Cultural Untranslatability in Swedish-English Literary Translation in the Age of the Internet

By

Rachel M. Willson-Broyles

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy
(Scandinavian Studies)

at the
UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN-MADISON
2013

Date of final oral examination: 5/28/13

The dissertation is approved by the following members of the Final Oral Committee:
Kirsten Wolf, Professor, Scandinavian Studies
Susan C. Brantly, Professor, Scandinavian Studies
Thomas A. DuBois, Professor, Scandinavian Studies
Mary N. Layoun, Professor, Comparative Literature
Monica Macaulay, Professor, Linguistics

To my partner, Laura

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would not have been able to undertake or finish this project without the help of so many people, most especially all of the wonderful teachers I have been fortunate enough to know and learn from throughout my life.

Many, many thanks to my advisor, Kirsten Wolf, for her encouragement and for reading so many drafts. To Susan Brantly, for guidance in my own work and in teaching, and for giving me the nudges I needed to pursue a career I love. To my other committee members, Tom DuBois, Mary Layoun, and Monica Macaulay for reading and support.

To the Department of Scandinavian Studies at UW-Madison for being such a caring environment and for giving me so many opportunities to teach. Special thanks to the amazing graduate student community in the department for moral support and lasting friendships, especially Suzanne Martin, Kjerstin Moody, Natalie Van Deusen, Anna Rue, Todd Michelson-Ambelang, and Marcus Cederström.

To Holly Harden and Charles Russell for giving me a love of writing and the tools to do it well, and to Roland Thorstensson and Roger McKnight, for making my studies at Gustavus Adolphus College both educational and incredibly fun.

To the translators who took my survey and gave such helpful information in it.

To Jonas Hassen Khemiri, for believing in the translation skills of an unknown graduate student.

To my partner, Laura, for listening.

And most of all, to my parents for supporting and believing in a daughter who, for no other reason than that she loved a Swedish pop group, decided to devote her life to all things Swedish.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

One of the most challenging aspects of literary translation is how to handle material that is comprised of "cultural know-how"—information or references that a reader of the source-language text can be expected to be familiar with simply by virtue of living in a particular region (often, but not always, the place of origin of the text). Examples of cultural know-how include slang, idioms, works of art or literature, foods, customs, place names, and so on. But what is a translator to do when faced with such items when they do not translate culturally into the target language; when there is no clear, direct translation; when that item does not exist in the target culture? Should the translator translate both the words and the cultural significance and replace, for example, the name of a television show with a similar one that exists in the target culture? Should only the words be translated? Or should the translator leave the item in the source language and expect some effort on the part of the reader to understand by context or even, in the case of a curious reader, to do some research in the course of reading?

Certainly there is no one-size-fits-all approach to such problems, and even one translator working on one text will most likely use a combination of approaches—these and others. Of particular interest is the third approach: the question of whether a reader can or should be expected to deal with unfamiliar cultural references, and, perhaps more importantly, whether the way literary translators approach translating cultural know-how has changed since the information explosion that has come about (and is ever-expanding) because of the development and accessibility of the World Wide Web.

This dissertation argues that the Web has in fact changed the profession of literary translation in both practical and theoretical ways. In order to demonstrate that this is the case, it explores theories of sociolinguistics and ethnomethodology that define cultural know-how and explain how it functions as a part of what people know about the world. It gives a short history of the Web in order to identify a date that can demarcate "before" and "after" the Web in terms of translator and audience access. It discusses the practical ways in which translators use the Internet, and it gives results of a survey with translators who have worked both "before" and "after" the Web. By examining and comparing four novels written in Swedish and translated into English—two from before and two from after the advent of the Web—the dissertation identifies ways in which the translation of items of cultural know-how may have changed. Finally, it discusses theories of translation both old and new to identify what has been written about the translation of cultural know-how, with a focus on the untranslatability of cultural items, and to work toward a new theory and practice for the age of information explosion.

Crucial to this argument is establishing that the translator does and should care about the audience or reader, the reader's knowledge, and how the reader processes the text, because consideration of the reader is not a given in literary or translation theory. As Susan Bassnett-McGuire states, "the emphasis always in translation is on the *reader* or listener" [emphasis in original].[1] Yet as Lawrence Venuti argues, a translator's loyalty must also lie with the foreign text; that is, the text must not be rid of foreign references for the sake of the reader's ease of

[1] Susan Bassnett-McGuire, *Translation Studies*, (London: Methuen, 1980), 23.

understanding.[2] The translator has a duty to both the target-language reader and the source text, and the way a translator balances these conflicting duties is of interest not only to translation theorists but to working translators, and indeed, to anyone who reads literature in translation.

My interest in this topic arose out of my first professional translation experience. As I began to translate Jonas Hassen Khemiri's novel *Montecore—en unik tiger* in 2008, I found myself faced with a great deal of new cultural knowledge that I first had to find a definition for in Swedish and then translate adequately into English. While the author's creative use of "bad" grammar and made-up words also complicated the process of translation, many of the most difficult problems I had were related to cultural information. Not all of it was from Swedish culture; the book is also set in Tunisia and includes many references to Tunisian Arabic words and items.

As I translated, I found myself relying very heavily on the Internet. Without Google to lead me toward potential solutions, I cannot imagine how I would have figured out that "Celtia" is a Tunisian brand of beer or that *kritor* ("chalks") are a kind of bulk candy. I felt both awe and sympathy for anyone who translated before the World Wide Web existed and wondered how such translators had performed their research. This led me to wonder how Internet access had changed the process of translation, which in turn led to this study. The information in the next five chapters will demonstrate that access to online resources has changed the work of translation, and that one of the results—that more culture-specific information remains in the target-language texts—is a positive change and something translators should strive for.

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[2] Lawrence Venuti, "Preliminary Remarks to the Debate," in *Cultural Functions of Translation,* Eds. Christina Schäffner and Helen Kelly-Holmes, (Clevedon: Multimedia Matters Ltd., 1995), 23.

CHAPTER 2

CULTURAL KNOWLEDGE

This chapter examines the idea of cultural knowledge within cultural and sociological studies and identifies the specific categories of Swedish cultural know-how that become the focus of the study of Swedish literature in translation found in chapter four. The chapter begins with definitions of cultural know-how from various fields of study, which lead to a working definition for this paper. Next, it investigates how people use and learn this knowledge. Finally, it explores the ways in which translators deal with this knowledge when translating, and identifies the specific types of cultural know-how that will be examined in the rest of this study.

THEORIES AND DEFINITIONS OF CULTURAL KNOWLEDGE

Culture and cultural knowledge are, of course, terms that are used in a number of academic fields of study. Within the field of sociolinguistics, Ronald Wardhaugh defines culture as "know-how that a person must possess to get through the task of daily living"[3] and lists "a store of knowledge about people and places in the world" as one example of a category of cultural know-how.[4] From an ethnographic standpoint, culture is more than just shared knowledge. Michael H. Agar states that ethnography is "about the *practices of everyday life*, the way those practices are built out of shared knowledge, *plus* all the other things that are relevant

[3] Ronald Wardhaugh, *An Introduction to Sociolinguistics*, 5th Edition (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2006), 223.

[4] Ibid., 258.

to the moment" [emphasis in original] .[5] This very general definition hints at the sheer vastness of cultural knowledge that each person possesses. Cultural know-how dictates how we do most of the things we do on a daily basis, whether we think about them or not. Within translation studies, the term "cultural-specific item" (and its abbreviation CSI) has been used by Javier Franco Aixelá and other translation theorists to refer to words that do not have easy equivalence between a given target and source language. Each of these terms—cultural know-how, cultural knowledge, culture-specific item, and CSI—are used interchangeably in this study.

MEMETICS

Another field of study that deals closely with items of cultural information is the field of memetics, which arose out of Richard Dawkins' work on a theory of genetics and seeks to explain the transmission of cultural information as a process analogous to the transmission of genetic material. While Dawkins' original writings on memetics and other theorists' further development of the field have been criticized as using a flawed analogy with genetics,[6] among other things, for the purposes of this study memetics presents a useful way to examine the development and spread of memes in a population. Here I will treat it not as a definitive scientific explanation for how cultural knowledge works, but as a metaphor and a model for understanding what cultural information is and how it moves from person to person rather than the definitive explanation for how cultural knowledge spreads among people.

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[5] Michael H. Agar, *The Professional Stranger: An Informal Introduction to Ethnography*, 2nd Edition (San Diego: Academic Press, Inc., 1996), 9.

[6] Adam Kuper, "If Memes Are the Answer, What is the Question?" in *Darwinizing Culture*, Ed. Robert Aunger, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 187.

Dawkins' primary goal in his 1976 book *The Selfish Gene* is to advance the theory, within genetics, that the survival of the individual rather than the group is prioritized. Dawkins argues that what appears to be altruistic, group-serving behavior can be viewed as inherently "selfish" on the level of the gene, for a copy of that same gene is likely to exist in a related individual. While the specifics of this genetic theory are irrelevant to the topic at hand, the final chapter of *The Selfish Gene* formed the beginning of a theory that is anything but irrelevant in a discussion of cultural knowledge.

Dawkins ends his study of selfish genes—which discusses genes in all living things—with an examination of culture as what has separated humans from all other living beings. He coins the term "meme" from the Greek root *mimeme* and labels a meme a "new replicator, a noun which conveys the idea of a unit of cultural transmission, or a unit of *imitation*" [emphasis in original].[7] He argues that memes, like genes, "live" in a person and fight for longevity by being passed along. Thus, they "give rise to a form of evolution."[8] In Dawkins' view, each attribute of a meme has an analogue in genetics: the human brain, where memes first arose, is the "primeval soup"; memes, too, undergo "natural selection," because some are more able to replicate than others (Dawkins' example is of a bad scientific idea that is not passed along); and memes compete for resources like space (in brains, on television, in newspapers, etc.) rather than food. Here it is important to note briefly that Dawkins does not mean that memes (or genes) work consciously to spread and perpetuate; this language is metaphorical.

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[7] Richard Dawkins, *The Selfish Gene,* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1976), 206.

[8] Ibid., 203.

One of Dawkins' most interesting comparisons to genetics is in the development of what he calls "co-adapted meme-complexes." He argues that "selection favors memes which exploit their cultural environment to their own advantage. This cultural environment consists of other memes which are also being selected. The meme pool therefore comes to have the attributes of an evolutionarily stable set, which new memes find it hard to invade."[9] In essence, this means that new memes are more likely to be accepted and replicated in a particular brain if they are similar to previously accepted memes. To give a hypothetical example, I will be more likely to accept the meme "God is benevolent" if I already possess the meme "God exists" than if I possess the meme "there is no God." Indeed, religion is perhaps one of the best-known examples of a meme complex. In any case, the meme-complex theory seems to be supported by confirmation-bias studies indicating that people tend to seek out information that confirms the hypotheses they already have (or have been given, in studies)[10] and in some cases even refuse to believe new information that contradicts their knowledge.[11]

In his book *Cultural Software*, J.M. Balkin updates and extends Dawkins' brief discussion of memetics. Balkin uses the helpful metaphor of software on a hard drive to explain how we obtain and use cultural knowledge. Software is what makes a computer function in a useful way, in much the same way as cultural knowledge allows us to function in society. In Balkin's view, a set of cultural know-how is like a bundle of software on a computer. The brain

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[9] Ibid., 213-214.

[10] For a brief explanation of confirmation bias, see Jonathan Baron, *Thinking and Decidin*g, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 1998, 229-236.

[11] A popular-science overview of a scientific study (Westen, et al., 2006) examining the phenomenon of confirmation bias and cognitive dissonance can be found online: Michael Shermer, "The Political Brain," *Scientific American*, June 26, 2006, http://www.scientificamerican.com/article.cfm?id=the-political-brain.

can be thought of as a processor that runs an operating system—which in turn runs smaller programs. The system can easily store, access, and use new pieces of information, and even upgrade them, without being completely overhauled. This software is flexible, different in different people, like our knowledge, while the hard drive, or the brain, is quite similar in structure from person to person.

Balkin writes that "cultural software," as he calls it, "consists of the abilities, association, heuristics, metaphors, narratives, and capacities that we employ in understanding and evaluating the social world…Examples of cultural software are knowing how to operate a computer, being able to dance the waltz, or being fluent in a particular language."[12]

For the purposes of this study, Dawkins' term "meme" and Balkin's "cultural software" can be seen as synonyms for culture-specific information, cultural know-how, and so on, even if they come from different fields of study. They, too, will be used interchangeably throughout my argument. Each of these terms designates a unit of culture which contributes in some small way to a person's being a member of a particular society and culture(s), and these units are the focus of the close readings of translation in chapter five.

Kate Distin examines and clarifies Dawkins' theory of memetics in her book *The Selfish Meme: A Critical Reassessment*. Much of her focus is on defending the controversial theory from its many critics. While her defense of memetics is comprehensive and well-argued, there are two crucial parts of Distin's updated theory that are of special importance to this study.

RECESSIVE MEMES

[12] J.M. Balkin, *Cultural Software: A Theory of Ideology*, (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1998), 6.

One problem with Dawkins' theory had been that it does not address the fact that one can be aware of a meme without believing it. Distin adds to Dawkins' theory of memetics a sort of third category of meme—one that exists in a person's brain but is not used. She uses the example of the "flat earth" meme, the now-debunked notion that the earth is flat, to explain this third category:

> It is of course important to acknowledge that there is a difference between the acquisition of information and the acceptance of that information into one's network of beliefs. There is a sense in which the 'flat earth' meme is still pretty successful today: plenty of people know that it is possible to believe that the earth is flat, even though they themselves do not subscribe to that belief. In this way it is perhaps analogous to a recessive gene, whose DNA we possess and are able to pass on to our children but which exerts no effect on our bodies or behavior. Similarly, we are capable of passing on information that persists in our memories, even when we don't assent to it, but it will have little or no effect on our thoughts or behavior.[13]

This recessive type of meme could explain not only the way we store cultural knowledge that is known but not in use in our own culture, as Distin's example elucidates, but the way we retain "foreign" cultural information: we can learn it—in a language classroom or from a book, for example—and it can be a part of our knowledge, yet we do not necessarily use it. However, if the person in whom the recessive meme resided were to find him- or herself participating in that foreign culture, the recessive meme could become a regular, active meme of the sort Dawkins discusses. Thus an American student who learns in Swedish language class that one must always remove one's shoes when visiting a home in Sweden might still leave her shoes on when visiting homes in the United States, but the recessive "shoes are taken off at homes" meme can be activated if

[13] Kate Distin, *The Selfish Meme*: *A Critical Reassessment* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 44.

she goes on a semester abroad in Stockholm. In short, successful adaptation to different or foreign cultural situations involves the knowledge and acceptance of new memes, and indeed, the introduction of these new memes is the main goal of books like the *Culture Shock* series that are aimed at people encountering a new culture for the first time.[14]

REPRESENTATIONAL SYSTEMS

Distin also examines the role of language in meme transmission. Language is a representational system—a system for expressing information. Distin argues that representational systems are memes' equivalent of DNA—the structure by which they are stored and passed on. Human languages are one such type of system, but there are others—like mathematical and musical notation—that she points out are the languages of cultures.[15] As we will see, it is problematic to refer to a human language like English or Swedish as the language of *a* culture, and yet this comparison is a helpful one. Any one mind may have a number of representational systems (RS) available to use, and may even use multiple systems at once. As examples of various RS that we use on a daily basis, Distin gives methods of telling time (striking a bell a number of times, looking at a mechanical clock) and ways of expressing numbers (writing them in English, Roman numerals, or digits).[16] Crucial to my study is her point that a person must first possess the underlying RS in order to understand what a message in that RS means. To use

[14] "Culture Shock! country guides are easy-to-read, accurate, and entertaining crash courses in local customs and etiquette."(Amazon product description, Amazon.com, "Culture Shock! Italy: A Guide to Customs and Etiquette).

[15] Distin, *The Selfish Meme*, 147.

[16] Ibid., 152-153.

Distin's examples above, then, a person will not understand what number is signified by XII if that person does not possess the RS of Roman numerals.

I will return to Distin's explanation of protective meme complexes and representational systems later in this chapter, when they will serve as a crucial part of one explanation for how humans process novel cultural information.

USE OF CULTURAL KNOWLEDGE

We use our cultural knowledge to understand the world around us and interact with the people around us. Most of the time, we probably don't consciously think about what parts of our knowledge are culture-specific, unless we are faced with someone from a different culture who has a different "set" of cultural knowledge and we happen to encounter a meme that does not match in our cultures. This person could come from a culture as nearby as Minnesota, where the children's game known in Wisconsin as "duck duck goose" is slightly different and goes by the name "duck duck gray duck."[17] Yet for the most part, of course, people from Minnesota and Wisconsin share similar sets of cultural knowledge. A translator is more likely to be concerned with cultures that have wider and more frequent gaps in cultural know-how, but still the functions of cultural knowledge remain the same.

This leads us to an important point: that the boundaries of sets of cultural knowledge are different from the boundaries of language, dialect, and sociolect, although they may be related in some ways. For example, knowledge of a meme can be dependent on a single word or phrase.

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[17] James Lileks, "'Duck Duck' Apparently Has No Shades of Gray." *Minneapolis Star-Tribune*, 19 February 1999: B3.

The word "bubbler," meaning drinking fountain, is found in the dialect of eastern and southern Wisconsin.[18] Yet many people who live in Wisconsin are familiar with the meaning of bubbler even if they don not use the word themselves. The use of "bubbler" is a matter of dialect, while understanding the word is a matter of cultural knowledge. (Not to mention the fact that knowing what the object that is variously termed "bubbler" and "drinking fountain" is for is a matter of cultural knowledge.)

This means that within one language there are many different sets of cultural knowledge. Much the same way as each person has his or her own idiolect, (s)he has an individual, personal set of cultural knowledge. It may be substantially similar to the sets of those around him or her, but depending on the social and cultural circles (s)he is a member of, his or her store of cultural information will differ. The list of potential variables that might influence one person's cultural knowledge are virtually endless: nationality, ethnicity, age, religion, ideology, cultural identity, gender identity, sexual orientation, where and when one grew up, where and when one's parents and family and partner grew up, places one has lived, education (and where one was educated and by whom), how good one's memory is, whether one has children, personal interests (sports, movies, reading), family members' interests, media use and access—these are probably only a fraction of the factors that, taken together, determine one's "idiolect" of cultural knowledge. And yet much of one's cultural knowledge is shared, at least with some people.

Here it is important to make a few observations about cultural knowledge. The term "knowledge" may seem to imply "fact," and yet cultural knowledge is not necessarily objective (although facts about the world certainly count as cultural knowledge as well). Consider

[18] "Words," *Wisconsin Englishes,* http://csumc.wisc.edu/wep/Words.html, last accessed April 21, 2013.

Dawkins' example of Christianity as a meme complex. Many of the individual memes of Christianity are values that are held by its adherents. The Ten Commandments are a good example. The meme "taking the Lord's name in vain is bad" (to paraphrase the third commandment) is part of a Christian person's cultural knowledge, but another person may freely yell "Jesus Christ!" when annoyed. Because there is no objective fact involved—only a value judgment—neither is right or wrong. Yet both of these hypothetical people have cultural knowledge that dictates their choice to swear or not to swear. Other non-objective types of cultural knowledge include stereotypes, political beliefs, ideologies, and so on.

As a case study, it is useful to see examples of the many sources of cultural knowledge, and what follows is a (necessarily) non-exhaustive list of some of the cultural knowledge I possess, and where it comes from. Many of the items of knowledge I have are likely shared with people around me—friends, family members, and colleagues, not to mention fellow citizens of my city, state, and country—and yet my particular store of knowledge is almost certainly unique. So, what does who I am have to do with my cultural knowledge?

Many of the variables come from without and are somewhat random, like the time and place I grew up and influence from family members. Others are more self-determined and come from within, like my own interests and activities (although many theories of cultural transmission state that these types of factors are transmitted via peers and social institutions, and in this sense there is no such thing as determining one's own tastes and preferences).[19] Still others, like gender and sexuality, are problematic to categorize as coming from either without or within, but the cultural knowledge that results from each is likely to be learned both from

[19] Ute Schönpflug, "Introduction," in *Cultural Transmission: Psychological, Developmental, Social, and Methodological Aspects*, Ute Schönpflug, ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 5.

without (gender constructs and messages about what it means to be a man or a woman in our society are unavoidable) and within (a person who self-identifies as gay is probably more likely to pursue knowledge of gay culture than a person who *has* same-sex attractions but identifies as one hundred percent straight). In any case, the point of this exercise is not to determine what cultural knowledge is learned "on purpose" and what isn't, but rather to attempt to give some structure to the incredible number of ways that we learn our cultural knowledge. So, for each variable, I have tried to come up with a piece of cultural knowledge that I have *specifically* because of that variable. To be sure, each piece of knowledge may well be due to a combination of variables. For example, my being born and raised an American adds a particular "American layer" to much of my knowledge. Without further ado, here is my list.

I am a thirty-two-year-old female. I am an American citizen and was raised in the United States (I can recite the Pledge of Allegiance at the same speed and rhythm as others raised reciting it in the classroom). I identify as a woman. I am in a same-sex relationship but I don't strongly identify as gay (I don't specifically seek out the gay community but I have knowledge of things like California's Proposition 8 and domestic partnership laws in Wisconsin). I am a left-leaning liberal and I follow American and state politics (to combine the two, I know that the current governor of Wisconsin is currently being named as a likely GOP candidate for the 2016 Presidential campaign). I am a feminist (I know what a "Slut Walk" is). I am white, of European descent, and my parents are from Montana and New Hampshire (I can trace much of my family tree back to the 1600s. I know a little about ranching culture in Montana, like what a cattle guard is, and can be a little bit helpful in a cattle roundup on horseback. I don't know as much about New Hampshire, but I know their motto is "live free or die"). My partner grew up in Alabama

with Cajun relatives (from her I learned about courtbuillion and gumbo). I grew up in the 1980s and 1990s (I had a pogo ball, slap bracelets, and baby tees; and I know a lot of 80s and 90s pop music—I know all the lyrics to the Beach Boys' song "Kokomo"—and I know where references like "How rude!" and Central Perk come from). I was raised in rural Wisconsin (I know about hotdish and Jell-O salad and Christmas cornflake wreaths). My parents were and are upper middle class (I know what an orthodontic spacer is; I know how to play piano and flute and ride horses English style) and well-educated (I knew that "ain't" was considered "low-class" and improper in my family and I knew that good grades were of the utmost importance to my future). I was not raised in an organized religion but I was raised in a predominantly Christian area (I know what See You at the Pole is, although I didn't participate). I was educated in a rural K-12 school (I know that it can be a challenge to convince a rural community that their taxes should go up to fund a new school building, and I learned how to cross-country ski in gym class, in a cornfield.) I was a member of 4-H (I can recite the 4-H pledge and I know what a record book is and which color ribbons are awarded for first, second, third, and fourth places at the fair). Because of 4-H, I raised rabbits and was a member of show-rabbit culture (I know the ARBA standards for an ideal Netherland Dwarf rabbit—and I know what ARBA stands for: American Rabbit Breeders' Association). I have lived in Boston, Massachusetts (I know what "Stah Mahket" is); Eau Claire and Madison, Wisconsin (I associate Water St. and State St., respectively, with undergraduates and bars, and because I was a child in Eau Claire in the 1980s I remember the rocket slide); St. Peter, Minnesota (I know why so many of the trees are only just over a decade old); and Göteborg, Sweden (I know what "röda vagnen" is).

Some cultural knowledge has come from jobs I've had. I worked in an upscale restaurant as a wait assistant (I know what a crumber is and how to use it) and in a hospital as a patient registrar (I know why so many people in the Eau Claire, Wisconsin area have Blue Cross of Alabama insurance and I learned a lot of medical acronyms and abbreviations, such as what CXR PA/LAT, US R/O DVT, and CABG mean). I also learned cultural knowledge of the specific workplaces I was employed at (at the restaurant, that the six-top was haunted; at the hospital, what StepForce was).

