second World War (Leppihalme 2007: 153). Leppihalme continues that in the beginning of the 20th century there were not that many translators either who had specialized skills in English or were familiar with English culture, and yet they produced translations. It should also be remembered that today only few translators would resort to dictionaries while performing their job, as they too have access to the internet and its endless information resources. Generally translators of today also have better information retrieval skills than the average internet user. Moreover, if the contemporary audiences of translations have better understanding of foreign cultures, so do certainly modern translators as well. Not only are there more sources where all the possible information is available, but present-day translators certainly travel more and are more familiar with foreign practices than translators a hundred years ago when the initial translation was published.

These arguments support the fact that translations, indeed, do age, as Susam-Sarajeva (2003) and Jianzhong (2003) have concluded. The argument that translations age supports the notion that more retranslations should be commissioned and published, especially if the initial translation is produced a long time ago, as was the case with *Mary Poppins*. The argument presented above inevitably raises another, related question. It is reasonable to ask what happens to texts that are never retranslated; if

translations, indeed do age, will translations that have been produced a long time ago and that have not been retranslated at all, inevitably become dated, inaccurate and perhaps even redundant. However, since in the case of *Mary Poppins* both the first translation and the retranslations are still available in libraries and private collections and even in some book shops, it suggests that even though the initial translation would prove to be less faithful to the source text, it does not vanish into thin air once a new and perhaps more accurate translation is published. Even if these 'old' translations, whether retranslated or not, are not read so much anymore, they still continue providing good research material for scholars, for instance, in translation studies.

It is also possible to shortly speculate whether or not there have been any changes or development over time in how children's literature should be translated. Translators of children's literature should observe certain recommendations and norms how to translate a text intended for adolescent audience. Shavit (2006: 26) notes that translators of children's literature should remember at least the following aspects; the educational value of the text, what is appropriate and useful for the child reader, and what kinds of texts society and its prevailing norms find acceptable as reading material for young readers. Shavit claims that translators of children's literature have more freedom to manipulate the source text. Consequently, omissions and adaptations are more acceptable in this type of material than in other types of texts. The results of the analysis suggest that the requirements that children's stories should have an educational purpose have diminished over time. Some cases, that have perhaps been considered inappropriate or redundant for young readers, have simply been omitted from the initial translation whereas in the two retranslations these cases have been translated faithfully. However, the treatment of proper nouns in all the translations suggest that translators are still quite free to manipulate texts intended for children, for instance, by assimilating first and last names and place names. It seems that translators are still allowed to judge the intellectual capability of child readers by deeming what they are able to understand, tolerate and, indeed, what is in their best interest. In other words, translators do have a significant amount of power, and it goes without saying that whoever has power, also has responsibility.

It is also possible to argue that the implied readers have had an impact on the translation strategies the three translators have chosen, and that the target audience is indeed different between the three Finnish translations of the novel *Mary Poppins*. Based on the findings of the analysis I am inclined to suggest that in the case of the initial translation and the second retranslation the intended audience is small children, whereas in the case of the first retranslation the audience is more mature readers, in other words, adolescents. This fact becomes apparent in the category where the retranslation hypothesis is not applicable, that is, in the context of the social culture references. Since MM 1982 has transferred most of the proper nouns in their English form into the target text, the implied audience of her translation is older readers who are expected to tolerate more strangeness in a text, such as foreign proper nouns. I suggest that for younger readers the reading experience and identification with the story and its characters might be less pleasant and comfortable, or even prevented, if the names of the characters would remain in their source text form. In the initial translation and the second retranslation most of the proper nouns were adapted into Finnish, and for this reason I argue that the implied audience of these two translations differs from the first retranslation. Moreover, it is possible to conclude that in the context of the second retranslation the new illustrations commissioned for the 2010 translation have a major effect on to whom the story is aimed at. I propose that the second retranslation's big, colourful and more contemporary illustrations attract younger readers more than the old, black-and-white illustrations in the two first translations. Consequently, the translator has attempted to produce a translation that would accompany the new, 'child friendly' illustrations as well. In conclusion, I am inclined to argue that in some cases, to a certain degree at least, the implied readers are more important than the notion of faithfulness to the source text. After all, Oittinen (2006: 84) has pointed out that a text, hence a translation, and the illustrations should match and be treated as a whole.

The results of this particular study would call for a number of further studies, perhaps with slightly different approaches and angles. It would, for instance, be worthwhile to look at other retranslations of the same genre, that is, literature intended for adolescent readers, and see if the retranslation hypothesis is applicable in those cases. Another question that could be addressed is why certain types of text are retranslated and others

are not. Still another study might focus on the preconditions of the retranslation hypothesis. In other words, under what circumstances the retranslation hypothesis applies and vice versa. One possibility would be to investigate how many retranslations there are from the same cultural area as the primary material of this study. It would be worthwhile to investigate whether they provide different or similar results of the applicability of the retranslation hypothesis as this study.

This particular case study has answered the call to test both the retranslation hypothesis and compare the translations with each other in the same study. Since most of the previous studies of retranslations have not proven the validity of the retranslation hypothesis (c.f., for instance, Koskinen & Paloposki 2004), I hope that the results of this case study would provide additional information regarding this object of study, particularly since my results support the hypothesis. Moreover, if nothing else, it is my wish that the study of retranslations in general in the field of translation studies can advocate for the need and importance of producing more retranslations. And last but not least, I do hope that this thesis has contributed to making the challenging and highly valuable work of literary translators slightly more visible in the eyes of the public.

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