I have many interests, all of which have resulted in more cultural knowledge: popular music (I could match the names Ke$ha, Britney Spears, Beyonce, Katy Perry, and Fergie with their pictures and tell you a song each one sings), weather warning sirens (I know what a Federal Signal 3T22 looks and sounds like), and Internet culture (I know what the Philosoraptor and "X all the things!" memes are), to name a few. I have also gained a lot of cultural knowledge as a result of activities I like, for example, knitting (I know what intarsia is and I can use it in a pattern), fiddling (I know how to care for a violin and bow, and I know a lot of songs that I wouldn't otherwise know, like "Äppelbo Gånglåt"), reading for pleasure (this has, not surprisingly, resulted in amazing amounts of cultural knowledge—but one thing I specifically remember learning from reading when I was younger is that, in a tornado, the negative pressure may cause the drains in a home to make sucking noises), and playing video games (I know what a Ninji is).

My cultural knowledge has also been expanded as a result of the interests and knowledge of my family and friends. My father is in a bluegrass band (I know what a dobro is and I have learned several fiddle songs to play along with his band). My mother cans her own food (I

learned how to can safely from her) and gardens (she taught me how to water the tomatoes properly). My brother is younger than I am, so from him I learned about fads that were popular with age groups below my own (like pogs); now he's an engineer (he taught me what rebar and LEED certification are). My partner is a fan of Jane Austen (I know what the famous "white shirt scene" is in the BBC's miniseries version of *Pride and Prejudice*). One close friend growing up was a big fan of the Chicago Bulls (I know the jersey numbers Michael Jordan, Scottie Pippen, and B.J. Armstrong wore). Another close friend is a school psychologist (from her I learned about the importance of people-first language).

These are just a few of the variables that make up my unique set of cultural knowledge. It is quite likely that the reader shares some of my same cultural information—the reader is also familiar with "Kokomo" and was also a member of 4-H and loves Jell-O salad, even if he or she grew up in another place and time than Wisconsin in the 1980s and 1990s. But there are parts of my store of cultural information that the reader is less likely to share. I would be surprised to learn that very many readers can also identify many common American weather warning sirens by sight—the "siren enthusiast" community is much smaller than the "enjoys the Beach Boys" community. But even a small community like the siren enthusiasts[20] is what Benedict Anderson has defined as an "imagined community,"[21] albeit in a cultural rather than national sense: it is impossible for each enthusiast to know every other enthusiast, because even if many of them interact on an Internet forum, there are those, like me, who "lurk" without interacting, and there are likely more who do not have access to the Internet, or do not know that such a site exists. The

[20] Many of whom can be found at airraidsirens.com/forums.

[21] In Benedict R. O'G. Anderson, *Imagined Communities : Reflections On the Origin and Spread of Nationalism,* (London: Verso Editions/NLB, 1983).

same holds for the communities formed by those that share my various types of cultural knowledge.

Now consider that some of my cultural information is what Kate Distin would call "recessive." That is, it can be stored in a brain as knowledge without being acted upon. Most days, I do not need to recall how many horns are on a Federal 3T22 siren in order to function in American society, and most days I do not need to know what TV show the catchphrase "We were on a break!" is from, but that information can be recalled if necessary. Perhaps it is activated in a conversation where I discover shared knowledge with a friend, or perhaps it is referenced in something I read. Especially in the case of the catchphrase, I might understand meta-information that someone is evoking by using that particular catchphrase. I might even transmit the information I have to another person, who may repeat the information to someone else, and so on.[22] This is one way that memetic information "lives" on.

CULTURAL TRANSMISSION

The way that humans transmit and learn their culture has been studied extensively in disciplines like cultural anthropology, sociology, and cultural psychology. As a result, there are many differing theories of cultural transmission—too many to explore in-depth here. Instead it is helpful to discuss a few key words and definitions. At the most basic level, we learn new cultural information from another person who has that cultural information or who creates new cultural information. This cultural transmission can be achieved in a variety of ways. As Ute Schönpflug

[22] I can transmit the information to you, the reader: the answers are "22" and "Friends," respectively.

writes, "the term *cultural* may apply to traits that are acquired by any process of nongenetic transmission, be it by imprinting, conditioning, observation, imitation, or as a result of direct teaching."[23] We learn cultural information throughout our lives but tend to receive in different ways at different times in our lives. As children, we learn our cultural information—both concrete and abstract—largely from our parents or guardians. This is known as "vertical transmission," while peer-group transfer is called "horizontal transmission" and teacher/mentor transfer is termed "oblique."[24] Psychologists John W. Berry and James Georgas argue that the idea of oblique transfer can be expanded to include transmission from all social institutions.[25] This learning of one's own culture is sometimes also called enculturation or socialization, which are slightly different processes that lead to the production of a person who can function in a particular culture.

Many studies of cultural transmission focus on the way culture is transferred from person to person, but interpersonal communication is not the only way we learn new cultural information. Media of various types also play a large part in our cultural learning. As Arthur Asa Berger writes, "the media entertain us, socialize us, inform us, educate us, sell things to us (indeed, sell us, as audiences, to advertisers), and indoctrinate us—among other things. The media help shape our identities, our attitudes toward racial and ethnic minorities, and our

[23] Ute Schönpflug, "Introduction to Cultural Transmission," 2.

[24] Ibid., 5.

[25] John W. Berry and James Georgas, "An Ecocultural Perspective on Cultural Transmission: The Family Across Cultures," in *Cultural Transmission: Psychological, Developmental, Social, and Methodological Aspects*, Ute Schönpflug, ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 95.

attitudes about sexuality."[26] Many studies of mass-media consumption focus on the type of message a media consumer receives from, for example, a television show (and indeed this message can be considered cultural knowledge—likely of the "value" type), where cultural transmission is taking place on a much more basic level as well. Just knowing the name of a television show is cultural knowledge. Further knowledge of the show, like catchphrases and character names, is also cultural knowledge. Knowing how to access a particular show is yet more cultural knowledge—is it broadcast on a channel? When? Can you watch it online, on Hulu, for example? How about a subscription service like Netflix? There can be no doubt that much of our enculturation comes from exposure to mass media.

Of course, even when the cultural information we receive is mediated, the message does originate with a person or people—we might learn about the powdered-sugar covered donuts called beignets from reading a book set in New Orleans, but it is the author the book who "gives" us this new knowledge. We might learn a catchphrase like "there's always money in the banana stand" from a popular television show[27] firsthand by watching the show itself, where it is the creators of that show—writers and actors—who "give" us the cultural knowledge; or secondhand, by hearing it from a friend who watched the show. If we learn something via the Internet, someone somewhere has posted that bit of information.

We can and do learn cultural knowledge by virtue of nearly everything we do, from attending classes to teaching classes to reading the newspaper to surfing the Web to watching television to shopping to playing video games to socializing with family and friends to walking

[26] Arthur Asa Berger, *Media & Society: A Critical Perspective*, 2nd Edition (Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2007), 17.

[27] In this case, *Arrested Development*.

down the street—and in many cases, this acquisition of knowledge is passive. That is, in many cases, a person does not set out to learn cultural knowledge, it just happens as a kind of side effect of daily activities (this is not to say that a person *can't* set out to learn cultural knowledge, of course). As Schönpflug notes, the view within cultural anthropology is "that people brought up in a culture are given a ready-made conceptual scheme, which is absorbed (as it were) in a mysterious, *passive* way that is never described" (emphasis in original).[28] On the other hand, Kate Distin writes,

> "Imitation seems to be one of the most obvious methods by which cultural information spreads: I might learn a skill from one person by observing her actions, or pick up the musical style of another by listening to his recitals. In addition, however, there is often an intentional element in our learning. We are constantly engaged in a process of deliberate communication with each other, and this is surely the most frequent method of cultural replication. I can gain new ideas and skills from you in ordinary conversation, and it will be apparent that I have acquired some novel information when it has an effect on my behavior, opinions, or future conversation."[29]

Certainly, one can purposefully imitate another person in order to learn how to do some activity, and that would clearly be an example of active learning. Yet, I argue that the "intentional element" she mentions here as the way most culture is replicated is really the intent to communicate something (through conversation, writing, reading, and so on) rather than the intent of learning something during that communication—perhaps cultural information will be transmitted, but this is a byproduct of the communication.

If this is the case, then any act of communicating might also be an act of (unintentional) learning, for both parties in two-way communication and for the receiving party in one-way

[28] Schönpflug, "Introduction to Cultural Transmission," 3.

[29] Distin, *The Selfish Meme*, 39.

communication. This is potentially very interesting for the translator who mediates between two cultures and must make decisions about the target audience's previous knowledge of the source culture and about how to deal with culture-specific items in translation. However, it is worth considering that exposure to unfamiliar cultural knowledge and the potential of learning new cultural information from literature is not only an issue when reading translated literature from another culture—cultural references to subgroups of one's own culture abound in media of all types. To continue the example set with the medium of literature: can I expect, as a speaker of American English, to understand every cultural reference I encounter when reading a novel written in American English? Certainly not; I could be a native Wisconsinite reading a book about New York City and come across a reference to the Upper East Side or Park Slope. Am I as aware of the sociocultural implications of those locations as a New Yorker would be? Probably not. This example indicates that even what we might call intra-cultural (in that it comes from "American culture") transfer is something of a misnomer, because the information is still crossing cultural boundaries somehow. "Duck duck goose" vs. "duck duck grey duck," to use another example, covers two cultures that are geographically quite close.

To some extent, then, the transfer of cultural knowledge *on the part of the audience* is not different just because that knowledge comes from a far-removed culture in Sweden rather than a closer-to-home (for American readers) culture in New York. In both cases, a reader encounters new knowledge and must deal with it—perhaps by ignoring it or by using context or a reference work to better understand it. In the next chapter, we will see that "foreign" new cultural knowledge is made even more similar to "domestic" new cultural knowledge in that it is also highly accessible to both translators and readers via the Internet.

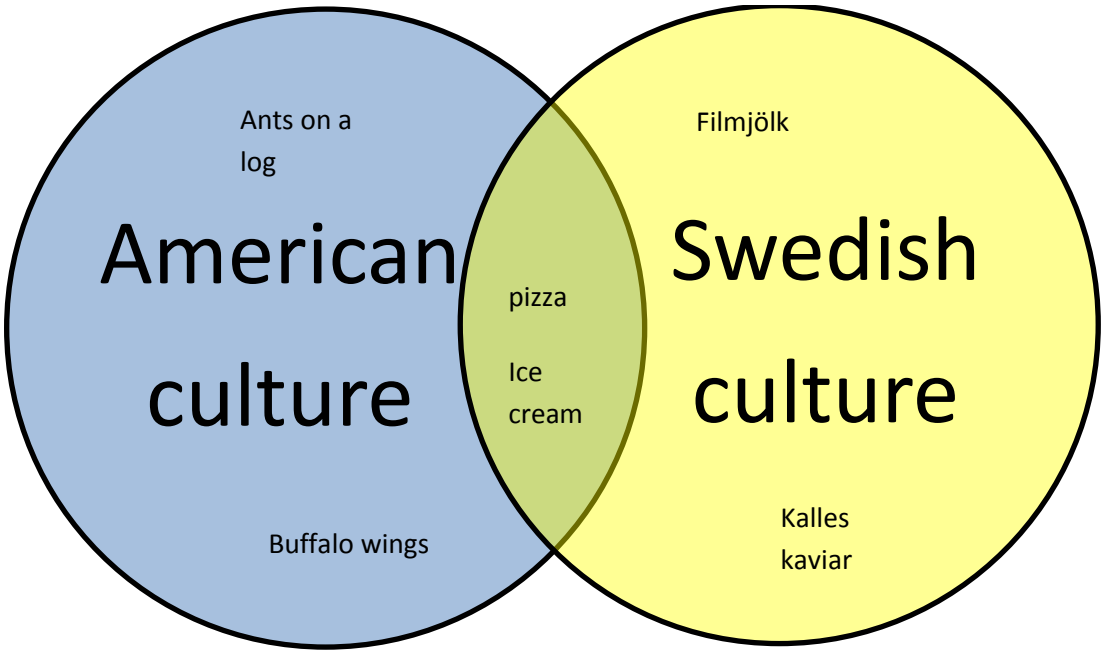
CULTURAL KNOW-HOW AND TRANSLATION: MISMATCHES

For the audience, one can argue that new cultural information is new whether it came from Swedish culture, tornado-siren fan culture, or Park Slope culture, and its origin is unimportant to figuring out how to understand it. For this study, however, I am interested in how Swedish-to-English translators deal with translating cultural knowledge from Swedish culture(s). For this reason, it is crucial to determine what kinds of cultural information pose a problem in translation and why.

It is clear from the definitions of cultural knowledge at the beginning of this chapter and from my limited list of personal cultural know-how that the types of knowledge involved are vast. Yet a translator does not need to give special attention to the translation of all cultural knowledge, because many memes exist in both the source and target languages. One can take Distin's example of "building methods." If a translator is faced with translating *lägenhet* into English, it is likely that the word "apartment" will suffice. Even *hyreslägenhet* can be rendered as "apartment," since in American English an apartment is usually rented rather than owned. The "apartment" example helps us to see that not all instances of cultural know-how will be problematic to a translator. But in another language pair, the translation of *lägenhet* might not be as straightforward—in other words, the memes that need special attention when being translated are, not surprisingly, language-pair specific. In Swedish-to-English translation, for example, things get more complicated if the type of building is named: it is difficult to find a concise way to express *punkthus* or *miljonprojektshus* in English.

If we look at the target and source cultures as a set of information, with infinite subsets (and here we must impose some false boundaries in order to have a useful discussion), we can say that translation is likely to be relatively simple at the points at which the two cultural sets intersect. Where there is a similar assembly, or RS, to use Distin's word, it will be easier to use context as a tool to understand an unfamiliar meme. The Venn diagram below is a very simple visualization of this idea, using a few examples from a "food" RS (although in reality, the overlapping area is probably much larger). The words that appear in the overlap area are common to both American and Swedish cultures: it is not difficult to translate "pizza" from Swedish to English (not least because the word is "pizza" in both languages!). The same goes for ice cream, even if the word in Swedish is *glass*. The words in the lighter area are part of Swedish culture but not typically American culture. *Filmjölk*, as we will see below, does not have one concise translation into English. *Kalles Kaviar* can be translated as "Kalle's Caviar," but most American readers would not know from the translation that this refers to a particular brand of caviar that comes as a pink paste in a tube. Finally, the words in the darker area are specific to American culture and hard to formulate in Swedish. A Google search suggests that Buffalo wings have a limited reach in Sweden and are literally translated to *buffalovingar*.[30] Ants on a log would be nonsensical even if translated literally into Swedish, and I could not find any evidence using a Google search and a query of Swedes in on Facebook that Swedes know of this popular American snack.

[30] Google. Search term "buffalovingar." www.google.com, last accessed April 16, 2013.



Of course, as demonstrated earlier, no two people in one culture have identical sets of cultural information, so a translator likely identifies cultural information that poses mismatches of cultural know-how with a "best guess" strategy, drawing on information he or she knows about the likely target audience and based on his or her own set of cultural information.

Here I would like to briefly focus on some of the types of cultural information likely to cause a mismatch between Swedish and American cultures, and the translation strategies that a translator might use to deal with them. (These will also be examined in greater detail in chapter four.) These mismatches are points at which a translator might have the opportunity to transmit new cultural information to the target audience, depending on the strategy he or she chooses to use to translate.

To begin with a category with a great potential for mismatches, that of food: apples are familiar items in both Swedish and American cultures—there is no mismatch in translating *äpple*

as *apple*. Something like Swedish *filmjölk,* though, is a familiar, ordinary breakfast food in Sweden but non-existent in American culture. Here is a mismatch, which the translator must address—should one substitute "kefir" or "yogurt," products that are similar but not exactly the same thing (and not necessarily a common American breakfast food)? Should one use the suggested translation of "sour milk," which is likely to make the American reader think "spoiled milk" rather than "edible dairy product"? Should one move the breakfast event into the target culture by using "milk?" Or should one leave the word *filmjölk,* which might suggest some sort of Swedish food item to the reader, who, if he or she is interested, can look up "filmjölk" on English-language Wikipedia and learn that it is

> "a mesophilic fermented milk product that is made by fermenting cow's milk with a variety of bacteria from the species *Lactococcus lactis* and *Leuconostoc mesenteroides*.…[It] is often eaten with breakfast cereal, muesli or crushed crisp bread on top. Since plain filmjölk tastes somewhat sour, many people add sugar, jam, applesauce, cinnamon, ginger, fruits, and/or berries."[31]

This last option, non-translation with the expectation that a reader could easily find more information, was not an available one before the advent of the Web (which is not to say that the average pre-Web reader couldn't find out what *filmjölk* is, but it would most likely have resulted in considerably more effort than opening a Web browser and navigating to Google or Wikipedia). The *filmjölk* example recalls Roman Jakobson's example of the English translation of the Russian word *syr* to demonstrate that "there is ordinarily no full equivalence between code-units, while messages may serve as adequate interpretations of

[31] "Filmjölk," Wikipedia, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Filmj%C3%B6lk. Last updated April 21, 2013.

alien code-units or messages."[32] He notes that the best translation of Russian *syr* is "cottage cheese" in English, though *syr* involves fermenting and is not truly the same thing as cottage cheese. In Jakobson's day, of course, there was no Web and a translator could not reasonably expect a reader to have easy access to the definition of *syr*. Because the Information Age has radically changed the translator's situation, this study seeks to answer the question of whether "adequate interpretation" is still adequate or whether non-translation of a meme is an option that is valid, and more importantly, in use by translators.

Categories other than foods that are likely to cause mismatches in translation from Swedish to American culture,[33] and are thus examined in this study, include pop culture references (to non-exported television shows, music, games, books, and so on), social concepts and customs considered central or unique to Swedish culture (*fika, lagom, jantelagen*) holidays and traditions (*namnsdag, dopp i grytan, Lucia*), everyday implements (*osthyvel, slaskrensare, skrapa* as used in the kitchen or shower), and names of stores and brands or advertising slogans (ICA, Systembolaget). Here it is worth noting that while these items are all certainly translatable by circumlocution—a sentence or two of explanation—they do not have simple equivalence, or word-to-word translations. *Fika* could be *coffee break*, but does that translation truly capture the sense of "to have a twice-daily break from work that involves coffee, social interaction, and likely a sweet snack of

[32] Roman Jakobson, "On Linguistic Aspects of Translation," in *The Translation Studies Reader*, second edition, ed. Lawrence Venuti, (New York: Routledge, 2004), 139.

[33] With the possible exception of Swedish-American culture, where some Swedish food items and holidays are likely to be recognized.

some sort"? *Slaskrensare* is more difficult—what single word or phrase in English describes the "plastic implement with drainage holes, used to remove food debris from the sink after washing dishes"? This object does not exist as a part of American culture, so there is no established word for it. In fact, the English description of the *slaskrensare* picture on Wikimedia Commons reads, "kitchenware used for removing waste from the sink."[34]

Names of official entities deserve special attention in this study because they generally have an official English translation—but the ability of a translator to find this official translation has doubtless been made much easier by access to official Websites, which, in Sweden, generally include an information page in English. *Säkerhetspolisen*, for example, has the official English title of "The Swedish Security Service," and this information is readily available on the English version of the official site, as well as on English-language Wikipedia.[35,36] Because of the relatively new ease of access to these titles, one would thus expect to find more consistency in translation of these names in recent years. Finally, the category of other proper names (names of streets, places, and currency for example) gets special attention in chapter four.

CULTURAL KNOWLEDGE AND TRANSLATION: STRATEGIES

[34] "Slaskrensare.jpg," Wikimedia Commons, http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Slaskrensare.jpg, last accessed April 30, 2013.

[35]"Säkerhetspolisen, Swedish Security Service," *Säkerhetspolisen*, http://www.sakerhetspolisen.se/english, last accessed April 21, 2013.

[36] "Swedish Security Service," Wikipedia, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Swedish_Security_Service, last accessed April 21, 2013.

From a practical standpoint it is impossible and unnecessary for a translator to establish, for each piece of cultural knowledge (s)he encounters in a text, where (s)he learned it. However, there is a complex process (s)he must be aware of when translating pieces of *unfamiliar* cultural knowledge (and even some familiar knowledge): (s)he must consider 1) Whether that piece of cultural knowledge exists in the target language, 2) If it does, does his or her term or translation for it, in the target language, exist *everywhere* in the target language, or at least the target audience, and 3) If it does not exist in the target language, what strategy should (s)he use for translating it? (An effective translator, it should be noted, is ideally always aware of point number two and applies it constantly, not only for cultural knowledge.) Point three then leads to another process, the process of determining the best solution for translating a particular piece of cultural knowledge.

A translator has a variety of strategies at his or her disposal when dealing with a difficult item of cultural know-how, using *filmjölk* as an example. This list and the strategies within will be expanded and discussed in greater detail in chapter four, based on the strategy categorizations of several scholars of translation processes, but below is a preliminary list with translation "notes" to demonstrate the reasoning behind each potential choice. This example uses the hypothetical sentence "Hon hällde filmjölk på flingorna."

a. **Relocate in target culture:** "She put milk on her cornflakes," because milk is what we put on our cereal in the US.

b. **Substitution:** "She put kefir on her cornflakes." or "She put yogurt on her cornflakes." In this case there is still something strange about it but most American readers know what yogurt is, and some know what kefir is.

c. **Literal translation with no explication:** "She put sour milk on her cornflakes." (If one is using the translation from Norstedts Stora Engelska, a major Swedish-English dictionary.) This gives an impression of Swedish culture as different from American…but rather the wrong impression.

d. **No translation, with explication:** something like "She put *filmjölk*, thin sour yogurt, on her cornflakes." That's a bit awkward here, but can work well elsewhere, especially with place names.

e. **No translation, no explication:** "She put *filmjölk* on her cornflakes." This is obviously foreign; it clues the reader in and reminds him or her about foreignness, but does not affect the reader's understanding of the text. The context allows the reader to understand "some kind of food item."

Any of these strategies might be an effective way of dealing with cultural information at a given time in a given translation. They are all strategies that I (and other translators) have used when translating. What is interesting about the different strategies is that the end result is on a continuum of unfamiliar to familiar for the target-language audience. The first strategy makes the unfamiliar CSI of *filmjölk* completely familiar for the reader, at the expense of Swedish culture—the Swedishness is erased. The final strategy retains a very foreign word without adding any context (although the context of "food" may be understood depending on the surrounding text), signaling to the reader that

something is new and different. Strategies like the latter two create the *potential* for transmission of new cultural information to a reader who is unfamiliar with *filmjölk.* Perhaps a reader will be able to surmise from the context what *filmjölk* is or perhaps he or she will Google *filmjölk,* and in doing so will learn something about Swedish breakfast culture. On the other hand, a reader may skim over the word and learn nothing.

This continuum of unfamiliar-familiar is the focus of chapter four, where I seek to determine whether use of the latter strategies (giving context or not translating a word) has become more common since translators and audiences have had widespread access to the Internet. The worth and ethics of retaining cultural information in a translation, thus creating the potential for learning, is addressed in chapter six.

CHAPTER CONCLUSION

This chapter examined the concept of cultural knowledge from a number of different viewpoints. Particularly helpful to the study of cultural knowledge in translation is the field of memetics, where cultural knowledge is treated as analogous to genes in that it is transmitted from person to person and can change along the way. For translators, units of cultural knowledge (or memes) that do not share an assembly in the source and target cultures pose a translation problem. These memes create a "mismatch" and the translator must then use one of a variety of strategies to resolve the mismatch. These problematic types of cultural knowledge are the focus of this study. They are revisited throughout the study, most particularly in chapters five and six, where their translation is examined from a practical standpoint and from a translation-theory standpoint.

CHAPTER 3

HISTORY AND USE OF THE WORLD WIDE WEB

This chapter discusses the World Wide Web and its uses for translators and readers. It is divided into three sections: the first provides a brief history and chronology of the Internet and the Web (it also explains the difference between them and why the Web is the focus of this chapter). Statistics about Internet access and Website availability lead to identification of a tipping point of the information explosion—a date that will provide a division between "before" and "after" the Web. Several factors must be taken into account in order to define this crucial date, and a very brief history of the Internet is in order to explain these factors.

The second describes ways in which literary translators may use the Web. Because of the sheer volume of information available online, this must be a non-exhaustive survey, and it must also be considered only a snapshot of how the Web is *currently* in use, because resources are changing and evolving constantly. The focus is on how Web resources can be used for problem solving in translation rather than on the use of the Web in business practices.

The third and final section addresses Americans' access to and use of the Internet. It also examines the ways in which readers do or do not use the Internet and literature to learn new cultural information and takes up the translator's use of non-translation (as described in the previous chapter) in relation to Internet use today.

HISTORY AND CHRONOLOGY OF THE INTERNET AND THE WORLD WIDE WEB

The Internet began as ARPAnet, which was a network developed by the U.S. Department of Defense in 1958.[37] It was "an experimental network designed to support military research—in particular, research about how to build networks that could withstand partial outages (like bomb attacks) and still function"[38] and this is why today there is no one central place that the Internet exists—it is spread out on servers all over the world. Furthermore, while the ARPAnet was the first, there were other networks that ran on different platforms, and they had to "learn" to talk to one other to form any sort of unified Internet. In the 1960s, those who wished to use computers connected to the net had to sign up for times to use it,[39] and most computers were at specific university research centers or companies like IBM. By the 1970s, computers with Internet access were beginning to be more widely used by universities and schools.[40]

Not until the 1980s did people began to have personal computers that could connect to the Internet. Between the time of ARPAnet, when Internet access was extremely limited, and the advent of the Web, when access suddenly became much more widespread and within reach of many people (at institutions like schools and libraries, if not at home) there was an intermediate period of access for some. This intermediate period required an Internet connection, but was largely text-based rather than image-based as the Web is today. There were essentially four categories of things one could do with an Internet connection during this period: send and

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[37] Leila Green, *The Internet: An Introduction to New Media*, (Oxford: Berg Publishers, 2010), 20.

[38] Ed Krol, *The Whole Internet User's Guide and Catalog*, 2nd Ed.,(Sebastapol, CA: O'Reilly & Associates, 1994), 13.

[39] Stephen Segaller, *Nerds 2.0.1: A Brief History of the Internet*, (New York: TV Books, 1998), 121.

[40] Ibid., 136-7.

receive e-mail, transfer files from one computer to another using FTP (file transfer protocol), use telnet to access databases, and interact with others on newsgroups like USENET.

Of these four, TELNET and USENET are likely to be the least familiar to the Internet user today. We still use email, and the way we transfer files today is often also via email or an online storage facility with shared access (like Google Docs or MyWebspace). TELNET and USENET, though, gave a glimpse of the opportunities the Internet would offer in the relatively near future. If a person knew where to look, one could access a great deal of information using TELNET, but instead of doing so via a graphical interface one gave text commands that logged into another computer. *The Whole Internet User's Guide and Catalog* suggests that readers use TELNET to "look at library catalogs, find out what's playing in Peoria, [and] access the text of the *USA Today*."[41]

USENET (which was originally the name of a specific set of newsgroups, but USENET later appears to have been used synonymously with "newsgroup") was like the first online forum, where those who had an Internet connection could talk about any number of topics in a bulletin board format. Usenet began as a forum to discuss computer and network issues, but it quickly began to be used to discuss and disseminate information about all sorts of things: education, jokes, news, and work, to name a few. Usenet still exists; today it is incorporated into Google Groups but has searchable archives.[42]

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[41] Krol, *Whole Users' Guide*, 50.

[42] Kevin Poulsen, "Google Begins Fixing Usenet Archive," *Wired*, October 8, 2009. http://www.wired.com/business/2009/10/Usenet_fix/.

However, USENET and TELNET were probably not what we would consider "user-friendly" in 2013. As stated above, most of what could be accomplished on them was text- and command-based, as opposed to the graphical, point-and-click nature of the Web we are used to today. The need for learning specific commands and the lack of something like a search engine (there were search functions, but they were not as all-encompassing as search engines today). Yet a widespread, user-friendly way to use the Internet was not far off.

THE WORLD WIDE WEB

The World Wide Web was a new way to use the Internet. It is not synonymous with the Internet, but it is a (large) part of the Internet. The main difference between the Web and previous Internet-crawling programs is hypertext (the "http" in front of a Website address stands for Hyper Text Transfer Protocol). Hypertext allows linking from one document or page to the next. Hypertext led to the advent of the point-and-click Web of today.

The program that created the Web was written in 1991,[43] but before the first graphical browser for surfing it was developed and available for use on machines running Windows and Macintosh, the Web was not nearly as accessible to a layman as it is today. The first widespread graphical browser was Mosaic, which was developed by the National Center for Supercomputing Applications for the UNIX operating system in 1993[44] and for Windows and Macintosh later that year.[45] The advent of a Web that was of use and used by a person with average computer skills,

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[43] Ibid., 286.

[44] Ibid., 297.

[45] Gary Wolfe, "The (Second Phase of the) Revolution has Begun," *Wired*, Oct. 1994, http://www.wired.com/wired/archive/2.10/mosaic.html.

then, can be pinpointed at 1994. By 1994, Mosaic had several million users worldwide[46] and there were 2,738 Websites as of June in that year.[47]

The time since the Web came into being and became accessible to many has been divided into two periods: Web 1.0 and Web 2.0. Web 2.0, the Web we know today, is characterized by "social connection and interactivity."[48] The date given for the start of Web 2.0 is roughly around the year 2000;[49] prior to that, Web 1.0 was more static and used largely for information-seeking rather than for creation and interaction (although certainly some interactive sites, such as message boards, existed in Web 1.0). Many of today's most popular Web resources—YouTube, Facebook, Twitter—are decidedly part of Web 2.0, because they encourage the user to become an active creator of content, which other people can then view, comment on, share, or even improve upon, rather than remaining passive observers.

Many of the Internet giants of today are Websites that have developed since Web 2.0. As of the day of this writing (February 14, 2012) on the alexa.com list of sites that see top traffic in the United States, nearly half of the top ten postdate the year 2000.[50,51] One top ten site is a reference Website (Wikipedia at number six); one is media-based, although one could argue it is

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[46] "Mbytes Transferred Over NSF Backbone Per Month," http://www.ncsa.illinois.edu/Projects/mosaic/traffic.html, last accessed July 10, 2012.

[47] Gray, Matthew. "Web Growth Summary." *Internet Statistics: Growth and Usage of the Web and the Internet* 1996. http://www.mit.edu/people/mkgray/net/web-growth-summary.html, last accessed April 21, 2013.

[48] Green, *The Internet,* 5.

[49] Ibid., 89.

[50] "Top Sites in the United States," last accessed February 14, 2012, Alexa.com/topsites/countries/US.

[51] Craigslist, which comes in at number nine, became web-based in 1996 (as an expansion from an e-mail list) but did not expand its listings to cities outside San Francisco until 2000. See http://www.craigslist.org/about/expansion, last accessed June 25, 2012.

also a type of social media (YouTube, at number three); two sites are search engines (Google at number one and Yahoo at number four); three are sales-related (Amazon at number five, eBay at number seven, and Craigslist at number nine); and three are social media (Facebook at number two, Twitter at number eight, and LinkedIn at number ten). All four of the social media sites—if we include YouTube in the social media category—are products of Web 2.0.

Another product of Web 2.0 is blogging. While the first blogs were started before Web 2.0, in the mid-1990s,[52] and the word blog (from "Web log") was coined in 1997,[53] their popularity—and the ease with which they can be created—has increased greatly in the past several years.[54] They reflect the participatory nature of Web 2.0, because the average person can create content on the Web via blog entries or comments on another person's blog. Anyone with Internet access can create his or her own blog on a platform like Blogger or Tumblr—no knowledge of programming language is needed. Blogs are used in a myriad of ways: as a diary, to share information with small groups, to reach large audiences, for advertising, for social activism, to share recipes, for humor—and the list goes on and on.

A brief note on terminology: while the terms "Internet" and "(World Wide)" Web refer to different entities and are treated as separate terms in this chapter, throughout the rest of this study they will be used interchangeably to refer to things online.

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[52] Geert Lovink, *Zero Comments: Blogging and Critical Internet Culture*, (New York: Routledge, 2008), x.

[53] Jenna Wortham, "After 10 Years of Blogs, the Future's Brighter than Ever," *Wired*, December 2007, http://www.wired.com/entertainment/theweb/news/2007/12/blog_anniversary.

[54] Ibid.

TRANSLATORS AND THE WEB

In order to choose books to examine in chapter five, it is necessary to establish a date to draw the line between "before" and "after" translators gained access to a wealth of information over the Internet. As stated above, 1994 can be considered a line that marks "before" and "after" the Web in terms of the average computer user, but does this hold up for translators as well? After all, before this date, translators may have had access to information via Usenet or other non-Web sources.

As it turns out, though, translators' own accounts of their workspaces and work methods from the years 1988 and 1992 support the choice of 1994 as a turning point; there is evidence that translators (at least those working into or out of English) as a rule did not yet use electronic sources in 1992.[55] While some translators may certainly have had access to new computer resources by way of another job or connections with a university, most freelancers would have been dependent on what they could afford for their home offices and what they could find at and through their local library. However, forward-looking translators in 1992 did have an idea of the help that new technology would be to their profession:

> "What advances may be envisaged to improve the lot of the translator? A workstation which will minimize the time spent on library and other searches may comprise the following: a word processor with a multi-window screen from which one or more term banks may be consulted and access given to an MT [machine translation] system, with the possibility of creating personal lexica; administrative and accounting facilities; style, grammar and spelling checkers for text, with the possibility of interactive prompting either on screen or via speech synthesis; desk-

[55] John Newton, *Computers in Translation: A Practical Appraisal* (London:Routledge, 1992),144: "Large systems [referring to an optical translating machine], because of cost and lack of portability, are not generally available to the freelance translator who hitherto has probably not had access to any computerized help other than a word processing package on a personal computer with a printer attached."

> top publishing for the final product; and the ability to receive or transmit text through electronic mail networks or facsimile translation."[56]

The translator who hoped for such advances in 1992 was no doubt pleasantly surprised and probably amazed by all of the innovations that access to the Web would bring only a few years later!

A series of guidebooks called *A Practical Guide for Translators*, which is updated every few years, hardly mentions the existence of the Internet or the Web in its 1993 edition. It does suggest that most translators do and should have a modem, for the purpose of transmitting documents directly from one computer to another.[57] In the chapter "Sources of reference, data retrieval, and file management," the author notes that more and more dictionaries are available "on-line,"[58] but his definition of "on-line" is "a program or device that is connected directly to a computer and which is available while using a program application."[59] Here he is referring to reference materials on disc or CD-ROM.

The second edition of *A Practical Guide for Translators*, from 1995, does not contain any further information about the Internet or the Web, but a third edition, from 1998, states that "above all, electronic mail" is the most important method of communication for translators.[60] Contrast this with the enthusiastic first sentence in the chapter on "Sources of reference, data

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[56] Ibid.

[57] Geoffrey Samuelsson-Brown, *A Practical Guide for Translators* (Avon: Multilingual Matters, 1993), 28.

[58] Ibid., 38.

[59] Ibid., 122.

[60] Geoffrey Samuelsson-Brown, *A Practical Guide for Translators*, 3rd ed., (Avon: Multilingual Matters, 1998), 61.

retrieval, and file management" from the fifth edition, published 2010: "The sources of reference available on the Internet are incredible."[61]

Further evidence of the sudden increase in computer and Internet use among translators in the mid-nineties comes from within the computing-translation industry. As the Website of the translation memory software SDL TRADOS notes,

> "The nineties saw a large amount of development in translation software technology. Many freelance translators were benefiting from the increasing sophistication and affordability of personal computers, meaning that CAT [Computer Assisted Translation] tools were becoming more and more commonplace. As well as the time-saving and quality benefits of using translation memory tools at a desktop level, the Internet pathed [sic] the way for enhanced productivity through the real-time sharing of translation assets via server technology. This helped to rapidly accelerate the rate at which content could be localized, enabling organizations to enter new marketplaces and communicate their messaging in the language of their customers."[62]

Here, "enhanced productivity through the real-time sharing of translation assets via server technology" is another way of saying that translators used the Internet to do their jobs more efficiently. To see what is perhaps one of the first "footprints" translators left on the Internet, we can return to newsgroups.

A search of the Usenet archives through Google Groups (groups.google.com) appears to indicate that the first newsgroup devoted solely to translation was formed on December 20, 1994. On the first day of the group's existence, a poster asked what the purpose of the group was. An answer (although not from the newsgroup creator) stated, "Well, since sci.lang concerns itself mainly with discussion of linguistics, (with comp.ai.nat-lang taking a fair amount of the

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[61] Geoffrey Samuelsson-Brown, *A Practical Guide for Translators*, 5th ed., (Bristol: Multilingual Matters, 2010), 89.

[62] SDL, "The History of SDL," http://www.translationzone.com/en/about-us/history-of-sdl-trados/, last accessed January 31, 2012.

computational traffic), and since I saw a post whining about the lack of newsgroups for professional translators just a bit ago, I'd guess that this group is for discussion of issues relating to natural language translation, and professional transators [sic].”[63] If this poster and a search of the archives are correct, then until December of 1994, there was no dedicated space on Usenet—then one of the most popular “places” on the Internet—for translators, suggesting that there was not yet a large number of professional translators using the Internet in their daily work. The lack of access that the average translator had to the Internet at the time, coupled with the extremely small reach of the Web at its advent, suggests that 1994 is a rather conservative date to demarcate “before” and “after” translators’ access to the Internet and the Web.

The posting history of the sci.lang.translation forum shows that the group peaked in popularity from 1999-2001, with up to 3,000 posts per month.[64] While the group is still active today, the posts per month are usually in the low double digits. The decline in popularity of the Usenet group is likely due to the rise of other translator forums like Proz.com, which was founded in 1999[65] and Translatorscafe.com, whose Website is copyrighted from 2002 on.[66] These translator-specific resources are able to connect translators to each other and to potential employers, host profiles and resumes, and disseminate other information in a way that is much more visually logical (thanks to graphical browsers) and thus more user-friendly than the text-based Usenet group.

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[63] Ben William Brumfield benwbrum@is.rice.edu. “Purpose?” Dec. 20, 1994. http://groups.google.com/group/sci.lang.translation/browse_frm/month/1994-12, last accessed February 13, 2012.

[64] http://groups.google.com/group/sci.lang.translation/about

[65] www.proz.com/about/

[66] www.translatorscafe.com

Translatorscafe.com (of which I am a member), offers its members places to discuss all aspects of translation, interpreting, and other languages services. There are forums and subforums for discussing software, rates (to the extent that rate discussions are legal), how to become a freelancer, and language-specific discussion (although all the Nordic languages are grouped under the category called "Scandinavian").There is even an off-topic forum for other social interaction. There is, of course a forum to ask specific questions about terminology, and it can be searched by language pair. It seems that the online forums are often used as a place of last resort to find the meaning of a difficult word or phrase. This is likely both because a translator does not wish to call his or her competence into question by asking how to translate a simple term, and as a courtesy to other translators, since asking questions that have been answered before is generally considered a breach of etiquette in forums all over the Internet.

Today, resources like Proz.com and Translatorscafe.com provide a social place and a problem-solving arena for translators, many of whom are freelancers and work alone, but these are far from the only online resources a translator in the year 2013 uses during a day's work. What follows is an introduction and brief history of several landmark Internet resources that are useful not only to translators but to people all over the world.

THE WORLD WIDE WEB AND THE PRACTICE OF TRANSLATION

Today, rather than talking about the "translator's workstation," we may talk about the "translator's toolbar"—the collection of link icons saved and displayed across the top of a Web browser. There one might find links to social media, such as translator forums, Facebook, and Twitter, which are used not only for communicating with friends but for networking and

problem-solving by (limited) crowdsourcing; that is, posing a question simultaneously to a group of potential answerers.

I have compiled this (by no means exhaustive) section based on my own experiences while translating five novels, four plays, and a number of short stories—I am not only proposing here that a translator *could* use these resources, but that I *have* used them in my freelancing work. (The next chapter will explore further what resources other translators use and how often they use them.) I have divided this section into "passive" and "active" sections. By passive I mean that the translator is searching for information that is already out there somewhere, while searching actively involves more effort—more asking—on the part of the translator than just searching and clicking links.

In passive searching, much of the search is through what are effectively reference works: various banks of information. Online thesauri and dictionaries (both mono- and bilingual), of course, are invaluable. One might need to convert decimeters to inches and consult onlineconversion.com, which will help "convert just about anything to anything else."[67]

For a term from a particular industry or field (even literary translators must sometimes deal with difficult terminology!) one can often find specialized glossaries in the source or target language, or even a bilingual list. Examples of monolingual lists are the glossary of English-language fishing-industry terms on the Website Angler Guide[68] and the Office of National Drug

[67] Robert Fogt, "Welcome to Online Conversion.com," www.onlineconversion.com, last accessed March 19, 2012.

[68] Angler Guide, "Fishing Glossary," http://www.anglerguide.com/articles/terminology.html, last accessed March 19, 2012.

Control Policy's list of street terms for drugs.[69] Examples of useful bilingual resources are the Swedish site Rikstermbanken (www.rikstermbanken.se), which combines the official glossaries from a variety of Swedish industries from health care to cheesemaking into one large searchable database[70] and the Glossary for the Courts of Sweden, a downloadable pdf file that gives English equivalents of Swedish legal terms.[71]

One particularly interesting translation problem that I was faced with was while translating a novel in which the main character is a prescription-drug addict. He carries around a case full of pills at all times, and he takes them quite frequently. I was certainly happy for Internet access during this translation, since many of the pills he took had different Swedish brand names or were not available in the United States at all, yet I had to try to find their American brand or generic names. Fortunately, I could access the Website of FASS, the Swedish pharmaceuticals information entity[72] and check the names of the pills the character took to find their generic names, dosages, and even the kind of packages they came in; then I could cross-reference with Wikipedia and Rxlist.com to find their most common brand names in English, so that I could make the translation choice I thought a reader was most likely to understand.

Another difficult translation where I was happy for online reference materials was during the translation of Jonas Hassen Khemiri's *Montecore—The Silence of the Tiger,* where there

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[69] "Street Terms: Drugs and the Drugs Trade," February 2003, http://www.expomed.com/drugtest/files/drugterms.pdf.

[70] "About Rikstermbanken," http://www.rikstermbanken.se/rtb/om.html, last accessed March 19, 2012.

[71] "Ordlista för Sveriges Domstolar," Sveriges Domstolar, http://www.domstol.se/Ladda-ner--bestall/Pa-engelska/Ordlista-for-Sveriges-Domstolar-Glossary-for-the-Courts-of-Sweden/, August 28, 2012.

[72] http://www.fass.se/LIF/home/index.jsp, last accessed April 21, 2013.

were ten pages listing Swedish idioms divided into themes like "animals," "nature," and "music." I needed to find equivalent groups of English idioms that were as similar as possible to the Swedish ones. To do this I relied heavily on the site UsingEnglish.com, which has a database of idioms grouped by topic, music, nature, and animals among them. This was a great deal easier and quicker than trying to think of so many idioms, or even than trying to look them up in an idiom dictionary.

Other sites are not meant (solely) for reference of this sort, but can certainly function that way. For official translations of the name of an agency, one can search for the English summary page of the Swedish agency. Säkerhetspolisen's English-language Website, for example, lists their official English name, Swedish Security Service, directly below the Swedish name.[73]

Even a site like Youtube that is often thought of as primarily an entertainment site can be used as a reference site by the translator. If the source text references non-print media such as a song or television show, and if more information is needed to give a complete and accurate translation, or to make a decision about how to translate or transpose a cultural reference contained within that reference, it may be possible to access that media online. For example, while working on a sample translation of Jonas Gardell's novel *Ett ufo gör entré,* I came across a reference to a children's television show from the 1970s. There were several sentences about the program, which was called *Beppes godnattstund* (*Good-night time with Beppe*), but the following line proved difficult to translate: "*gång på gång slog dockorna upp luckorna för att fördröja och skjuta upp stunden då det var ohjälpligt slut och de suckande måste stänga luckorna för gott.*"[74]

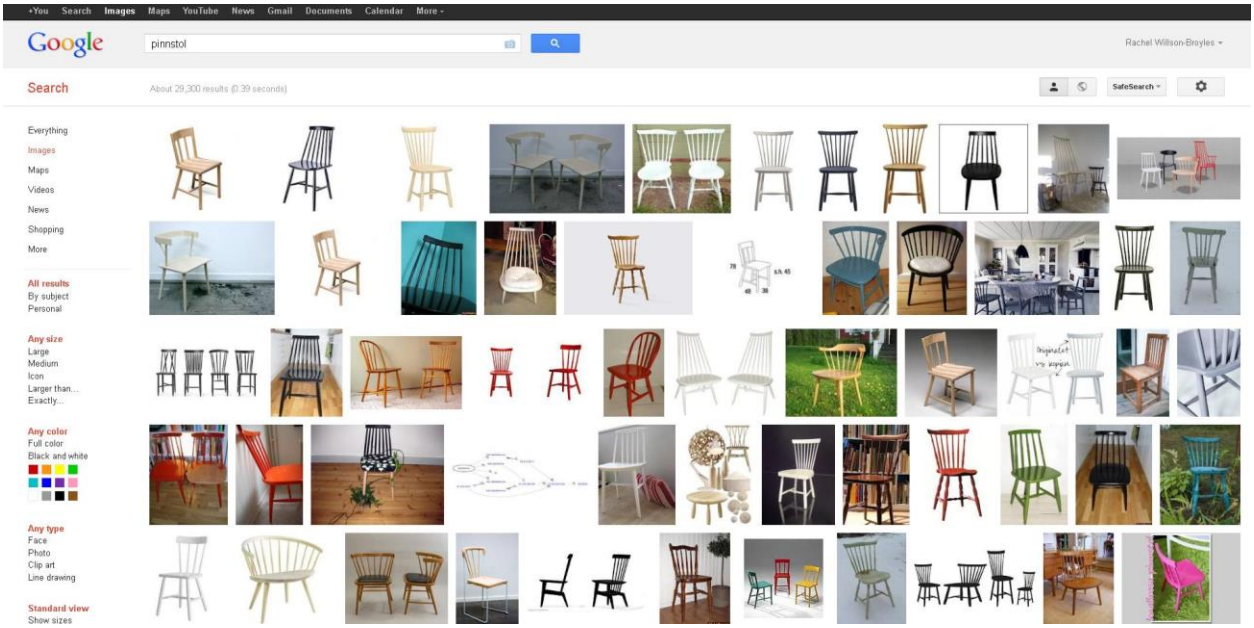
[73] Säkerhetspolisen, http://www.sakerhetspolisen.se/english, last accessed March 19, 2012.

[74] Jonas Gardell, *Ett ufo gör entré* (Stockholm: Norstedts Förlag, 2001), 115.

Without knowing what Gardell was describing, it was quite hard to know what the *luckor* were—were they lids, hatches, windows? I was able to find an episode of *Beppes godnattstund* on YouTube, however, so I could see the bed and wall in question and describe it better in English: "*The dolls would throw open their little doors in Beppe's wall again and again in order to postpone the inevitable end and, sighing, they had to close their doors for good."* In another novel, a character sings a few lines from a song by the band Nationalteatern, and it was important for the reader to understand the lyrics because they relate to the action at hand. It was not a song I was familiar with, but again, thanks to YouTube, I could listen to the melody and the Swedish lyrics and create an English translation with approximately the same meaning as the original but which could still be sung to the same melody.

Of course, one would not be able to find reference Websites without a good search engine like Google (which is the most popular search engine in the United States, according to the alexa.com ratings above, but by no means the only one). The search engine is the gateway to all other information a translator needs to find online. In some cases, the search engine itself can be the reference work. A quick Google search can quickly show a word used in a variety of contexts and give a sense of who uses the word (media like *Dagens Nyheter* and Sveriges Radio? Young bloggers? Both?). Similarly, Google Image (images.google.com or images.google.se for the Swedish version) can function as a picture dictionary. If a dictionary definition does not explain a word adequately enough for the translator to translate that word into a mental image and thereafter into a word or phrase in a target language, a quick search on Google Image may let the translator get a better idea of what the word refers to. My own example of this is the word *pinnstol*, which my dictionary translated as "Windsor chair." I did not know what either chair

was, so used Google Image to view examples. While it turns out that Windsor chairs and *pinnstolar* are not exactly the same thing, they are quite similar, and an image like the one below made it immediately clear what sort of chair the author was referring to.



Screenshot of images.google.com, search term “pinnstol,” 19 March 2012

Similarly, the Google Maps search engine can be useful when translating a description of the layout of a city to make a more accurate translation. In a recent translation I worked on (□ke Edwardson’s *Room No. 10*), a character was walking from his apartment (located in a real building in the city of Gothenburg) to a nearby bar. This bar was described as located in the next *kvarter*, which could mean either block or neighborhood. A check of Google Maps indicated that the bar was in fact in the next block. Google Maps can be immensely helpful for the translator to situate him- or herself when the work to be translated takes place in a real-life city that is described in detail by the author or character.

The online encyclopedia Wikipedia must also be mentioned as an invaluable reference to the translator. While Wikipedia is not widely considered to be as good a reference as edited encyclopedias are, it does have a very useful function that is impossible to find in a paper encyclopedia: cross-language references. Many articles have a list, on the left-hand side, of the same article in other languages. This is one way to find, for example, the English term for a Swedish word that is not found in the dictionary; one can, for example, search for *kylpasta* on Wikipedia and then hover over the "English" link on the sidebar (or click on it to go to the English page) to find out that it is "thermal paste." In addition, Wikipedia is an excellent resource for putting a term in context, often with other, related vocabulary.

Specific Websites of businesses and public places can be useful for a variety of reasons. I recently needed to put the word *sal* into the context of a gym, and used the Website of the gym in question, Friskis & Svettis on Västra Hamngatan in Göteborg, to find the description of a *sal*: "*Den stora gruppträningssalen, sal 1, rymmer 90 personer och den mindre, sal 2, 40 personer*."[75] I then compared the Friskis & Svettis site to the University of Wisconsin Madison's Recreational Sports site and found that a *sal* can be called a "group fitness studio" in English.[76] In another translation, there was a detailed description of the floor plans of public areas of Arlanda airport in Stockholm, and I was able to look at a map of the airport on the Arlanda Website to check that the translation would match both the source text and the actual airport.

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[75] "The large group-fitness studio, studio 1, has room for 90 people, and the smaller one, studio 2, for 40 people," Friskis & Svettis, "Västra Hamngatan," http://www.gbg.friskissvettis.se/vhamngatan, last accessed April 10, 2012.

[76] University of Wisconsin-Madison Recreational Sports, "SERF Amenities," http://www.recsports.wisc.edu/facilities-serf-amenities.html last accessed April 10, 2012.

There are also many Internet resources that can help when it comes to linguistic issues in translation. Not only the dictionary meanings of words but the meta-information of words must be translated—is this word formal, slangy, vulgar, or regional? Is it even a "real" word? Who uses this word? Online slang dictionaries like luxikon.com (Swedish slang) and Urbandictionary.com (English slang) must be dealt with cautiously as they are user-generated, but they can be quite useful in finding the definition of a Swedish slang word, in the case of the former, and finding a good English equivalent, in the case of the latter. Urban Dictionary even has a limited thesaurus function, the better to choose among a variety of slang words to find the best match.

Glossaries of regional dialects are also useful, both when translating a dialect word from Swedish to English, and when choosing a word in English—a translator might purposefully use or avoid a term with particular regional flavor in English. To accomplish the former, one might consult a glossary like "Davids Göteborgska Sida," which includes a list of words particular to the Gothenburg region as well as Gothenburg pronunciation and spelling.[77] For the latter problem, a translator could consult online dialect maps like the Dialect Survey[78] or search for a site that gives lists of words that are common to a particular region.

In addition to the passive information-seeking discussed above, translators must sometimes turn to more active means of finding information. Again, by "active" I mean asking questions of people rather than search engines and Websites. One way to do this is by

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[77] http://www.pjort.com/d_gbg.html, last accessed April 10, 2012.

[78] Bert Vaux, *The Dialect Survey*, http://www4.uwm.edu/FLL/linguistics/dialect/index.html, last accessed April 12, 2013.

crowdsourcing—asking a question of a crowd of people simultaneously. Facebook and other social media are an excellent way to reach a variety of people with very little effort. I have frequently used my Facebook status as a way to put a difficult question about translation to a number of native speakers of Swedish and others with knowledge of the Swedish language. In one case, I had trouble finding the definition of "*vaxbok*" but a Swedish-speaking friend confirmed my suspicions that it was some sort of journal with wax covers. Then it was up to me to find a good way to express this in English. In another example of crowdsourcing via Facebook, I had trouble finding a concise word in English for *raggare*, which is a kind of Swedish gang that appropriates American car culture, so I turned to friends familiar with Swedish culture. One friend provided an online dictionary definition, and other noted that she had trouble thinking of a good term as well, but suggested "rockabilly." Thus it was confirmed that others had trouble finding a concise term as well. Certainly the dictionary definition accurately described *raggare*, but it was a long definition and would not do for a word mentioned in passing in a novel. In this case, I chose to use "*raggare* gangs" in English, since I knew that Wikipedia has an English article on *raggare* that a very curious reader could turn to for more information, and for other readers, the vague idea of "some kind of Swedish gang" would suffice. But it was helpful to make sure that I wasn't missing an obvious, good translation for this word.

The usefulness of social media crowdsourcing is determined by who one's friends or followers are on that platform, of course, and I am lucky enough to have a number of native-speaker and language professional friends on Facebook to whom I can turn with a difficult question.

There are additional forms of crowdsourcing available for anyone to contact an audience that is mainly made up of language professionals—the forums like Translators Café and ProZ that I have mentioned earlier. Again, these seem to be used mostly to ask for help with particularly difficult questions. The forums come complete with a system for the asker to rate answers given, so that a person is given credit for coming up with good answers to difficult language questions. Below are the Swedish-to-English questions asked on ProZ.com asked during a weeklong period between June 25-July 3, 2012.

Time	Language pair Field	Question	Asker	Answers
00:43	Real Estate	Reglering	[redacted]	1
14:05 Jul 2	Engineering (gene...	knäckanvisningar	[redacted]	1
11:49 Jul 2	Names (personal, ...	Rekorderlig	[redacted]	4
11:38 Jul 1	Other	låsöppning (in the context)	[redacted]	1
20:16 Jun 27	Engineering (gene...	tapetite → Taptite (screw)	[redacted]	1
20:13 Jun 27	^	nylockmutter→ nylock nut	[redacted]	2
19:29 Jun 27	^	skruv plattwürth → screw flat head Wurth	[redacted]	1
18:16 Jun 27	Psychology	tankeanalys→ thorough consideration	[redacted]	4
11:08 Jun 27	Medical (general)	Fem px histologiskt delvis ulcererad nybildad stromavävnad med infiltration av e	[redacted]	-
09:53 Jun 27	^	i och för sig (i försig)→ in any case/in fact	[redacted]	1
09:27 Jun 27	Government / Poli...	arvode arvoderad	[redacted] Not a translator	2
13:43 Jun 26	Retail	shrink reduction	[redacted]	0
23:27 Jun 25	Medical (general)	lågekogent	[redacted]	-
22:03 Jun 25	^	ent kaps, hå	[redacted]	2
19:47 Jun 25	^	Grasett	[redacted]	1
15:55 Jun 25	Geology	grundflak→ spit	[redacted]	2

Translation questions asked during the last week, SW>EN, on Proz.com (http://www.proz.com/kudoz/), 3 July 2012.

Again, while the foregoing are authentic examples from my own translating experiences, I am only one translator. But there is evidence that other translators also rely heavily on the Internet for their research while translating. The American Translators Association's guide for new translators contains an article originally published in 1999 that states, "The Web is an essential part of a translator's daily life, a source of information that allows us to complete tasks

that would never before have been possible without access to a major reference library."[79] Several articles in recent issues of *The ATA Chronicle*, the American Translators' Association's monthly magazine, reference the Internet as a resource when translating. (It should be noted that the *Chronicle* is of course not specific to Swedish>English translation and often focuses more on the business aspects of being a translator rather than translation practices— and on technical rather than literary translation when it does discuss practices—but these same tips could certainly be used by literary translators as well.) In his article on "Online French-Language Medical Resources," Eric S. Bullington notes that while medical dictionaries are a translator's first line of defense against medical terminology, "the Web is an excellent place from which to cull the medical source documents that reflect current usage among medical professionals, and as such are critical for deciphering difficult terminology problems."[80] He also mentions Proz.com's Kudoz (as above) and WordReference.com forums as helpful resources. Two articles in the July 2011 issue of the *ATA Chronicle* contain lists of online resources for medical translation, including using "pharmaceutical Websites to mine sales material."[81]

Another *Chronicle* article confirms that I am not the only translator who finds Wikipedia immensely helpful:

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[79] Manon Bergeron and Susan Larsson, "Internet Search Strategies for Translators," in *Getting Started: A Newcomer's Guide to Translation and Interpreting,* compiled by Sandra Burns Thompson, (American Translators Association, 2001), 50.

[80] Eric S. Bullington, "Online French-Language Medical Resources: A Review," *ATA Chronicle*, Vol. XL, No. 10 (Oct.2011), 40.

[81] Erin M. Lyons, "Walk the Line: Harnessing Creativity in Medical Marketing Translation," *ATA Chronicle,* Vol. XL, No. 7 (July 2011), 20.; Edward D. Zanders, "New Biological Drugs and Pharmaceutical Translation," *ATA Chronicle,* Vol. XL, No. 7 (July 2011).

> Spending 15 minutes with Wikipedia can provide a pretty good general overview of any given subject. I do need to stress, however, that Wikipedia is not entirely reliable as a reference. It is merely a starting point to more serious research. However, the citations provided at the end of each article will often lead you to more solid resources. You would also do well to search the glossaries on such sites as the National Institutes of Health.[82]

His warning about Wikipedia as unreliable is certainly crucial for medical translators, but important for literary ones as well. Yet I'm sure this author would agree that, when it is used wisely, Wikipedia is indispensable. As for other online resources, this article also suggests using an online glossary by the Mayo Clinic, a Website on Regulations for Medical Abbreviations, and the NIH Glossary of Clinical Trial Terms, among others.

Some attention must also be given to the usefulness of the Internet for translation business practices. With Internet access, a translator can work from anywhere and still keep in touch with authors, editors, and clients. Manuscripts, invoices, and other files can be sent digitally, at lightning speed, via email rather than by mail or delivery service (and in practice, most of the large projects I have worked on have been accepted solely in digital format, while one publishing house prefers to receive both electronic and paper copies; no one has asked to receive only a paper copy.) A translator can be very visible online by way of a blog, a Twitter account, and profiles on LinkedIn, Facebook, and sites like Translators Café and ProZ. Even payments—incoming and outgoing—can be accomplished online. For example, some translators accept payment via PayPal, and the Internal Revenue Service accepts online payments of the quarterly estimated tax payments that freelancers must pay.

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[82] Gary Smith, "From Hippocrates to Hypoglycermia: Demystifying Medical Terminology," *The ATA Chronicle* Vol. XLI, No. 5 (May 2012), 19-20.

While this discussion of the ways translators use the Internet has been lengthy, it is by necessity far from comprehensive. This has been just an overview of the way one translator (me) uses the Internet in practice, with supplementary evidence that other translators (of all subjects and language pairs) use similar measures in their work. In chapter five, I will return to the topic of how translators use the Internet based on the results of a survey taken by other translators of my same language pair and subject.

THE WORLD WIDE WEB AND THE READER

It is not only translators whose interaction with texts has changed since the advent of the Web. Readers, too, may enhance their reading experience with online tools. Studies of how and what people learn from reading combined with statistics on Internet access and uses of the Internet can help determine whether readers use the Internet to learn about new cultural information, and by extension, whether the increase in global networking has affected an average person's understanding and awareness of other cultures' cultural software in general. Without a doubt, resources are widely available on the Web, but does this mean that a reader actually uses the Web for information-seeking purposes?

In order to begin answering this question we must examine who uses the Internet and for what purposes. Statistics from surveys compiled by the Pew Research Center's Internet and American Life Project establish that most American adults—78% of them, and 95% of teenagers—use the Internet as of August, 2011.[83] Race and gender are not generally factors

[83] Kathryn Zickuhr and Aaron Smith, "Digital Differences," Pew Research Center's Internet & American Life Project, 13 April 2012, 4, http://pewInternet.org/~/media//Files/Reports/2012/PIP_Digital_differences_041312.pdf.

affecting Internet access, but education and income are: only 43% of those who have not graduated high school use the Internet, while 71% of high school graduates and 94% of college graduates do.[84] Similarly, 62% of those with a household income of less than $30,000 per year use the Internet, while 97% of those who earn more than $75,000 per year do so.[85] It should be noted that non-use of the Internet does not necessarily mean lack of access to the Internet; as the Pew "Digital Differences" report notes, "only 6% [of those who do not use the Internet] say that lack of access or availability is the *main* reason they don't go online."[86] In general, access to the Internet is increasing especially thanks to mobile devices like smartphones—for young adults, smartphone adoption is less related to income and education than traditional computer-based Internet access; 71% of young adults have a smartphone[87], and smartphones and other mobile devices with Internet capabilities have increased access for young adults, minorities, those with no college education, and those with lower incomes.[88]

Pew Research Center also keeps statistics on what the Internet is used for, and how frequently the Web is used for particular purposes. Pew finds that 92% of all adults who use the Internet use it to perform searches for information. Thus, a reader who comes across an unfamiliar reference is able and perhaps even likely to use the Internet to find information or a definition within a few seconds. In addition, "young adults under age 30 are more likely than

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[84] Ibid., 5.

[85] Ibid., 5.

[86] Ibid., 7.

[87] Ibid., 18.

[88] Ibid., 2.

adults age 65 and older to use search engines to find information."[89] Given that younger users are not as likely to be constrained by low income and less education as older readers, we can expect Internet access to increase even more. As Internet access continues to expand due to increased use of mobile devices with Internet capabilities, and as the older generations who have no interest in learning to use the Internet are replaced by younger generations who have already adopted the Internet, perhaps it is not inconceivable to think that in the near future, 90% or more of American adults will regularly use the Internet.

USES OF NEW MEDIA

According to new media and communications scholar Philip N. Howard, "people report feeling that new media technology has allowed them to solidify and extend their social networks and to expand their understanding of cultural, political, and economic matters."[90] He notes though, that this self-reported feeling is not the same as a true broadening of knowledge. Sociologists Wendy Griswold and Nathan Wright argue that "research exploring how the Internet fits into preexisting activities generally conclude that the Internet complements and supports offline practices."[91] This, combined with Griswold and Wright's finding that heavy Internet users are more likely to be heavy leisure readers (although heavy readers are not more likely than light readers to be heavy Internet users), suggests that readers who use the Internet actually are likely to use it to supplement their leisure reading with Internet searches.

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[89] Ibid., 12.

[90] Philip N. Howard, "Embedded Media: Who We Know, What We Know, and Society Online." In *Society Online: The Internet in Context,* ed. Philip N. Howard and Steve Jones, (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 2004), 14.

[91] Wendy Griswold and Nathan Wright, "Wired and Well Read," In *Society Online: The Internet in Context,* ed. Philip N. Howard and Steve Jones, (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 2004), 206.

These findings about readers' access to and use of the Internet suggests that the foreignizing translation strategies for unfamiliar cultural knowledge, as discussed in the previous chapter, is more viable than it was before for Swedish to (American) English literary translation because 1) most American readers have access to the Internet, and 2) people do actually use the Internet to search for information paralleling the way in which a reader might have used the dictionary before the Internet. However, it is also important to explore the way readers deal in a practical manner with unfamiliar information that they encounter while reading.

In a practical sense, if a reader encounters a new, unfamiliar word while reading, it does not matter whether that word is an English word that might be found in any English dictionary, or whether that word is from a foreign language and not an "official" loan-word into English. All that matters is that the reader does not know what that word means. This use of "untranslated" foreign (to the reader) words is not specific to translators. It is a technique also employed by authors writing in English. A reader might, for example, encounter words that are foreign to the reader's present time, and must learn (by context or reference book) what the new word means to make sense of the text.

Similarly, an author writing in English about a foreign country or culture may also choose to include words in a foreign language (sometimes with explanation) in order to emphasize the foreignness and remind the reader of it. This can even be found in books for young readers; in her award-winning young adult novel *The Devil's Arithmetic*, author Jane Yolen uses Yiddish and German words to remind the reader that he or she has been transported, along with the protagonist Hannah, to a different place and different time (that is, Poland in

1942). Words like *yarmulke*[92] and *schnell*[93] are likely familiar to the average American reader, although perhaps not to the entire target audience of middle-grade children, while other words and phrases such as *a goy zugt a vertl*[94] and *schnorrer*[95] are probably new to a reader who is not already familiar with Yiddish and German. This technique is by no means limited to Yolen's book, or to young adult literature in general.[96]

In the same way as an author does not expect a reader to know the definition of each and every word (foreign or not) when writing in English, a translator into English does not need to make sure that a given audience will understand every word immediately and without problems. In fact, as Ken Goodman writes in his book *On Reading*, "the ability to make sense of what we read is always limited by how much we already know about what we are reading. No text can ever be so cleverly composed that all literate readers can make sense of it. And not even the most effective and efficient reader can make sense of everything ever written."[97] Even in the past, a writer would not worry about using difficult vocabulary in a novel because one could assume a reader would cope with new words using context clues or a dictionary. Today, the Internet can function as a dictionary, and in some cases can be even more informative than a dictionary

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[92] Jane Yolen, *The Devil's Arithmetic* (New York: Scholastic, 2000), 14.

[93]Ibid., 89.

[94] Ibid., 23.

[95] Ibid., 38.

[96] For one writer's discussion of this, with examples, see Erika Dreifus, "In Praise of Polyglossia," http://www.erikadreifus.com/publications/essays-articles/in-praise-of-polyglossia/ . Last accessed 10 July 2012.

[97] Ken Goodman, *On Reading: A Common-sense Look at the Nature of Language and the Science of Reading* (Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann, 1996), 106.

because of things like search engines and Wikipedia. Thus, a translator can assign some of the responsibility of understanding a text to the reader.

Part of the experience of reading (and a great, practical benefit of reading) is increasing one's vocabulary. Goodman writes:

> Each of us continues to develop language, both oral and written, over our whole lives, as we encounter new experiences and new needs. Every new interest creates a need for new language. We continue to learn new language every time we experience a new hobby: knitting, bowling, computers; a new class or curriculum: biology, algebra, medicine; a new place: climate, people, traditions.[98]

The increase in vocabulary that comes from reading about a different country or culture is no different than the increase in vocabulary that comes from reading about a new subject. Certainly a reader may notice that a word for an unfamiliar cultural concept like *filmjölk* is in italics (according to conventions of style) or has a funny letter, and a reader may not know how to pronounce it, but the mechanics of understanding what it means are no different than if the reader were to encounter a difficult English word like "macaronic."[99]

So what happens in the reading process when a reader comes across an unfamiliar word? Goodman explains that when people are presented with a text full of nonsense words in reading experiments, they use their knowledge of English syntax and morphology to make sense of the nonsense words —to figure out what part of speech the word is, for example.[100] This is not unlike what happens when a reader is presented with a passage containing an unfamiliar word

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[98] Ibid., 125.

[99] I took this word from a list of GRE vocabulary online (http://www.mygretutor.com/vocabularyGREDifficult.aspx , last accessed 10 July 2012); it means "Derived from or composed of a mixture of languages; composed of or characterized by Latin words mixed with vernacular words."

[100] Goodman, *On Reading*, 46.

that is not nonsense. As Goodman writes, "Fortunately, we seldom meet a text with as many unfamiliar words as this nonsense text has--usually only one or two, although at times we may find a familiar word used in an unfamiliar context with an unfamiliar meaning. And we get additional meaning, as well, from the situational and cultural context the text occurs in."[101] So, like anything else in translation, making the decision to leave a culturally-specific word in the original language is a balancing act. One foreign (or foreignized[102]) word or phrase in context is unlikely to become nonsense to a reader, because other concepts and ideas in the surrounding text are likely familiar. But a whole list of untranslated words, or a whole sentence, will become like nonsense that a reader has no hope of making sense of.

If, as we have seen, Internet access truly allows people to gain a better understanding of other cultures, this, taken together with the idea of foreign and foreignized words as "just" more new vocabulary, is another powerful argument for a translator having the extra option of "non-translation" of memes, for a reader would be more likely to recognize the meme as a cultural marker (the first and most important step in understanding) and perhaps also more likely to seek out information on its meaning (an extra, non-crucial step in understanding, but one that is made more possible than before thanks to the Internet).

This should, of course, be done mindfully. With attention to context, as well as to the importance of the word in question to the text as a whole, the translator will be able to determine

[101] Ibid.

[102] Referring to a translation strategy that does not leave a word in the original language but also does not bring it fully into the target culture, as in *flakmoped*→flatbed moped. More on this in the next chapter.

whether a non-translated word will function, for the reader, just as an unfamiliar word in English might do.

CHAPTER CONCLUSION

This chapter has explored the history of the Internet and the World Wide Web and examined when and how it came to be the widely used resource it is today. It gave an overview of the many ways in which translators use the Web in their daily work, with a particular focus on research. This survey was based on my own experiences as a translator but was supplemented with evidence from publications about translation. The Internet and Web as translator resources are revisited in chapter five to determine whether other working Swedish-to-English translators go online, as I do, to solve translation problems.

Also in this chapter, I established that a majority of Americans (and accordingly, a majority of the audience for a translation published in English in the United States) have access to online resources, and most of those users use online resources to find information. In addition, I briefly explored the way readers deal with unfamiliar information to argue that with careful deployment and proper context, foreign or foreignized words retained in a translation function no differently than any other unfamiliar target-language words a reader might encounter. Whether there is evidence that current-day translators find this to be the case in practice is examined in greater detail in the next chapter, and what translation theorists have to say about the strategic use of foreign and foreignizing words is explored in chapter six.

CHAPTER 4

THE NOVELS

This chapter focuses on objective evidence that translation of cultural know-how has changed noticeably since the advent of the World Wide Web. I am looking for evidence that items of cultural knowledge in books translated before widespread access to the Web are more likely to have been brought into line with the target culture, while such items in books translated after the Web came into being as a resource for both translator and reader are more likely to have been allowed to remain in the text as source-culture references.

The chapter includes a close reading and comparison of four Swedish novels that have been translated into English and published in the United States. Two of the novels were translated before the Web (defined as the year 1994 in chapter three), and two were translated after the Web. Each set of "before" and "after" novels mirror each other in terms of plot, physical (but not temporal) setting, and subject. Each novel is a work of contemporary Swedish literature set in present time, that is, not in historical time in relation to the time it was translated, so that the translator's potential attempt to relocate the translation in time is not an issue.

THE NOVELS

The first set of novels is of the coming-of-age genre. The novel *Barnens ö* by P.C. Jersild (1976) was published in English as *Children's Island* in 1986; it was translated by Joan Tate. It tells the story of Reine, who is almost eleven when he skips out on summer camp and spends the summer on his own in Stockholm. The "after" novel that mirrors *Barnens ö* is the first novel I

translated: *Montecore—En unik tiger* by Jonas Hassen Khemiri (2006).[103] The translation, *Montecore—The Silence of the Tiger*, was published in the United States in 2011. *Barnens ö* and *Montecore* have clear parallels in plot—each tells the tale of a teenager who purposely sets out to discover and define himself as separate from the influence of his parent(s) at a young age. They are both set in Stockholm; *Barnens ö* in the 1970s and *Montecore* in the 1970s through the 2000s. Both include multiple references to Swedish pop culture and other cultural memes; *Barnens ö* from the 1970s and Montecore (because it follows the life of not only teenage Jonas, but adult Jonas and Jonas' father) from the last four decades.

The other set of novels is of the crime genre. While Scandinavian crime fiction is currently a hot genre in translation and publishing in the United States, contemporary Swedish crime fiction has been written and translated since at least the 1970s, when the duo Maj Sjöwall and Per Wahlöö's books were translated into English. While I had originally planned to use a more recent "before" crime novel in this study, namely Jan Guillou's *Fiendens fiende* (1989) (translated by Thomas Keeland as *Enemy's Enemy* and published in English in 1992), this book did not end up containing enough potentially difficult-to-translate words. For that reason I returned to the "original" Swedish crime writers Sjöwall and Wahlöö and examined their book *Det slutna rummet* (*The Locked Room*), published in Swedish in 1972 and translated by Paul Britten Austin and first published in English in 1973. This crime novel deals with a rash of bank robberies and is set in Stockholm, as is the "after" crime novel: the final volume in Stieg Larsson's *Millenium* trilogy, *Luftslottet som sprängdes* (2007). This novel was translated by Reg

[103] At the time I translated *Montecore*, I had not yet begun to study the way translators use the Internet—in fact, my interest in this subject was sparked by my experience translating *Montecore*—so I was not influenced one way or the other by my current argument about post-Internet access word choice and non-translation.

Keeland and published in English as *The Girl Who Kicked the Hornet's Nest* in the United States in 2010.[104]

METHODOLOGY : LEVELS OF TRANSLATION.

In order to determine which items of cultural know-how have been brought into the target culture and which have been allowed to remain in the source culture in the four novels, it was necessary to further develop the translation strategies introduced in chapter two, and determine how the strategies make use of a variety of translation "levels" from domesticating (recasting an item of cultural know-how in the target culture) to foreignizing (allowing an item of cultural know-how to remain in the source culture). These terms are borrowed from Lawrence Venuti; Venuti's theory of domesticating versus foreignizing in translation will be discussed in greater detail in chapter six.

Recall, from chapter two, the preliminary list of levels of domestication for dealing with cultural know-how.

a. Relocate in target culture
b. Substitution
c. Literal translation with no explication
d. No translation, with explication
e. No translation, no explication

These levels are descriptive and useful for a cursory examination of cultural information in translation (and are in fact ones I used in a conference paper that did just that). Yet they are not

[104] Thomas Keeland and Reg Keeland are both pseudonyms of American translator Steven T. Murray.

specific enough to cover all of the in-between levels of translation that arise in a close study of cultural-knowledge translation.

To develop an expanded chart of translation levels, I have relied on the work of E.E. Davies, who wrote a very informative article on the translation of culture specific items in the translations of the *Harry Potter* series.[105] Davies' system is loosely based on several previous scales, among them one devised by Javier Franco Aixelá in his article "Culture-specific Items in Translation." Aixelá's scale was an attempt to "group all possible strategies applied to CSIs in translation;" he identifies and gives examples of eleven strategies and briefly mentions another three for a total of fourteen strategies.[106] Davies' scale has broader categories with better-defined borders and I find his system to be detailed and comprehensive without being complicated. I have made some minor changes to Davies's categorizations for the purpose of this study; I will discuss my changes after giving an overview of Davies's system.

DAVIES'S SCALE OF TRANSLATION LEVELS

The following seven levels of translation are presented in order from most to least conservative.

[105] E.E. Davies, "A Goblin or a Dirty Nose," *The Translator* 9 (1), (2003).

[106] Javier Franco Aixelá, "Culture-specific Items in Translation," in *Translation, Power, Subversion,* ed. Román Álvarez, (Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 1996), 61-65.

a. Creation

Creation is bit of a wild card and may not deserve to be listed (as I have done) as a very conservative strategy. Davies notes that creation of a culturally specific item may be inserted in the translation where there was none in the original, perhaps to make up for an omission elsewhere (in an effort to give the translation an equal "amount" of source culture as the original has).[107] There are no instances of creation in my data, however, so whether creation should be considered an extreme domesticating strategy has no bearing on my argument.

b. Omission

Davies's category of *omission* is straightforward in the sense that it is simple to recognize—it is "to omit a problematic CSI altogether." But he points out that there are many reasons a translator might choose to leave out a word or phrase:

> …it may sometimes simply be an act of desperation by a translator who can find no adequate way of conveying the original meaning (or possibly one who simply cannot interpret the original at all). In other cases it may be a reasoned decision where the translator could have provided some kind of paraphrase or equivalent but decides not to because the amount of effort this solution would require, on behalf of either the translator or the translator's readers, does not seem justified.[108]

Davies also argues that "explaining or paraphrasing something in the translation will give it a prominence it did not possess in the original,"[109] and this is his reason for categorizing

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[107] Davies, *Goblin*, 89.

[108] Ibid., 79-80.

[109] Ibid., 80.

omission as a less radical strategy than Aixelá considers it to be.[110] However, in terms of matter of foreignizing versus domesticating, it is clear that the omission of a target-cultural reference cannot be considered anything other than a radically domesticating solution for a translator. To erase a word or phrase specific to the target culture is to delete a piece of the target culture. For this reason, in my modified version of Davies's scale, omission is considered the most domesticating translation strategy. It should be noted that I am not arguing that omission is never necessary or never the best strategy, just that it is by definition involves domestication. Examples of omission in my study include the many street and place names in *Barnens ö* that are not included in the English translation, which are discussed in greater detail later in this chapter.

c. Transformation

Davies describes *transformation* as "an alteration or distortion of the original"[111] and notes that titles are a particularly common site for transformation[112] (although in my experience the translator has little or nothing to do with the title; the publisher tends to be in charge of titling). One example of transformation I have come across in my own translation is the subtitle of Jonas Hassen Khemiri's book *Montecore*, which in Swedish is "*En unik tiger*" ("a unique tiger") and is a play on the famous Swedish World War II propaganda poster "*En svensk tiger*," ("A Swedish tiger"/"A Swede is silent") which is itself a play on the word *tiger. Tiger* can mean both "tiger" and "is silent"—the poster depicts a yellow-and-blue-striped tiger, and is the

[110] Aixelá lists deletion (his term for "omission") as the second most domesticating (or substitutive) strategy available to a translator, p. 64.

[111] Davies, *Goblin*, 86.

[112] Ibid., 87.

Swedish "version" of the American poster *Loose lips sink ships*. In English, Montecore's subtitle is "The Silence of the Tiger," which evokes both meanings of the Swedish word *tiger*, but which is definitely a distortion of the original subtitle. While I was not the one who created the American subtitle, it was my failure to come up with an adequately translated subtitle that made the creation of a new one necessary.

d. Localization

Davies uses the term *localization* to label culturally specific items that have been moved from the source culture to the target culture.[113] In some cases, an entire book may be localized—one notable case of this was the English translation of the award-winning Swedish young adult novel *Sandor slash Ida* (Sandor Slash Ida), by Sara Kadefors, which was translated as *Are U 4 Real*[114] and localized to the US instead of Sweden.[115] More often, a single item of cultural knowledge will be localized—one common example would be translating *gymnasium*—the Swedish non-compulsory upper-secondary school—as "high school" or "secondary school" as I did in my translation of *Montecore*.[116]

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[113] Ibid., 84.

[114] Review of *Are U 4 Real*, Kirkus Reviews, April 15, 2009, https://www.kirkusreviews.com/book-reviews/sara-kadefors/are-u-4-real/.

[115] "'Sandor slash Ida' skrivs om för USA," *Dagens Nyheter*, 06 April 2009, http://www.dn.se/kultur-noje/film-tv/sandor-slash-ida-skrivs-om-for-usa.

[116] Jonas Hassen Khemiri, *Montecore—The Silence of the Tiger*, trans. Rachel Willson-Broyles (New York: Knopf, 2011), 154.

e. Globalization

Globalization, in Davies's scale, is making an item of cultural know-how more generic.[117] To return to the "filmjölk" examples from chapter two, changing "*filmjölk*" to "milk" would be an example of globalization, since milk is more generic as a breakfast food *in both cultures* than *filmjölk.* In some cases, it might be hard to determine whether a translation should be considered globalization or localization, because the labels depend so much on the source and target cultures in relation to one another and, perhaps, on the perceptions of translator and audience.

f. Addition

Davies's label for supplementing an item of cultural know-how with context is *addition*. This could be as simple as an extra word or two or could involve adding a few sentences of explanation or explanatory dialogue.[118] In this category Davies includes examples that involve omission of the actual word because the addition of context makes the original word redundant. He does not differentiate between the strategies of a linguistic translation versus non-translation of the original word in question. A Swedish-to-English example would be translating *flakmoped* as "a moped with a flatbed" or as "*flakmoped*, a flatbed moped."

[117] Davies, "Goblin," 83.

[118] Ibid., 77.

g. Preservation

In the category of *preservation*, Davies includes the use of an actual, non-translated word from the source language and a largely unfamiliar literal translation of an item.[119] An example in Swedish-to-English translation might be to retain the word *knäckebröd* or to translate it as hardtack or crispbread; both examples would fall under the heading of preservation in Davies's system.

ADAPTING DAVIES'S SCALE

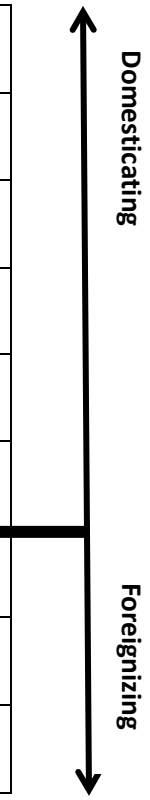
The scale of translation levels I wish to use for my own study of the translation of culture-specific items is largely an adaptation of Davies's system. I have re-labeled a few of the categories simply to better capture the strategies described in each, and I have separated Davies's category of "preservation" into two separate categories, which I will call "linguistic translation" (a term borrowed from Aixelá in his extensive taxonomy of translation of culture-specific items[120]) and "non-translation." This change is motivated by my desire to notice the difference between using an actual foreign term in a text (in the case of non-translation) and using an unfamiliar—but still in English—term (in linguistic translation). To be sure, both options may potentially introduce "foreignness" to the text, but a non-translated term is doubly foreign—both concept and language are unfamiliar (consider "flatbed moped," where the concept is Swedish but the words are English, versus *filmjölk* where both concept and word(s) are Swedish).

[119] Ibid., 72-73.

[120] Aixelá, "Culture-Specific Items," 62.

A chart will demonstrate the differences between Davies's original labeling system and my revised one:

DAVIES' SYSTEM	MY SYSTEM
Creation	N/A
Omission	Omission
Transformation	Transformation
Localization	Relocation
Globalization	Substitution
Addition	Contextualizing
Preservation	Linguistic Translation
Preservation	Non-translation



There are no examples of creation in my data.

The first four strategies—omission, transformation, relocation, and substitution-- can be considered more domesticating strategies. Each of them changes the CSI in question and removes it from the source culture. The latter three strategies—contextualizing, linguistic translation, and non-translation—can be considered more foreignizing because each preserves the foreignness of the CSI in some way.

HYPOTHESIS

Each of the four novels in my study contains examples of cultural memes that pose potential translation problems. In this chapter, such memes are identified, and their translations in the before- and after-the-Web translation compared. I hypothesize that the study will demonstrate that the more recent translations in fact contain *fewer* instances of domesticating strategies being used to translate cultural know-how memes, and they more often expect the reader to contend with unfamiliar references. More specifically, I expect that the "before" novels will employ more straight-out domestication (localization and globalization) while the "after" novels will more often use the techniques of non-translation and linguistic translation. I expect to find that the strategies from the less conservative/more foreignizing end of the scale are used a greater percentage of the time in the two "post-Web" books than in the "pre-Web" translations.

METHODOLOGY II: FINDING MY WORDS

As discussed in chapter two, my focus in this study is words or phrases that pose a mismatch between target (Swedish) and source (American/British) culture. These words come from many different cultural categories, which are discussed in greater detail below.

Some categories of culture-specific words are not treated in this study. In order to come as close as possible to an objective examination of word-translations, I chose to focus on words and phrases that did not require a (particularly) creative translation solution. That is, in trying to reproduce a moment of wordplay, a translator must go beyond the meaning of the words in the source language to find a solution in the target language—the act of wordplay itself is more important than the actual words used. The same is true of idioms, although in rather the opposite

way: the meaning of an idiom is more important than the words that make up the idiom, but the words generally have little to do with the meaning. For this reason, idioms and wordplay are not examined in this study. Also not examined are language-specific particles that convey various attitudes during communication, such as *ju* and *väl*.

To create my database of "mismatched" words and phrases, I read the Swedish version of each of the four novels—*Barnens ö, Det slutna rummet, Luftslottet som sprängdes,* and *Montecore*—closely and wrote down every instance of a word that was culture-specific or might be difficult to translate because of the expectation that the target audience would have different cultural knowledge. Then I read each novel in translation, noting how each word I had written down from the Swedish had been translated. I created a spreadsheet of the words in the original and in translation, and categorized each pair by level of translation according to the chart above.

There were many cases in which a word or phrase in my database was used multiple times throughout the book. In these cases, I counted each word only once, unless it was translated different ways at different times. (However, if there were only a few instances, all translated the same way, I made two entries in the chart. This is because it is not unusual for a translator to translate the same term differently in different instances.[121] For example, the government entity *RPS/Säk* is mentioned often in *Luftslottet som sprängdes*. But it only received two entries in my Excel chart—once when it is translated as "Swedish internal security," which is the initial translation (it also appears occasionally elsewhere in the book, to remind the reader of what it stands for); and once when it is translated as "SIS."

[121] Davies, "Goblin," 96.

WHY CONTEXT DOES NOT MATTER

If there is one thing I find frustrating about reading texts about translated works, it is that so frequently these writings seem to turn into a pointless critique of the specific translation choices and become a review of the translation rather than a discussion of translation methods. For this reason, I would like to make clear that no judgment is inherent in assigning the word-translations I am focusing on to any of these categories; the categories are presented simply as different methods that may each be viable in certain situations and contexts—it's just that I predict that current-day translators make more use of the less domesticating strategies. I do not mean to say that it was somehow a bad decision for a translator to employ omission more frequently back in the 1980s; it is simply an observation.

In addition, while the translators of the two later books could rely on the Internet to help solve difficult cultural-knowledge translations and make informed decisions about information what potential readers might have access to (and I can speak from experience as one of those translators; I consulted the Internet a great deal while translating *Montecore*), the earlier translators did not have this resource. Yet, we can assume that any domesticating translation choices these two translators made—omitting words, transforming Swedish cultural items to British or American ones, and so on—were not made out of lack of knowledge about the cultural items. It is namely the case that both translators of the pre-1994 books were native English speakers but spent time living in Stockholm, where the books are set —Joan Tate for several years,[122] and Paul Britten Austin for much of his adult life.[123]

[122] Laurie Thompson, "Joan Tate, A Survey of Her Life and Work," *Swedish Book Review 2002:2,* http://www.swedishbookreview.com/article-2000-2-tate.asp , last accessed 15 April 2013.

Happily, given my reluctance to judge a translator's motives and success in translating cultural information using a particular strategy, there is no reason to judge the translations in my database on their "correctness" or "effectiveness." My argument is based on examining an overall trend in translation—whether one can find evidence, in the translations of these four novels, that translators have used less conservative, more foreignizing strategies since the advent of the Web. It would only be distracting to attempt to judge which translation strategies would have been possible for any given word or phrase. I do not care whether it would have been theoretically *possible* for the translator of *Luftslottet som sprängdes* to translate "osthyvelsprincipen" into anything less domesticating than "cheese plane principle" (probably not!)—I only care about the end result, the translation that was published. While the context surrounding an item of cultural knowledge clearly mattered to the translator while translating, it does not matter in this study (except to the extent that *adding* context to a culturally specific item is one of the levels of translation I am looking for).

One variable that is impossible to do away with, of course, is the personal translation theory of the translator. Each translator will have a different idea of how to translate, and the translator's personal theory likely changes in some ways for each different genre, intended or expected audience, and so on. Another reason to ignore context as a variable influencing translation choice is that it is impossible and fruitless to guess at a translator's motivation for a particular solution; there are multitudes of variables that can influence a translator's choices,

[123] "Paul Britten Austin," Immigrant Institutet, http://www.immi.se/kultur/authors/europeer/britten.htm, last accessed 15 April 2013.

including concern for reader understanding or the reader's access to information, or even the translator's own understanding or access to information.[124]

Finally, it is important to consider that a translator usually does not have final say over a manuscript; this is the job of proofreaders and copyeditors, and, ultimately, the editor of the book. In my own experience, having at this point translated five published novels, the amount of editing can vary greatly. *Montecore* (as we will see) was changed very little, while another book I translated (Jan Wallentin's *Strindberg's Star*) saw some entire passages deleted. However, in my experience, this sort of editing has little to do with cultural references and more to do with narrative structure. I have frequently encountered copyeditors' fact-checking questions in the margins of proofs; they often ask for clarification for an unfamiliar reference but given a satisfactory explanation will allow such an item to remain in the text.

In some cases, too, the author of the Swedish original may have some say in the final publication. In my own experience, Jonas Hassen Khemiri did read the final manuscript of *Montecore—The Silence of the Tiger* and okayed some translation decisions (like the non-translation of *blatte*) while deciding, in tandem with the editor, to change others (one character originally "spoke" in a purposefully over-exaggerated Spanish accent in both the Swedish and the English versions, but Khemiri and the editor decided that this did not work in English). In rather the opposite scenario, Steven T. Murray has said that he was not given the chance to have final say over the proofs of his Millenium Trilogy translations (and nor did the author, since the books were published posthumously in Swedish and English), which is why he published them

[124] For a more in-depth discussion of the various reasons a translator might purposely employ different translation strategies for his own sake and for the reader's sake, see the E.E. Davies article mentioned above.

under the pseudonym "Reg Keeland."[125] So trends in editing are in some ways impossible to separate from trends in translation, and what the editor considers to be proper for the audience in question is also part of the larger picture when it comes to how cultural know-how appears in translation.

Given all of these variables—the context a particular word or phrase appears in, the translator's own assessment of the best way to render a foreign cultural reference, and the influence the editor has over the project—it would be impossible to account for the way each meme was translated on a micro level. Hence, in this study, I am looking for a larger pattern of how translation levels vary in time—the big picture of what domesticating and foreignizing looks like, in translation, pre-1994 and post-1994.

THE DATABASE

Once complete, my database of cultural know-how consisted of 842 words or phrases. There were 274 (33%) from *Barnens ö/Children's Island*, 122 (14%) from *Det slutna rummet/The Locked Room*, 209 (25%) from *Luftslottet som sprängdes*/*The Girl Who Kicked the Hornet's Nest*, and 237 (28%) from *Montecore*.

(A note on abbreviations: throughout the rest of this chapter, for ease of writing and reading, the books will be referred to by abbreviations of their Swedish titles. *Barnens Ö* will be designated by BÖ, *Det slutna rummet* by DSR, and *Luftslottet som sprängdes* by LSS. *Montecore—en unik tiger* will be MEUT.)

[125] Mary Ann Gwinn, "*Dragon Tattoo*" fans, meet Reg, who made your obsession possible," *The Seattle Times*, August 9, 2009, http://seattletimes.com/html/books/2009626470_litlife10.html.

Each word or phrase that constituted an item of cultural knowledge was labeled in Excel with a category (what sort of word it was: brand name, historical term, etc.) and a translation level—one of the seven in my revised chart above. I was then able to sort the items by any book, word/phrase in Swedish or English, translation level, or category; and I was able to calculate results of which books used which translation strategies and in this way find out whether my hypothesis was correct. But before examining the results of my study, it is worth discussing the items of cultural know-how and their translations by translation level and by category.

EXAMPLES BY TRANSLATION LEVEL

A note on citations: rather than citing two sets of page numbers in-text for each of the examples in the following section, the reader is directed to Appendix A, where the complete set of data can be found. The data is arranged in alphabetical order by Swedish word (or phrase), and the page numbers, in both the Swedish original and the English translation, can be found alongside each entry.

The category of non-translation, in which there are 254 entries (30% of the total entries), includes items where a word or name has not been changed but left in the original Swedish (and, of course, has not had context added). Many proper nouns and place names are untranslated, such as *Arlanda*, which is left as-is in all books except BÖ. Names of businesses are often left untranslated: examples include *Buttericks* in BÖ, *Åhléns* in MEUT, *Dressman* in LSS, and *Morris* in DSR. The same goes for brand names—*Konsum* is left untranslated in all books but DSR (where it doesn't appear at all)—and media titles: *Aktuellt* and *Aftonbladet* in LSS, *Dagens Nyheter* in DSR and LSS, *P1* in Montecore, and *Buster* in BÖ. While the bulk of non-translated

items are proper nouns, non-translated common nouns include *hambo* in BÖ, *bandy* and *julmust* in MEUT, *kronor* in DSR and LSS, *tunnelbana* in LSS, and *öre* in LSS and BÖ.

At times it is difficult to decide whether a translation should be considered non-translation or linguistic translation. Here I decided on a case-by-case basis, but one rule of thumb is that in the case of the name of an entity, if the descriptive portion is translated, it is considered linguistic translation. So in LSS, *Samirs gryta* (the name of a restaurant) is linguistically translated as "Samir's Cauldron" because the name itself is the meme, but *Securitasvakter* in MEUT is non-translated as "Securitas guards" in English. "Guards" is not the culture-specific item, so the fact that it is translated is unrelated to the fact that the company name "Securitas" is not translated, generalized, omitted, or relocated. And this is not a case of contextualizing, because "guards" is present in the source text. This decision-making was particularly difficult because of the many creative compounds Swedish allows; many times a culture-specific item is part of a compound and the translation of the other part of the compound has little or nothing to do with the chosen strategy for the item of cultural knowledge. The *Securitasvakter* example above is one case of this; another is *konsumkassar* (bags from Konsum, a grocery store) translated as "Konsum bags." Although "bags" is translated, the culture-specific item *Konsum* is not, so this is a case of non-translation. Proper categorization was especially difficult in cases where the cultural knowledge was an action—where there was no word of cultural knowledge, as in *drog i spolknoppen*→pulled the handle in BÖ (referring to the Swedish method of flushing a toilet). The words are all translated, but none of them are culture-specific. In some ways this is a non-translation, because while the words are translated, the action is not (translating the action to the target culture would likely be to write "pushed the handle"). Yet the fact remains that the

words are translated literally, so this is still a case of linguistic translation. Another similar problem was what to do in the case of *Disney på julafton*→Disney on Christmas Eve in MEUT, when the culturally-specific word was in fact part of the target culture but the event referred to (watching a particular Disney special that is always broadcast on Christmas Eve) is decidedly part of the source culture. Again, I decided that since the words themselves are translated, this is still a case of linguistic translation.

The strategy of linguistic translation encompasses any translation that is accomplished simply by translating the words of the item from Swedish to English, without adding context or explanation. There are 213 instances (25% of the total) of linguistic translation in my data. While in many cases a linguistically translated piece of cultural knowledge is understandable from its translation (and perhaps surrounding context), other cases are more mysterious to the reader unfamiliar with the source culture, as in *Disney på julafton*→Disney on Christmas Eve from MEUT, as above, or *osthyvelprincipen*→the "cheese plane" principle from LSS.

Many sorts of translations fall into this category. Examples from BÖ include *Adventsstjärna*→advent star, *ät mera gröt* (a t-shirt slogan)→eat more oatmeal, and *surströmming*→sour pickled herring. In DSR we find examples like *säkerhetspolisen*→security police (the same translation is also found in LSS), *lingonsylt*→whortleberry jam, and *fläskpannkaka*→pork pancakes. Examples in MEUT include *dalahästar*→Dala horses, *Allemansrätten*→Everyman's Right, and *miljonprogrambox*→Million Program Box. Examples in LSS include *Livets Ord*→The Word of Life, *hjortronsylt*→cloudberry jam, and *Glasakuten*→Emergency Glass.

Also included under the heading of linguistic translation are official translations of names of organizations, as in MEUT: *Konstnärsnämnden*→Swedish Arts Grants Committee and in LSS, *Brottsförebyggande rådet*→Crime Prevention Council. Instances of re-casting acronyms with their English letter-abbreviations, too, fall under this category, so while *BSS*→Keep Sweden Swedish in MEUT falls under contextualizing because it spells out and translates the acronym, *BSS*→KSS, also in MEUT, is considered a linguistic translation.

My data contains 118 (14%) instances of contextualizing. The clearest examples are those where the translator has added a word or two of information to make the foreign concept clearer to the foreign reader. This strategy is found in all four novels. Thus in BÖ we find *Centralen*→The Central Station; in DSR, *mums-mums*→Mums-mums chocolate balls; in LSS, *morakniv*→Mora sheath knife; and MEUT, *Konsum*→Konsum grocery. Other types of contextualizing include writing out (and often translating) acronyms; for example, in MEUT, *KTH*→the Royal Institute of Technology and *DN*→*Dagens Nyheter*; and in LSS, *LO*→Trade Union Confederation.

It was sometimes difficult to decide whether a translation should fall into the category of substitution or relocation, as the main difference between them is whether the translation is an item specific to the target language or culture (if it is, it is a case of relocation). Substitution, then, is more general and as such ended up being a bit of a catch-all category, with 137 (16%) entries. One common way substitution was used in all four novels was to make proper-named places and things more generic. In MEUT we find *Apoteket*→the pharmacy; in BÖ, *Äppel-Mer*→apple juice; in LSS *extrainsatt* Nyheterna→news special; and in DSR, *Fanta*→soda pop. Another common use is to make culturally specific items more generic, or to use the closest

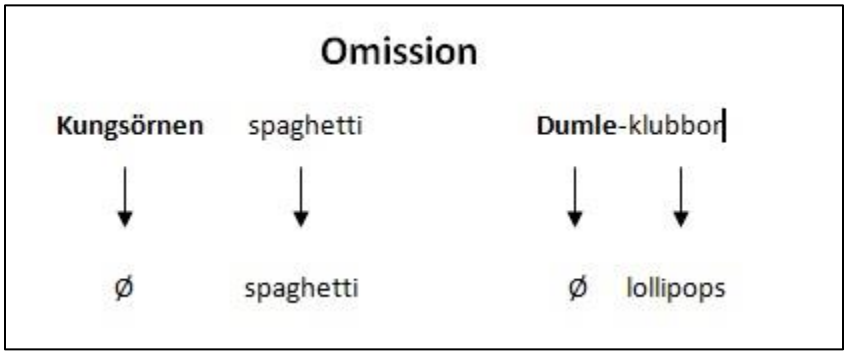
equivalent in the target culture: in MEUT, *filmjölk*→yogurt, in LSS *lättöl*→light beer; in BÖ, *mellanöl*→beer; and in DSR, *bränvin*→brandy. The labeling of these as "not exact translations" may seem like nitpicking, but in all cases the source-language items are quite similar to but not exactly the same as their target-language translations. Yet these are still considered substitution rather than relocation because one could not say that yogurt, beer, and brandy are particularly specific to American or English culture.

At times substitution is used without apparent cultural motivation, where a more literal translation likely might not have struck the English-language reader as culturally odd. Examples include, in BÖ, *biografen* [the movie theater]*Palladium*→the Palladium building; and in LSS, *Stockholm maraton*→a marathon.

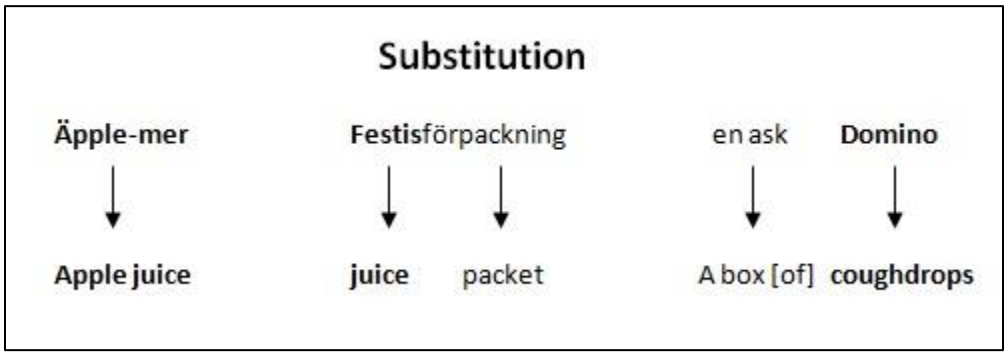
Another labeling problem arose when deciding whether the treatment of some items, especially brand names, should be categorized as omissions or substitutions. At first glance, it seems that an item like *Kungsörnen spaghetti* →spaghetti (in BÖ) and one like the *Äppel-mer*→apple juice example from above (also in BÖ) employ the same translation strategy, but in fact I have categorized the first example as omission and the second as substitution. This is because the item of cultural knowledge in *Kungsörnen spaghetti* is the brand name *Kungsörnen*; spaghetti does not create a mismatch between Swedish and American culture. The item of cultural knowledge is omitted in this example. In the case of *Äppel-mer,* the brand name is still the item of cultural knowledge, but the translator substituted "apple juice"—the Swedish word for juice did not appear in the original as with the spaghetti example.

In order to decide how to categorize such seemingly similar strategies, I looked very specifically at which words (or constituent words of compounds) were translated and which were

omitted. The graphic below shows how, cases of omission like the *Kungsörnen* example above and the *Dumleklubbor* example below, the CSIs are completely deleted while the non-CSI part of the word or phrase remains (the parts of the phrases that make up the CSI are in bold):



In the case of substitution examples, however, it is clear that the CSI portion of the word or phrase is not deleted but is replaced with a more generic, non-culture-specific term. The *Äpple-mer* example was discussed above; in *Festisförpackning* (from MEUT) the juice brand name *Festis* is replaced by the generic term "juice"; and in *en ask Domino* (from BÖ) the lozenge brand *Domino* is replaced by "coughdrops":



Despite its similarity to substitution, there were very few instances—just 25 (3%)—of relocation. Relocation was only used 9 times in BÖ, 6 each in MEUT and LSS, and 4 in DSR. Examples from BÖ include *Grodan Boll* (a famous, fictional frog)→Kermit and *kräftlykta* (a

crayfish-party lantern)→clambake lantern. In DSR, *Skatteverket* (the Swedish Tax Agency)→Internal Revenue and *födelsenummer* (an identification number based on one's birth date, now called *personnummer*)→Social Security Number. Examples in MEUT include *Damernas värld*→*Woman's World* (a literal translation, but *Woman's World* is the title of an American magazine) and *idomisera* (a made-up word, "to idom-ize" created from the brand name of a moisturizer)→Pond-ize. In LSS, *studentmössa* (the white cap worn by students graduating from *gymnasiet*)→mortarboard; and *Alvedon* (a Swedish brand name for acetaminophen/paracetamol)→Tylenol (an American brand name for the same).

Transformation involves a drastic difference between the same culture-specific item in the source and target language—not just the substitution of a more generic item or a similar item in the target culture, but a true change in sense or meaning. There were 31 (4%) instances of transformation, the bulk of them in the "before" novels. 18 of them were in BÖ, 9 were in DSR, 4 were in LSS, and there were none in Montecore. The most interesting BÖ examples include *Dinky-Toy bilar* (Dinky-Toy cars are the British equivalent of Matchbox cars)→Tinker Toys; *Knoll & Tott* (the Swedish name for the Katzenjammer Kids)→Pop Goes the Weasel; and *RFSU* (the Swedish Association for Sexuality Education)→Trojan (the condom brand). Examples in DSR include *lapplisa* (a meter maid)→crossing guard; *ostkupa* (cheese dome)→casserole cover; and *Flygcity* (a Scandinavian Airlines travel bureau) →downtown air terminal. The LSS examples are *landstingen*(s) (the county council)→ the hospital('s), used for items belonging to the hospital (which, in Sweden, are owned by the county council because the council operates the hospital); the place name *Mariatorget*→Hornsgatan (Hornsgatan is a street on one side of the square called Mariatorget); *smörgåstårta* (a cake made of ingredients typical of

sandwiches)→sandwiches; and *Sosse* (a short, non-derogatory name for Social Democrats)→pinkos (a derogatory name for Social Democrats). While it is impossible to know for certain the thought processes of the translator or editor, it is easy to imagine how difficult it might have been to look up things like "Knoll & Tott" without the help of the Internet. Perhaps these seemingly strange translations in the "before" novels are best guesses based on what knowledge the translator had access to—although one should recall from earlier in this chapter that the two "before" translators had lived in Stockholm and must have been very familiar with Swedish culture.

The final translation-level category is omission—the deletion of an item of cultural knowledge in the translation. There were 64 (8%) instances of omission. By far most of them—46—were in BÖ. LSS contains 15 instances; 3 are in DSR; and MEUT contained none. 25 of BÖ's 46 omissions are of place names; as discussed before, the special case of place names is examined more thoroughly later in this chapter. Examples from the remaining 22 omissions in BÖ include omissions of brand names like *Kungsörnen spaghetti*→spaghetti and *Fazers gröna kulor*→green goodies; the deletion of a magazine name (*Året Runt*); omitting the name of a specific weatherman: *väderleksrapporten med Lennart Hyland*→the weather forecast; and deleting a song title (*Kulan växer*) but leaving the name of the artist (*Janne Schaffer*).

Six of the omissions in LSS are cases where the entire sentence was omitted from the translation. Another five are omissions of place names. The remaining three include omissions of the brand name *Loka* when referring to mineral water, the omission of the business name SJ (*Statens Järnvägar*/Swedish Railways) when referring to the Website of Swedish Railways, and the omission throughout the book of the paper designation *A4* when referring to sheets of paper.

Two of the three omissions in DSR are brand name deletions: *Ölands*, a brand of beer; and *Dumleklubbor*→lollipops (*klubbor* means lollipops). The other omission occurs when *Midsommarafton* (Midsummer's Eve) 1968 is recast as "the summer of 1968."

PROBLEMS WITH TRANSLATION-LEVEL LABELING

While in many cases the task of labeling each item of cultural knowledge with a translation level was straightforward, I did encounter some difficulties. To the extent possible I separated out instances where more than one strategy was used on one term or phrase. So the phrase "*Janne Schaffers Kulan växer*" (referring to an artist and song title) was divided into two entries since it was translated as "Janne Schaffer" (non-translation) with the song title omitted (omission). In other cases, when something was translated with more context the first time around and later not translated—as in the case of *SL*: first, in translation, Stockholm Public Transit and thereafter SL—I used two entries, one for each strategy.[126]

In a case where there are two strategies used on one word or phrase, and it is impossible to separate the phrase out, I have chosen to use the more conservative of the two. Thus in the translation of *Mors Lille Olle* to "Mother's Little Olle, an old nursery rhyme," which uses both linguistic translation and contextualizing, I have chosen to apply the contextualizing label.

[126] This may skew the data slightly since there are many more instances of the non-translation option in the case of terms used throughout the books (as SL is in *Montecore*) but it would skew the data conservatively.

THE PARTICULAR PROBLEM OF PLACE NAMES

As I entered the items of cultural know-how into my database, I sorted the words and phrases into the following categories: art/music/literature (29 items), brand name (65), business name (99), food/drink (96) , government and politics (23), history (10), holiday concept (20), linguistic distinction (cultural information about dialects) (5), media (52), names (proper names of people, animals, and in one case a ship) (8), objects (18), organizations (52), place names (210), public figures (36), socio-cultural concepts (109), and sports (10). The categories provide a good way to compare the translation of similar types of words from the four novels. However, after examining the data I found that the only group that demands special treatment *because* of its category is place names.

In chapter two I discussed the sorts of memes that I expected would figure most prominently into my study, and there were several categories that I originally did not plan to include in my data set. One of these was place names and street names, the non-translation of which I considered to be commonplace and accepted. In some ways the translation of place names is the most straightforward kind of translation; place names are *expected* to be different in different cultures, and for a reader to understand what their constituent words mean may not be as important to the overall story as understanding what a character is eating, using, etc.

Furthermore there have long been conventions in place for translating (or not translating) place names. According to Aixelá, "in the case of conventional names, there is nowadays a clear tendency to repeat, transcribe, or transliterate them in the primary genres, except when there is a

pre-established translation based on tradition."[127] In other words, in these four novels of the literary and crime genres, one would expect a straightforward treatment of proper nouns, barring cases of those that have a long-standing English equivalent—such as the city of *Göteborg*, called "Gothenburg" in English, or the names of kings.

While it is true that there are many instances of non-translation of place names in all of the novels, it soon became clear that the case of place and street names in (non)translation was not straightforward at all. The treatment of all items in the "place names" category was in fact much more interesting and complicated than I had expected, so this category deserves special attention as part of the discussion of foreignizing versus domestication. One matter of interest when looking at the place names in these four novels is that the bulk of the action in each takes place in Stockholm. This means that many place names appear in more than one of the books, and often in more than one level of translation across books. Several examples, such as *Arlanda* and *Hötorget*, have already been discussed; others are treated below.

Proper names have been problematic for others trying to categorize translation strategies[128] and seem to be a category that deserves special attention whenever discussing translation of CSIs. As Hermans notes, many people consider proper names to "possess a certain deictic quality in that they point directly to a single, concrete referent."[129] This means that any sort of translation of a proper name might change what that name refers to, which in turn means

[127]Aixelá, "Culture-Specific Items," 59-60. By "conventional" he is referring to proper nouns whose names are not loaded with meaning other than that of "place name."

[128] qv. Hermans (1988), Aixelá (2006).

[129] Theo Hermans, "On Translating Proper Names," in *Modern Dutch Studies : Essays In Honour of Peter King, Professor of Modern Dutch Studies At the University of Hull On the Occasion of His Retirement,* ed. Peter King, (London: Athlone Press, 1988), 11.

that any proper noun that is linguistically translated is likely to be *more* domesticating than a linguistic translation of a common noun.

In Aixelá's and Hermans' articles, the proper nouns in question are of all sorts, from place names to personal names, and so on. Hermans' argument moves on to examine on the treatment of personal names from Dutch to English, German, and French. Yet in my study, the only proper nouns which posed special problems and thus require special attention were those of place names. This is likely so for two reasons. For one, none of the personal names of characters in any of the books were translated; thus I did not include them in my data set. For another, there were very few proper nouns of any other category in my data. While place names made up a quarter of the words and phrases I identified as CSIs, there were only 8 personal names and 36 public figure names to contend with. To be sure, brand names and business names made up a large portion of the words and phrases, but the treatment of these names seemed much more straightforward. Perhaps this is because, while brand- and business names are made up of proper nouns, these nouns are less deictic than place names tend to be. There could be thousands of *Äppel-Mer* juice boxes in Stockholm, but there is only one Kungsträdgården.

According to the system of translation-level labeling I have used in this chapter, contextualizing is a more domesticating strategy than linguistic translation. Yet in the case of place names, adding context but not translating the name itself is less domesticating than linguistically translating the name but not adding context, because as discussed above, the linguistic translation of a place name is a transformation of that place. Take the example of *Hötorgshallen* (an indoor market in Stockholm) being translated as "Hötorgshallen Market" in *Montecore* but "Haymarket" in *Barnens ö*. According to the labeling system, "Hötorgshallen

Market" is a contextualization strategy while "Haymarket" is a linguistic translation. Yet the name "Haymarket" does not only translate the name, it has the effect of relocating it in an English-speaking place, while "Hötorgshallen Market" allows the place to clearly remain Swedish while giving the unfamiliar reader some context.

Because of the ways in which the treatment of place names in translation differs from all of the other categories of words and phrases, I have created a separate data set for translation of place names. The "rules" for determining translation levels in this data set differ slightly from those in the first, complete data set (which still includes place names, but with their "old" translation-level labels). I have found it necessary to create labels for two new levels of translation.

In the revised system for place names, the category of "linguistic translation" is largely replaced with "half-translation," which is the translation of the descriptive part of a place name (e.g. street, quay, road, church). In addition this category is moved toward the center of the scale as it is more domesticating than a linguistic translation of a non-place name. In certain cases, half-translation can be even more domesticating than adding context, because the adding of context preserves all parts of the word or phrase in the source language. Take, for example, the translation in DSR of *Skeppsbron*→Skeppsbron Quay, a case of contextualization; but *Riddarholmskajen*→Riddarholm Quay, a case of half-translation. These examples also make clear that the categories of half-translation and contextualizing are quite similar and could even result in identical target language phrases. The only difference between them is added information in the case of contextualizing and translated information in the case of half-translation.

A more domesticating new translation-level category for the special case of place names is one I have called "name modification." A word or phrase is listed in this category when all parts of the place name (e.g. both the name and descriptive part) have been translated. Examples in this category are *Hötorgshallen*→Haymarket in BÖ as discussed above and *Hälsovägen*→Health Street in MEUT.

A revised version of the translation-level chart compares the place-name categories with the original categories:

ALL CATEGORIES	**PLACE NAMES**
Omission	Omission
Transformation	Transformation
Relocation	Relocation
N/A	Name Modification
Substitution	Substitution
N/A	Half-translation
Contextualizing	Contextualizing
Linguistic Translation	Linguistic Translation
Non-translation	Non-translation

Non-translation was the most frequently used strategy overall, with 82 instances (39% of total entries). There were 37 in MEUT, 20 in LSS, 15 in BÖ, and 10 in DSR. Non-translated items included provinces, cities, streets, squares, parks, museums, buildings, and many other sorts of places. Examples of non-translation of place names include Arlanda (the major airport north of Stockholm), which appears as a non-translated item in each book except BÖ, where it is substituted by "the airport"; Gamla Stan (a part of Stockholm) in MEUT and LSS (which appears translated/name-modified as "(the) Old City" in the earlier two novels); Västra Götaland (a province name) and E18 (a highway) in LSS; and Sergels Torg (a well-known square in Stockholm) in DSR and MEUT.

The next most commonly used strategy was the new category of half-translation, with 41 instances (20% of total; 24 in BÖ, 7 in MEUT, 5 in DSR, and 5 in LSS). Several street names were half-translated. In BÖ, for example, *Bagarbyvägen* → Bagarby Road and *Sveavägen*→Svea Road; and in MEUT, *Katrinebergsvägen*→Katrineberg Street and *Mellanbergvägen*→Mellanberg Street. Examples in LSS include *Mariahissen*→the Maria lift and *Stadsmuseet*→the Stadsmuseum. In DSR we find *Kronobergsparken*→Kronoberg Park and Mariatorget→the Maria Square.

Omission was the third most common strategy for place-name translation, with 30 instances (14% of total). The bulk of these, 25 of them, were from BÖ**.** The other five omissions were from LSS; no place names were omitted from either DSR or MEUT. In the case of BÖ there did not seem to be a particular sort of place name that was more likely to be omitted, although a sentence that mentioned more than one CSI—such as a store located at a particular intersection—seemed likely to lose one in translation. Oftentimes a specific intersection where

the main character Reine found himself during his adventures in Stockholm would be mentioned in Swedish but omitted in English: *"…en stor sportaffär i hörnet Tunnelgatan-Birger Jarlsgatan*" became "…the sports store." Often place names were generalized in translation and lost the CSI portion of their name: *Rålambsparken* became "the park" and *Norrlandsgatan* became "the street." *McDonald's på Kungsgatan* became just "McDonald's." In general, the omissions from BÖ made Reine's adventures much less place-specific in English than in Swedish; whether this was the intent of the translator and/or the editor we do not know.

The five omissions from LSS are short enough to be mentioned in full here. In one case, the entire sentence "hon var bosatt i ett egnahem i Nacka" was deleted. (Quite a few entire sentences are deleted in the book, possibly for brevity; the English translation is shorter than the Swedish original.) In three cases, the specific place name was deleted: *i bilen på Lundagatan* became "in his car"; *perspektivfönstret med utsikt mot Saltsjön* became "the picture window"; and a reference to Arlanda was recast as a character being "put on a flight" rather than "driven to Arlanda." In the final example, an extra bit of place-information was omitted: *Ernst Fontells Plats vid Nya Ullevi* became just "Ernst Fontells Plats."

Contextualizing was the fourth most common option for translating place names, with 23 instances (11% of total); these are rather equally divided among the four novels. The 6 examples in BÖ include *Centralen*→the Central Station and adding the context of "the amusement park" to *Gröna Lund*. Some of the 6 examples in DSR are adding the context of "Park" to *Humlegården* and *Tantolunden*, and "Prison" to *Kumla*. This last contextualization is also found in LSS; there, another of the 4 examples is adding the context of "station" to *Göteborgs Central*. In MEUT,

where there are 6 examples, we again find the context of "park" added to *Tanto*; for another, the nickname *Kungsan* is expanded and contextualized into Kungsträdgården in translation.

There were 18 instances of substitution of place names (9% of total). Ten of these are from BÖ; they include replacing *Kungsgatan* with "the main street," *Skåne* with "the south," and *Norra Bantorget* with "the northern station." The four substitutions in LSS are replacing [the train crossing] *Årstabron* with "the train came into Stockholm," *Öresundsbron* with "the bridge to Copenhagen," *Rådhuset* with "city hall," and *Riksväg 180* with "the 180." There are 2 substitutions of place names in DSR: "the south side" is the replacement for *Södermalm* (in one case) and *Söder* (Södermalm's short name; in the other). The single instance of substitution of a place name in MEUT is the translation of *Älvsjömässan* as "the Stockholm Exhibition" (I consider this a substitution because its official English name is "the Stockholm International Fairs.")

The new category of name modification is the next most common, with 13 instances (6% of total; 8 in BÖ, 3 in DSR, 2 in MEUT, and none in LSS). In BÖ, we find examples like *Kungsgatan*→King Street, Norra Bantorget→North Station Square, and Gamla Stan→Old City. This last example is also found in DSR. The other examples in DSR are *Södersjukhuset*→South Hospital and *Strömmen*→The Stream. The two examples in Montecore are Hälsovägen→Health Street and Kastanjevägen→Chestnut Street.[130]

One would not expect to find any instances of linguistic translation among the place name translations, since what is considered to be linguistic translation among the other categories

[130] While context has no bearing on translation-level labeling in this study, it should be noted that the reason these two streets are fully translated while the many others in MEUT are not is because it is crucial to the narrative that the reader understand the meaning of the street names.

of CSIs usually becomes either name-modification or half-translation when dealing with place names. However, there are two instances (nearly 1% of total) that can still properly be labeled linguistic translation: the translation of *Göteborg* as Gothenburg (that city's official English name) and the translation of *Norrlänning* (a person from the province of *Norrland*) as Norrlander. Both examples come from MEUT.

There are no instances of relocation of place names, and only one of transformation (0.5% of total): in LSS, an instance mentioning Mariatorget in Swedish names it Hornsgatan in English (as discussed above, Hornsgatan is a street that forms one side of Mariatorget).

In the next section, place names will be dealt with both as part of the complete data set and separately, according to their new translation levels.

RESULTS FOR ALL CATEGORIES

Before examining the results of the data it is important to note that this project does not take statistical significance (or lack thereof) into account.

Once each word and phrase had been entered in Swedish and English and labeled with its level of translation, it was possible to examine and compare the frequency of each level of translation in each novel. One way to look at the number of cultural items per book is by length. In pocket/mass-market format, the page count of each book is BÖ: 302, DSR: 255, LSS: 704, and MEUT: 359. [131] Each novel, of course, had a different number of cultural know-how words and phrases—there were 274 in BÖ, 122 in DSR, 209 in LSS, and 237 in MEUT. This means

[131] These page counts were taken from the physical copies of the Swedish version of each novel, except for DSR; its page-count information comes from the online bookseller Adlibris: http://www.adlibris.com/se/product.aspx?isbn=917263572X.

that the average number of items of cultural know-how per page for each book is BÖ: .90; DSR: .48; LSS: .30; and MEUT: .66.

Because the books are of such different lengths and have such varied amounts of culturally-specific words and phrases, the best way to demonstrate the differences in use of translation levels is by percentage. Thus, for each book I calculated which percentage of the time each of the seven strategies were used and arrived at the following figures. The translation levels are abbreviated as follows: non-translation as NT; linguistic translation as LT; contextualizing as C; substitution as S; relocation as R; transformation as T; and omission as O.

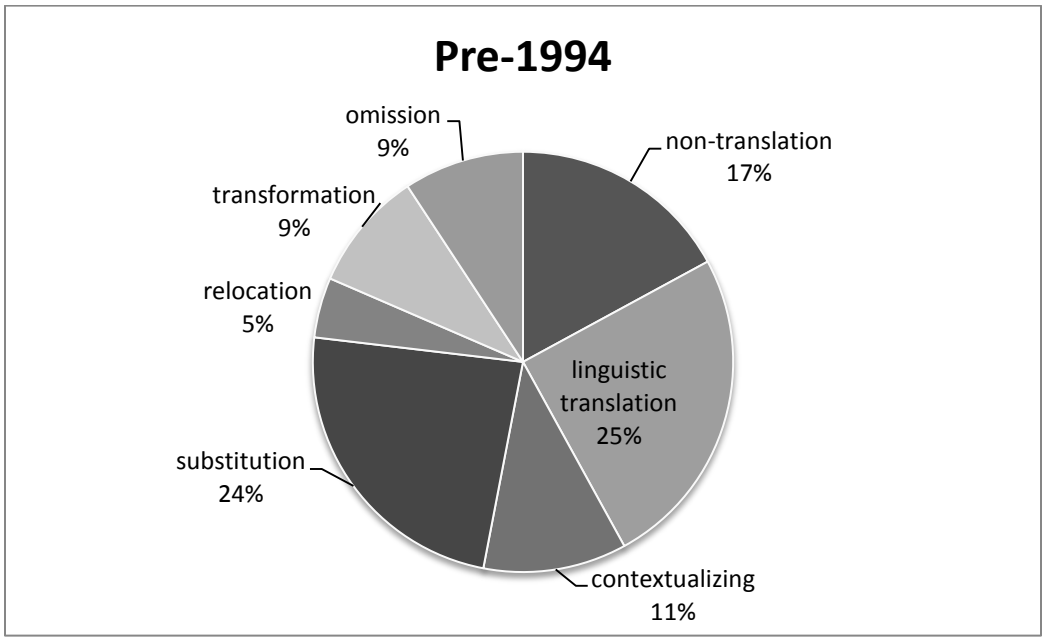
	NT	LT	C	S	R	T	O	TOTAL
BÖ	17%	29%	9%	19%	3%	7%	17%	274
DSR	22%	26%	16%	23%	3%	7%	2%	122
LSS	37%	18%	18%	15%	3%	2%	7%	209
MEUT	43%	27%	16%	11%	3%	0%	0%	237
TOTAL	30%	25%	14%	16%	3%	4%	8%	842

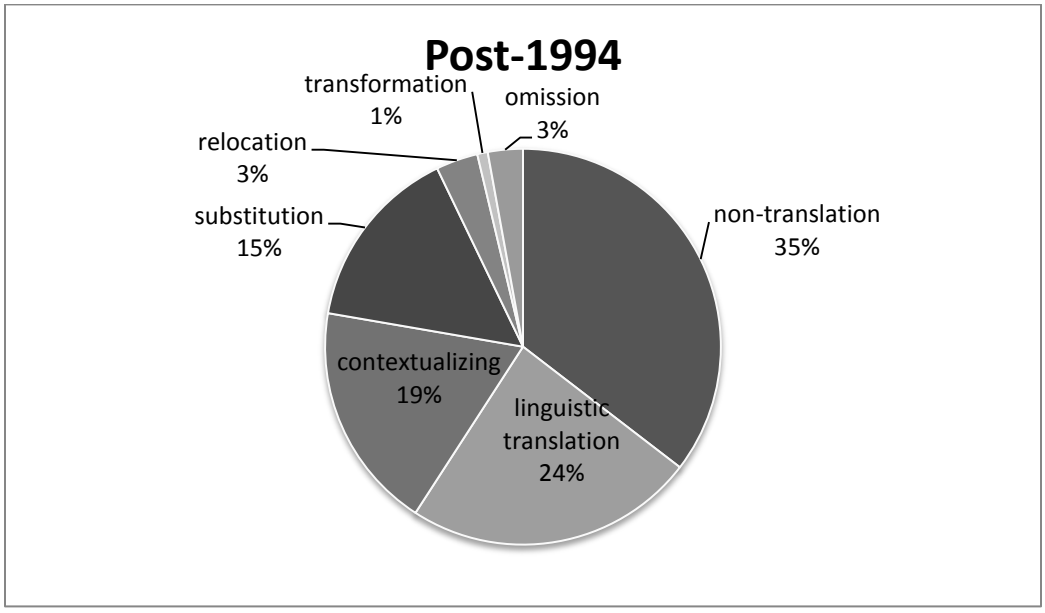
This chart gives an overview of the use of all translation strategies in all books. It shows that overall, the non-domesticating linguistic translation and non-translation are the most commonly-used strategies, used 25% and 30% of the time respectively. The picture changes, however, when the pre-1994 and post-1994 translations are viewed separately:

	NT	LT	C	S	R	T	O	TOTAL
BÖ	17%	29%	9%	19%	3%	7%	17%	274
DSR	22%	26%	16%	23%	3%	7%	2%	122
TOTAL	19%	28%	11%	20%	3%	7%	12%	396

	NT	LT	C	S	R	T	O	TOTAL
LSS	37%	18%	18%	15%	3%	2%	7%	209
MEUT	43%	27%	16%	11%	3%	0%	0%	237
TOTAL	40%	23%	17%	13%	3%	1%	3%	446

Recall that the translation strategies, as they are presented in this chart, are on a scale from least (on the left) to most (on the right) domesticating, and that the line separating "foreignizing" from "domesticating" is between the categories of contextualizing and substitution. The differences between pre- and post-1994 data can be better visualized in pie-chart form:



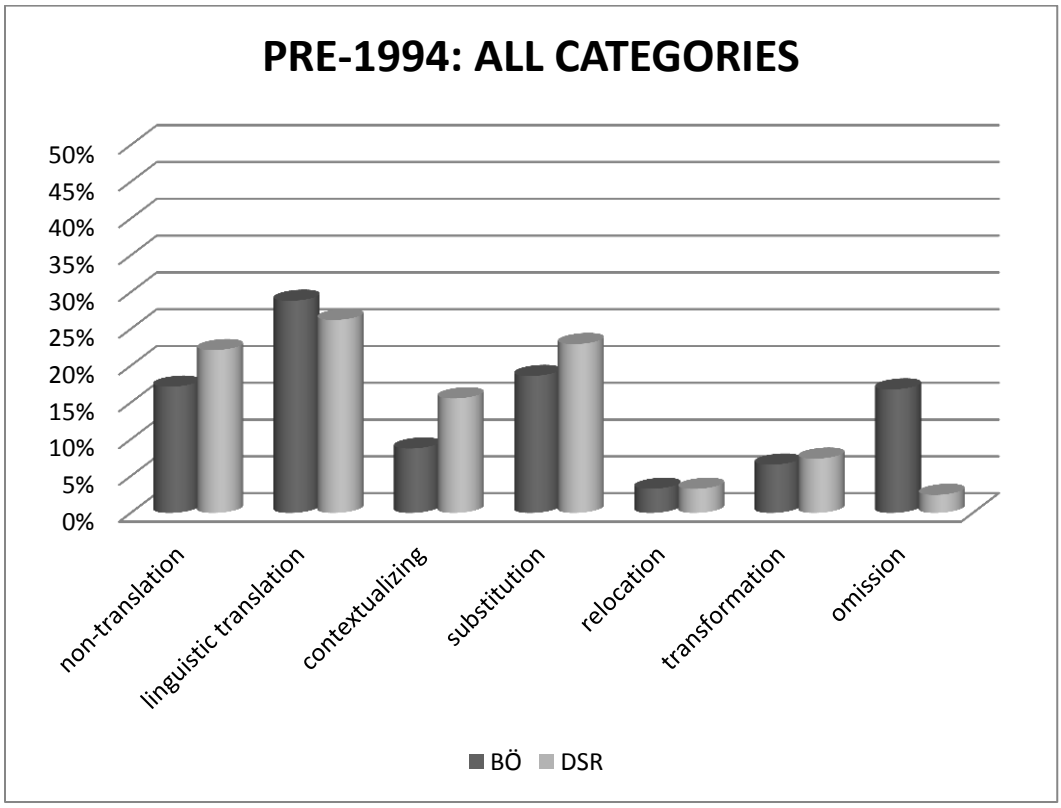


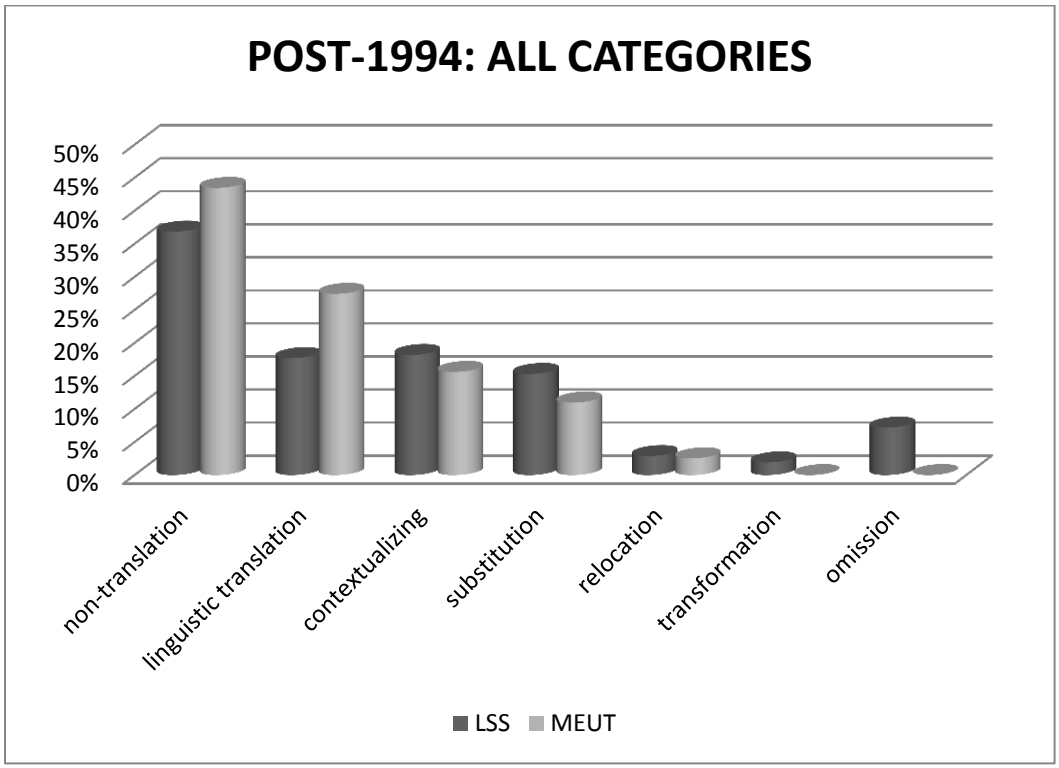
Let us look at the frequency of each category per book, one at a time. In the pre-1994 novels, the strategies in order from most to least common are linguistic translation (28%), substitution (20%), non-translation (18%), omission (13%), contextualizing (11%), transformation (7%), and relocation (3%). In the post-1994 novels, the most common strategy is

non-translation (40%), followed by linguistic translation (23%), contextualizing (17%), substitution (13%), substitution and omission (3% each), and transformation (1%). In the earlier novels, then, the most common translation strategy is a foreignizing one, the second-most common is domesticating, and the third most common is foreignizing; in the later novels the top three strategies are all foreignizing ones—and in order from most to least foreignizing, at that.

If we look instead at each translation strategy across all four novels, we find a few interesting things. For one, the numbers are quite different across some strategies. For the most extreme strategies on either end of the spectrum we find quite a range: for non-translation from 17% (BÖ) to 43% (MEUT) and for omission from 0% (MEUT) to 18% (BÖ). The middle of the spectrum differs less drastically among the novels: linguistic translation ranges from 18% (LSS) to 29% (BÖ) and contextualizing from 9% (BÖ) to 18% (LSS). Two of the strategies—relocation and transformation—were not very commonly used in any of the books. The frequency of relocation was 3% for all books, and transformation ranged from 0% (MEUT) to 7% (DSR).

This data indicates that in the earlier translations the most common strategies are linguistic translation and substitution, which together account for nearly fifty percent of the translations. In the later translations, however, the most common strategies are non-translation and linguistic translation—together making up more than sixty percent of the translations. Another way to visualize this data is in bar graphs (on the next page; note that the vertical axis of the graph stops at 50%).


PRE-1994: ALL CATEGORIES
50%
45%
40%
35%
30%
25%
20%
15%
10%
5%
0%
non-translation
linguistic translation
contextualizing
substitution
relocation
transformation
omission
BÖ
DSR


POST-1994: ALL CATEGORIES
50%
45%
40%
35%
30%
25%
20%
15%
10%
5%
0%
non-translation
linguistic translation
contextualizing
substitution
relocation
transformation
omission
LSS
MEUT

These two graphs indicate that in the later translations the strategies have shifted more toward the non-domesticating levels of translation: non-translation, linguistic translation, and contextualizing. This also holds up if we look solely at the two categories of foreignizing and domesticating. In the pre-1994 translations, 57% of the cultural know-how translations are dealt with using foreignizing techniques, while the remaining 43% use domesticating techniques. In the post-1994 translations, those numbers have changed to 80% and 20%, respectively.

It should be noted, however, that the use of each translation strategy varies widely by book, even within the "before" and "after" categories—for example, omission is the strategy used for 17% of the cultural know-how translations in BÖ but only 2% of those in DSR, while DSR has 16% contextualizing compared to 9% in BÖ. This is another signal that the results of this study might turn out differently with different books; a more extensive study using a greater number of books from each time period, especially by different authors, would be of great use in the future.

RESULTS: PLACE NAMES AS A SPECIAL CATEGORY

The treatment of place names in translation seemed quite different than the treatment of non-place names, especially in *Barnens Ö,* where nearly 30% of place names were omitted (compared to just 12% omission across all the other categories). Place names also made up a relatively large portion—almost exactly one quarter—of my data set. For these reasons I wanted to make sure that the seemingly more-domesticating treatment of place names wasn't skewing my results and making it seem as though domesticating strategies were more common across the

board in the pre-1994 novels when in reality only the place names were treated so conservatively.

After I re-labeled the entries in the place-name category and included the two new translation levels of half-translation and name modification, I calculated the percentages of use for each translation level for the place names and for all categories but place names. The charts below show the relative use of each translation strategy. Abbreviations for the new translation levels are HT for half-translation and NM for name modification.

Place Names

	NT	LT	C	HT	S	NM	R	T	O	TOTAL
BÖ	17%	0%	7%	27%	11%	9%	0%	0%	28%	88
DSR	38%	0%	23%	19%	8%	12%	0%	0%	0%	26
LSS	50%	0%	10%	13%	13%	0%	0%	3%	13%	40
MEUT	66%	4%	13%	13%	2%	4%	0%	0%	0%	56
TOTAL	39%	1%	11%	20%	9%	6%	0%	0%	14%	210

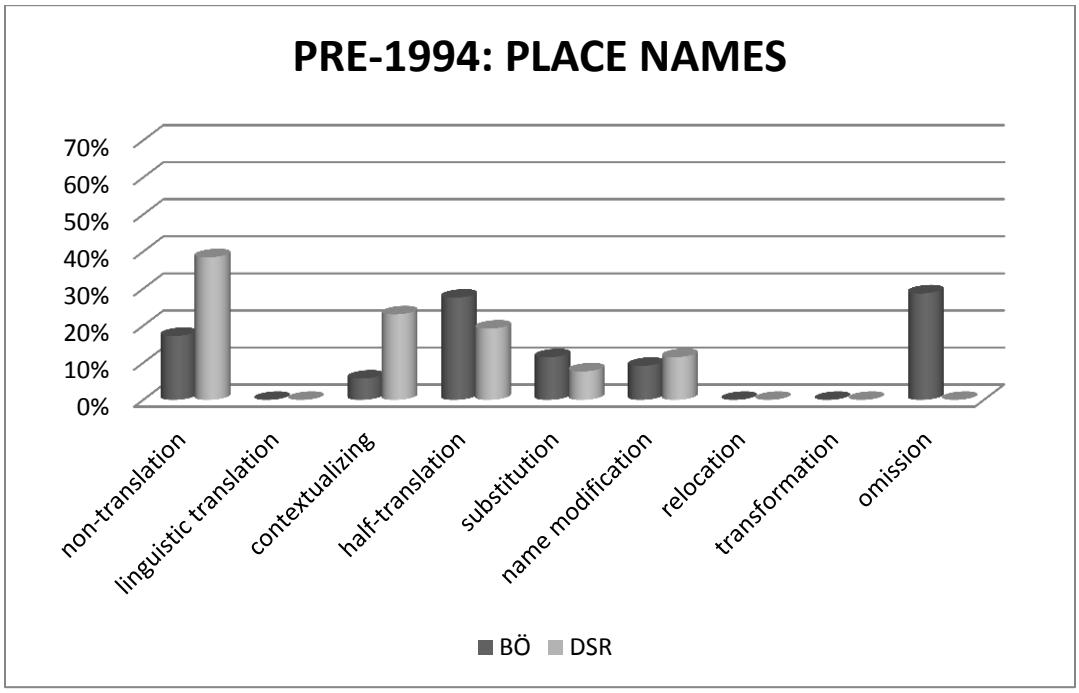
All Other Categories

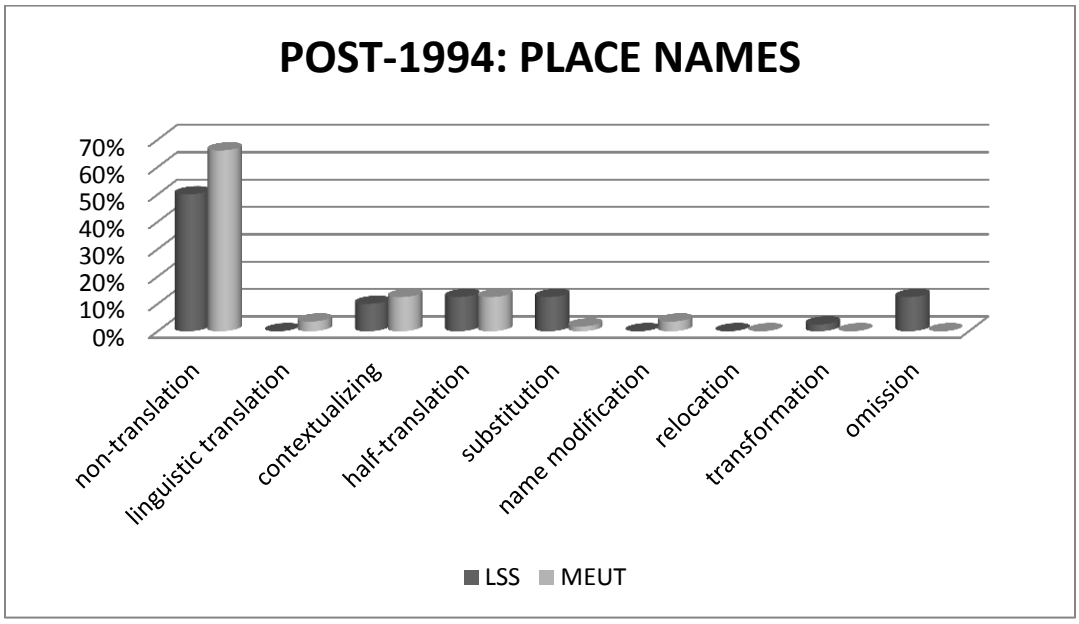
	NT	LT	C	S	R	T	O	TOTAL
BÖ	17%	25%	10%	22%	5%	9%	12%	185
DSR	18%	25%	14%	27%	4%	9%	3%	96
LSS	34%	18%	20%	17%	4%	2%	6%	169
MEUT	36%	29%	17%	14%	3%	0%	0%	181
TOTAL	27%	24%	15%	19%	4%	5%	6%	631

Here we can clearly see that the strategy of linguistic translation (accounting for 24% of translations in non-place-name categories) is replaced in the place name category, as expected,

with half-translation and name-modification (together totaling 26% of translations). We can also see that the extreme strategies on either end of the scale, non-translation and omission, are used more frequently with place names than with the other categories. In the case of non-translation, interestingly, the rate goes up quite a bit in all books except BÖ. In the case of omission, however, the rate for place names increases 17% in BÖ but only 7% in LSS and 3% in DSR (it remains at 0% in MEUT).

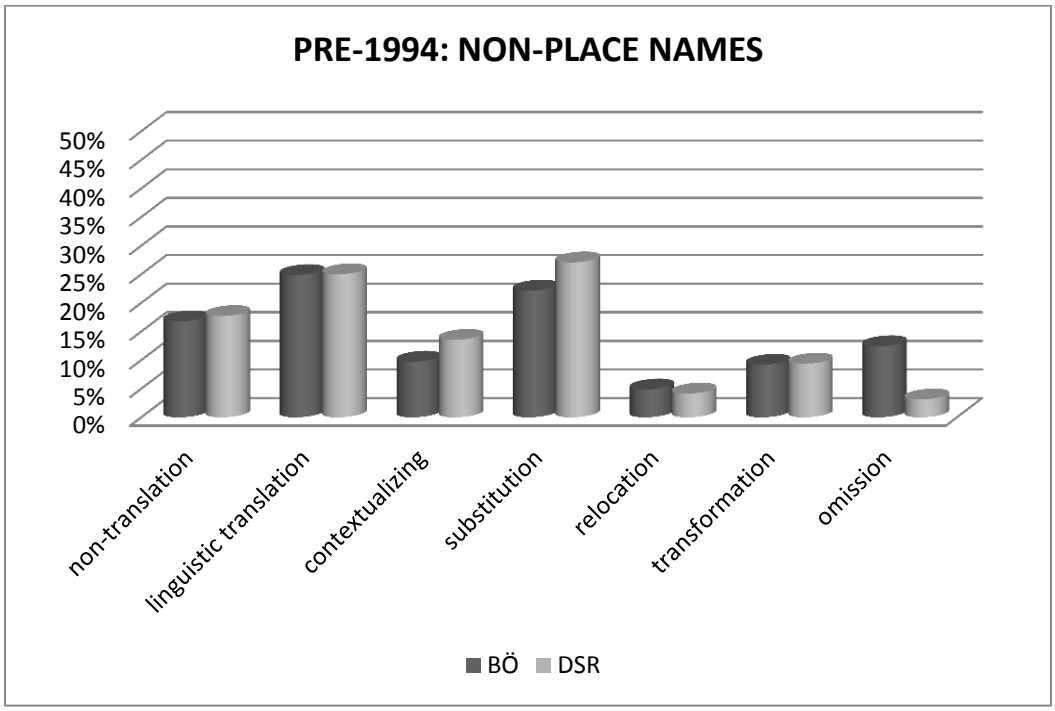
The following are bar graphs comparing the treatment of place names in the pre-1994 and post-1994 translations:

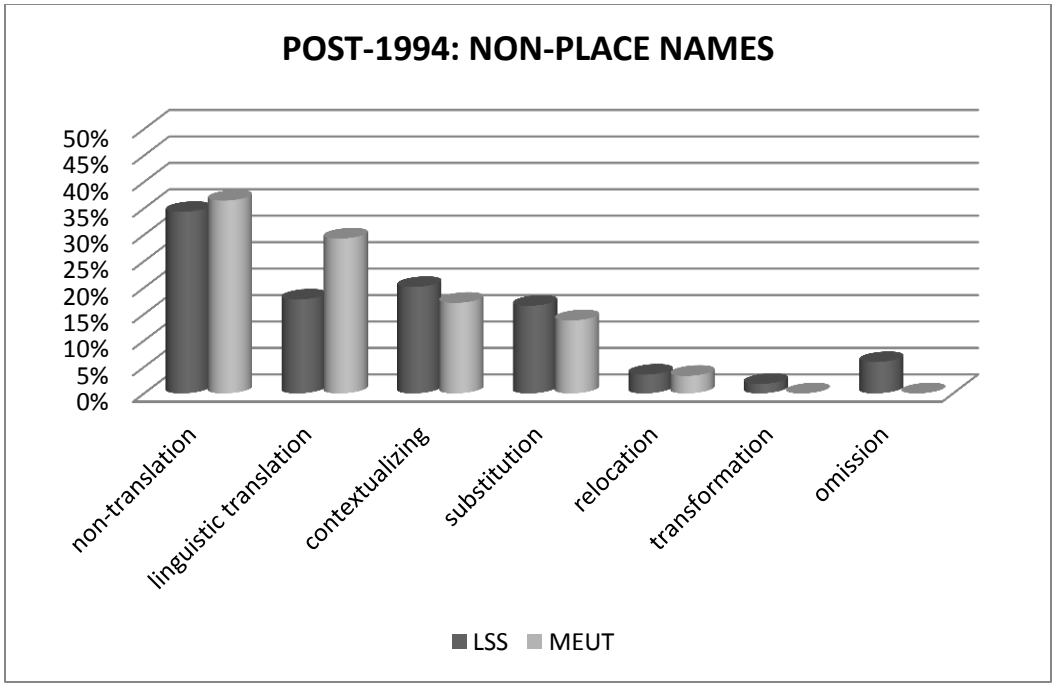

PRE-1994: PLACE NAMES
70%
60%
50%
40%
30%
20%
10%
0%
non-translation
linguistic translation
contextualizing
half-translation
substitution
name modification
relocation
transformation
omission
BÖ
DSR


POST-1994: PLACE NAMES
70%
60%
50%
40%
30%
20%
10%
0%
non-translation
linguistic translation
contextualizing
half-translation
substitution
name modification
relocation
transformation
omission
LSS
MEUT

These charts indicate that while in the pre-1994 novels, the translation strategies for place names were spread throughout the scale and strategies from non-translation to omission were used—especially in BÖ, where, as predicted, there is a spike in omissions—the post-1994 translators did in fact make more use of foreignizing strategies, particularly non-translation. Overall, 58% of the place-name translations in the pre-1994 books made use of foreignizing strategies (non-translation, linguistic translation, contextualizing, and half-translation), while 85% of place-name translations in the post-1994 books used foreignizing strategies. Compare this to the figures from all categories, as discussed earlier: there, the percentage of use of foreignizing strategies was 57% for the pre-1994 books and 80% for the post-1994 books. Thus the same general trend of a greater use of foreignizing techniques in the later books still holds for place names when they are examined separately.

It is also important to examine the translation levels in use for all categories when place names are excluded from the data set. Only by comparing all categories but place names to the entire data set can I determine whether it holds that foreignizing techniques are used more frequently in the later translations. The following bar graphs compare the frequency of all translation levels in the two sets of books in all categories except place names.


PRE-1994: NON-PLACE NAMES
50%
45%
40%
35%
30%
25%
20%
15%
10%
5%
0%
non-translation
linguistic translation
contextualizing
substitution
relocation
transformation
omission
BÖ
DSR


POST-1994: NON-PLACE NAMES
50%
45%
40%
35%
30%
25%
20%
15%
10%
5%
0%
non-translation
linguistic translation
contextualizing
substitution
relocation
transformation
omission
LSS
MEUT

We can see in these graphs that even for all other categories of word and phrase, the translation strategies are more spread out across the scale in the pre-1994 translations, while there is a clear trend toward foreignizing (and *more* foreignizing) strategies in the post-1994 translations. In this group, 53% of translations in the pre-1994 books make use of foreignizing techniques, compared to 78% of those in the post-1994 books.

The varying frequency of foreignizing translation strategies used across both sets of novels and all permutations of data sets can be summarized in the following table:

Use of foreignizing strategies	All categories	Place names	Non-place names
Pre-1994 Translations	57%	58%	53%
Post-1994 Translations	80%	85%	78%

It is clear from this chart and those above that while the treatment of place names in these translation is somewhat different from the treatment of non-place names, the pattern is the same in all three sets: the more recent translations make greater use of the more foreignizing translation techniques than do the earlier translations. There is clear support for my hypothesis in this data.

STUDY LIMITATIONS

While the results from the study of these books do indicate a change in translation methods from before and after the Web, it is wise to be cautious about generalizing the results to all translations of literature from Swedish to English for several reasons. For one, the correlation between post-Web translations and more instances of foreignizing does not necessarily mean that the Internet is the only or main cause for the change. There could be other factors at play, of

which Internet access is only a part. It is possible, for example, that the increase in globalization during the past few decades (in which the Internet, of course, plays a large part) has also made readers generally more comfortable with new information from cultures other than their own.

Furthermore, my method does not take context into consideration, and context is crucial to the decision-making process of the translator. It is also possible that my results are heavy on proper nouns (especially when it comes to place names) but as we have seen this changes results only slightly. And of course, this is only a sample of four books (and four translators) from among many, many others translated from Swedish to English.

The items of cultural knowledge in my data set are all words and phrases that I consider likely to create a mismatch with American culture. Perhaps another reader might not agree that each entry should be considered a mismatch; I have admittedly been quite strict in my interpretation of culturally foreign information. For example, the entry "rödbetssallad," from LSS is a beet salad (and is translated as such in *The Girl Who Kicked the Hornet's Nest*)—but does "beet salad" really constitute a mismatch? I believe that it does, because rödbetssallad is a particular *kind* of beet salad, containing mayonnaise and often served at Christmas. "Beet salad" in the U.S., I would argue, is a generic term for a cold salad containing beets; it could have any number of other ingredients or dressings.

In addition, I read and labeled all the translations from an American perspective, but the translators of the two earlier translations are British. This could potentially create further mismatches between English (the translated words and phrases) and American (my labels) culture, but I have done my best to take this possibility into account and research any seemingly odd translations to make sure that I am not misled by accurate translations that are culturally

foreign to me. One example is the translation of "geléhallon" (a classic Swedish raspberry gumdrop) to "raspberry jelly" in BÖ. This translation struck me as inaccurate, but I thought perhaps "jelly" was a British-English word for gumdrop. It turns out, however, that British-English jelly is a gelatin dessert, or what we in the United States refer to as Jell-O, so my original labeling of this term with the translation level "transformation" was accurate.

Finally, it is important to consider that one of the translations I used is my own, and although I made every effort to treat it no differently from the other translations, it is impossible to say with certainty that I did not have some unconscious bias toward my own work.

CHAPTER CONCLUSION

However, limitations aside, the data from these particular four books supports my hypothesis. There is evidence here that the two books translated post-Web do, in fact, use less-domesticating strategies at a greater frequency than those translated pre-Web. This trend holds when assessing the data as a whole (cultural information from all categories) and when assessing place names as a stand-alone group. Even given the limitations of the study, the examination of the translation of cultural knowledge in these four novels provides objective evidence that the way translators deal with mismatched cultural information in Swedish-to-English literary translation has changed over the past few decades.

CHAPTER 5

THE TRANSLATORS

This chapter examines subjective evidence that the tools of translation have changed since the advent of the Web. Data comes from a survey of translators who are involved in Swedish-to-English translation (including translators who translate into British English, for in many cases British translators translate for American publishers, and vice versa). Further data is in the form of a case study based on a Web-access diary that I kept while translating a novel. The data collected indicate that translators today depend upon the Internet and Web as a crucial tool when solving translation problems.

THE SURVEY—STRUCTURE

The survey began with a consent-form text explaining the purpose of the study, as well as its anticipated risks and benefits (of which there were none). It was made clear that the survey was aimed at translators who have Swedish>English as a language pair. The consent-form text also informed potential participants that their participation was anonymous (no names, IP addresses, or other information would be recorded) and that they were in no way obligated to begin or complete the study and could quit at any time. The survey itself consisted of up to fifteen questions (certain answers to some questions triggered a jump to the end of the survey—a participant whose answers took him or her through all questions answered a total of fifteen). The questions will be examined here individually to explain the purpose behind each.

Question 1 asked "Are you at least 18 years of age?" and was answerable through simple "**yes**" or "**no**" radio buttons. A participant who answered "yes" moved on to Question 2, while one who answered "no" skipped to the end of the survey and answered no more questions. This was to ensure that all participants were over age 18, a requirement of my IRB exemption.

Question 2 asked, "Do you translate professionally (i.e. are you paid to translate by a client, publisher, agency, etc.)?" Again, the participant could answer either **"yes"** or **"no,"** and a "no" answer would bring the participant to the end of the survey; (s)he would answer no more questions. I wanted to ensure that only professional translators, rather than those who translate for school or a hobby, and so on, would complete the survey.

Question 3 asked, "Is Swedish to English your primary language pair?" The participant could answer **"yes"** or **"no, my primary language pair is"** with a space to enter a primary language pair. This question, along with questions 4 and 5, was included to give me an overview of the types of translators answering the survey. While I planned to contact translators through outlets that would nearly guarantee that they worked in Swedish-to-English, I was curious to know whether Swedish-to-English was each translator's main language pair. Not having Swedish-to-English as a primary pair did not bar the participant from continuing the survey, however; as recruiting was aimed solely at members of Swedish-to-English translation associations and the requirement of translating Swedish-to-English was made clear in the invitation email.

Question 4 asked, "What is your primary translation specialization?" Here participants had a choice between five answers: **Medical, Legal, Technical, Literary,** and **Other**. A participant who chose "Other" would be asked to specify a specialization. I did not

want to limit my survey to *only* literary translators who worked in Swedish>English, because I feared this would severely limit the pool of translators eligible to take the survey. This question was meant to enable me to see if literary translators' responses differed appreciably from non-literary translators without excluding non-literary translators from the survey.

Question 5 asked, "Do you translate literature from Swedish to English?" The available answers were **"yes"** and **"no."** Like question 4, this question would allow me to examine Swedish>English literary translators' responses separately from others, if necessary.

Question 6 asked, "When doing your translation work, which of the following types of resources do you use? Select all that apply." The potential answers were (in list form for ease of reading):

- Online resources (online dictionaries, search engines, other Websites)
- Electronic resources (computer-based resources that are stored on a hard drive, such as a dictionary program or Computer-Aided Translation program)
- Non-digital resources (books, other printed material)
- Other (please specify)

If the participant chose "other," he or she could specify other resources in a blank space. If "online resources" was *not* selected, the participant would be skipped ahead to Question 8 (bypassing further questions about use of online resources). With this question, I hoped to discover whether many translators relied on online resources, either with or without other resources. The answers I received for this question would confirm or deny my assumption that most translators today use the Web in their translation work.

Question 7 asked, "Which of the following types of online resources do you use when you translate? Select all that apply." The thirteen potential answers, again in list form, were

- Search engines (e.g. Google, Bing, DuckDuckGo)
- Wikipedia
- Online thesauri
- Online monolingual dictionaries
- Online bilingual dictionaries
- Websites of a government agency
- Websites of a private company
- Image search engines (e.g. Google Image)
- Online maps (e.g. Google Maps, Mapquest)
- Online term banks (e.g. Eurotermbank, Rikstermbanken)
- Online corpora
- Other (please specify)
- I do not use online resources

Participants who chose "other" could specify what other online resources they used in a write-in space. These thirteen options were based on categories of online resources I have used in my own work or read about as potential resources useful to translators, as discussed in chapter two. This question was meant to give me an idea of what sorts of resources translators routinely use and would potentially support the claims made in chapter two where I recount the types of resources I have used in my own translation.

Question 8 asked, "Crowdsourcing is a term for using social media (such as Facebook or Twitter) to ask a large number of people a question simultaneously. Have you ever used crowdsourcing to get an answer to a translation problem?" The potential answers to this question were **"yes"** and **"no."** The answers to this question would tell me whether social media played a part in translators' problem-solving. Recall from chapter three that social media and other interactive Web uses are considered a part of Web 2.0, and (despite being nearly a decade old) are still a newer Web trend. It is clear that translators are encouraged to use the Web

for self-promotional purposes,[132] but I wanted to know whether this more active rather than passive use of Web resources has received a place in the "translator's toolbox."

Question 9 asked, "Imagine a typical hour of translation work. How many times during this hour would you make use of an online resource, on average?" The available answers were **"0 times," "1-2 times," "3-4 times,"** and **"5 or more times."** Here my goal was to determine the frequency of Web resource use. It is one thing for a translator to say that (s)he uses online resources in general, but I wanted to know how often the average translator turns to the Web for help. When composing this question, it was difficult to determine the time frame I should use for a reference point. "A day of translating" seemed too inexact, because one translator's day might be an hour or two while another's might be more than eight hours. "A page of translating" would be problematic because all pages are not alike—pages of dialogue might move quickly and require little research, while pages of description might take much longer and require a great deal of research. For these reasons I settled on "an hour of translating" as a standard for measuring frequency of online resource access.

Question 10 asked, "Did you translate professionally before you had access to online resources?" A participant could answer **"yes," "no,"** or **"I do not currently have access to online resources when I translate"** to this question. If a participant did not answer "yes" to this question, (s)he would skip to the end of the survey. A participant who did answer yes moved on to question 11.

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[132] See, for example, an article in the *ATA Chronicle*, the monthly magazine of the American Translators Association, about maximizing social media use for promotion: Nataly Kelly, "Using Social Media to Boost Your Language Services Business." This article is available online at http://www.atanet.org/chronicle/feature_article_march2011.php.

Question 11 asked, "Do you feel that having access to online resources changed the way you did the work of translation?" The potential answers were **"yes"** and **"no."** A participant who answered "yes" would move on to question 12. A participant who answered "no" would skip question 12 and move to question 13.

Question 12 asked, "Please give examples of how having access to online resources changed the way you did the work of translation." The answer was in free-writing form; the participant could write as much or as little in response as (s)he wished. (S)he also had the option to skip the question; if no answer was given (s)he was prompted once for an answer but was able to move on without giving one if desired. With this question I hoped to hear from translators who had experienced being a working translator both before and after the Web to see how they perceived the change in tools and its effect on the process of translating. I was curious to see if they experienced the changes as mostly positive or negative. This question, along with questions 13 and 15, could potentially support my overall claims that the Web has fundamentally changed both the way translators work and their final products as well.

Question 13 asked, "Do you feel that having access to online resources changed the amount of time it took you to complete a translation project?" The potential answers were **"Yes; I finish translations more quickly," "Yes; it takes me longer to finish translations"** and **"No."** My main reason for asking this question is because, as a translator who has only worked *with* access to online resources, it seems to me that working without online resources could only be much more time-consuming. Yet this could be a faulty assumption and I was curious about the experiences of translators who actually experienced the shift in resources.

Question 14 asked, "Do you feel that having access to online resources changed the final product of your translations?" The possible answers were **"yes"** and **"no."** Participants who answered "yes" would move on to question 15, while those who answered "no" would skip to the end of the survey. This question is perhaps the most important one in the survey. My argument throughout this thesis has been that the Web has fundamentally changed the process and products of Swedish-to-English literary translation. This argument has been supported by the limited, objective data from four translated novels in chapter four, but my argument would be severely weakened if a good number of practicing Swedish-to-English translators did not agree with it.

Question 15 asked, "Please give examples of how access to online resources changed the final product of your translations." Like question 13, the answer was in free-writing form, and the participant could answer as briefly or lengthily as (s)he wished. Here I hoped to gain an understanding of how translators who worked both before and after the Web perceived that the products of their work had changed as a result of access to online resources.

SURVEY DISTRIBUTION

I wrote and hosted my online survey on Qualtrics, a survey service to which the University of Wisconsin-Madison has a subscription. This survey software was available to me free of charge. Prior to activating and distributing the survey, I applied to the Institutional Review Board of UW-Madison in order to receive an IRB exemption for my survey; my exemption was granted on January 11, 2013. My survey was active for 17 days. I sent the survey link and a recruiting email out to the mailing lists of two professional translators' groups,

Swedish Translators in North America (STiNA; I am currently Secretary-Treasurer of this group) and the Swedish-English Literary Translators' Association (SELTA), a group based in England. STiNA consists of about 30 members, while SELTA consists of more than 22 (only 22 currently choose to display their affiliation on the Website[133]). I also invited translators to forward the survey link to any translators of Swedish>English who may not have received the link by way of a membership. Because communication between publishers and translators, including job offers and submission of work, currently takes place electronically,[134] working translators are virtually guaranteed to have and use an Internet connection and email address even if each translator does not also use the Internet to do the work of translation. Furthermore, not all translators will congregate in the same online spaces, such as online forums. This is why an email invitation (rather than an invitation distributed online) was likely to reach even those translators who do not use online resources. While there is no way of knowing exactly how many people my survey invitation reached, I can assume that at least 50 people saw the invitation given the membership numbers of the two associations I sent it to.

THE SURVEY—RESULTS AS REPORTED

My survey closed on March 14, 2013, after which I could access all of the data as a whole and by individual anonymous participant. In all, 30 people took the survey. This suggests an estimated response rate of 50% if I assume that about 60 people were reached by the

[133] "SELTA Members," The Swedish-English Literary Translators' Association, 2013. http://www.selta.org.uk/selta-members.php .

[134] "Interpreters and Translators: Work Environment." Bureau of Labor Statistics, June 26, 2012. http://www.bls.gov/ooh/Media-and-Communication/Interpreters-and-translators.htm#tab-3 .

recruiting email. This is a good rate of response; 30% is considered an average response rate for an online survey.[135]

In the following, I examine the results as a whole, question by question, beginning with the questions that give information about the participants. To **Question 1**, all 30 participants indicated that they were over 18 years of age, so none were eliminated from the survey by that question. To **Question 2**, 28 participants answered that they translate professionally. 1 answered no and was eliminated from the survey. 1 participant skipped the question. Two participants stopped answering questions after Question 2, bringing the total participants to 27 at this stage.

At **Question 3**, 22 participants (81%) answered that Swedish>English is their primary language pair. Five participants answered that they had another primary language. Two of these reported that their language pair is French>English; and there was one participant each for the pairs Finnish>English, Estonian>English, and Norwegian>English.

Nearly half of the participating translators (13 of them, for 48%) indicated that their primary specialization is in literary translation at **Question 4**. Two participants (7%) specialized in legal translation. The remaining 12 participants (44%) chose "other." Five of those choosing "other" had general or multiple specializations. Other specializations given included business, drama, environment, promotional material, and academic translations. One participant stopped taking the survey after Question 4, bringing the total number of participants to 26.

In **Question 5**, the data indicates that even though only 48% of the participants considered literary translation to be their primary specialization, 88% (23 participants) translated literature from Swedish to English. (Interestingly, all but one of the participants who did not

[135] "Response Rates," University of Texas at Austin Instructional Assessment Resources, Sept. 21, 2011. http://www.utexas.edu/academic/ctl/assessment/iar/teaching/gather/method/survey-Response.php .

have Swedish>English as a primary language pair did translate literature from Swedish to English.) Only 3 participants (12%) did not translate Swedish>English literature at all.

I now move into questions about the resources translators use in their work. In **Question 6**, translators were asked which sorts of resources they use and could choose as many as applied. Twenty-five translators (96%) indicated that they use online resources. The same number indicated that they use non-digital resources such as books. Fourteen participants (54%) indicated that they use electronic resources (such as CAT programs or other programs that reside on the hard drive). Ten participants (38%) chose the "other" category. Nine of those who chose "other" indicated that they use other people as a resource: native speakers, friends in Sweden, other readers, or specialists. One used online mailing lists. One used glossaries compiled based on previous translation work. One participant even anticipated an upcoming question and listed "crowdsourcing" as a resource. The single participant who did not use online resources indicated that he or she does still use the Internet in his or her work—by emailing a friend for help.

Because it has so many potential answers, **Question 7** is best examined as a bar graph.

#	Answer	Bar	Response	%
1	Search engines (e.g. Google, Bing, DuckDuckGo)		25	100%
2	Wikipedia		23	92%
3	Online thesauri		15	60%
4	Online monolingual dictionaries		16	64%
5	Online bilingual dictionaries		20	80%
6	Websites of a government agency		18	72%
7	Websites of a private company		16	64%
8	Image search engines (e.g. Google Image)		16	64%
9	Online maps (e.g. Google Maps, Mapquest)		11	44%
10	Online term banks (e.g. Eurotermbank, Rikstermbanken)		10	40%
11	Online corpora		5	20%
12	Other (please specify)		3	12%
13	I do not use online resources		0	0%

It is important to recall that only those participants who indicated that they use online resources were asked to answer what sort of online resources were used (Option 13 in Question 7 was included as a sort of "failsafe"). Because one participant indicated that he or she did not use any online resources, only 25 participants answered Question 7. Yet 96% of translators answering this survey indicated that they do use online resources, and in the answers to Question 7 we can see some of the ways in which they use online resources in their translation work.

Of the eleven specific categories I inquired about, there are three that are used by more than 75% of translators questioned. Of the 25 participants who use online resources, 100% of them use search engines. This is hardly surprising, as a search engine is a gateway to more information. Nearly as many, 92%, use Wikipedia. 80% use online bilingual dictionaries.

There are five categories of online resource that between 50-75% of participating translators use. These are government agency Websites (used by 72% of those answering), online monolingual dictionaries, Websites of a private company, and image search engines (each used by 64%), and online thesauri (60%).

Three categories of online resources are used by 25-50% of answering translators: 44% indicated that they use online maps, 40% use online term banks, and 20% of translators indicated that they use online corpora. This relatively low percentage of corpora users is particularly interesting in light of my finding (which is discussed further in chapter six) that current theoretical and practical guides to translation focus mainly on online corpora, to the exclusion of other online resources, when discussing translators' use of the Internet.

Only three participants, or 12%, could think of another online resource they use that was not already covered in this data. The three "other" answers given were blogs, online

encyclopedias (presumably differing from Wikipedia in that they are not written by volunteer contributors and editable by all), and WordFinder. (WordFinder is a Swedish company that sells software for electronic dictionaries and licenses dictionaries of various language pairs and specialties, but it also has an online subscription service.)

Question 8 was also concerned with specific online resource use, but since it required more explanation it was separate from the more self-explanatory resources in Question 7. To Question 8, 15 (60%) of respondents indicated that they do not use crowdsourcing to find an answer to translation problems, while 10% do.

At **Question 9,** 10 translators (40% of those who use online resources) indicated that they use online resources 5 or more times, on average, during one hour of translation work. Eight (32%) estimate their online resource use at 3-4 times per hour, while 7 (28%) chose 1-2 times per hour. Zero translators estimated their online resource use at 0 times per hour.

At **Question 10,** 17 translators (65%) indicated that they translated professionally before they had access to online resources. These participants moved on in the survey, while the remaining 9 participants (35%) indicated that they did not translate professionally before having access to online resources and were thus done with the survey.

Thirteen participants (76%) answered **Question 11** by indicating that they feel that access to online resources changed the way they did the work of translation. These participants were asked to answer the next question, which was in free-answer format, while the remaining 4 participants (24%) skipped to Question 13.

At **Question 12,** all 13 participants who answered "yes" to Question 11 gave examples, in their own words, of how access to online resources has changed the way they do the work of

translation. Most of the responses deal with ease of access to information and time-saving aspects of online resources. I will paraphrase and summarize their examples. Five of the 13 respondents cited the ability to do research from home as a major change in the way they work. Several indicated that they no longer have to save up their queries for a trip to the library; they can look up difficult words and concepts as they come across them instead. In this way they save time. Two participants also said that online resources have made it less likely that they would need to call up an informant, while another noted that it is now easier to find experts or groups of knowledgeable people via the Internet should one need to speak with an expert; contact can be made via e-mail.

Four participants indicated that the Internet has changed the way they deal with specialized or technical terms, with one of these maintaining that he or she would find technical translation impossible without online resources. Another sees a negative side to the influence of the Internet and feels that translators are under much more pressure to be very accurate at all times. Three participants specifically mentioned that they find image searches helpful when dealing with specialized terminology.

Three respondents found that online dictionaries have changed the way they work. One appreciates not having to purchase entire dictionaries (in Norwegian and Danish, for example) for words that only come up occasionally in a Swedish text; instead one can find Scandinavian (rather than just Swedish) dictionaries online. Another participant appreciates online access to the Oxford English Dictionary and *Svenska Akademiens Ordbok* (the Swedish Academy's Dictionary), I imagine because both are very large and expensive tomes in printed form but free

(to all in the case of the SAOB and through many libraries in the case of the OED[136]) and of course very portable in online form.

Three participants mentioned using the Internet when working with unfamiliar slang terms. A Google search brings up slang used in context and perhaps explanations of slang terms. One participant also mentions using Google to check dates, names, and so on, but notes that Google (or the sources found via Google) are not always as accurate or detailed as printed encyclopedias.

Proper names can be a difficult category for which to find correct or official translations, and three participants mentioned the relative ease of finding proper name translations via online resources. They specifically mentioned finding titles of works in translation, place names, and the official names of government or private entities. In a similar vein, one participant finds it much easier to search for quotations using the Internet. Finally, one participant said that he or she is more likely to check things overall than before having access to the Internet.

The same 17 participants who indicated that they translated professionally before having access to online resources were asked to answer **Question 13.** Here, nine participants (53%) indicated that they finish translations more quickly since having access to online resources. Two people (12%) find that it takes them longer to complete translations, while six (35%) do not find that the amount of time it takes them to complete translations has changed.

At **Question 14,** 13 (76%) of respondents indicated that they feel that access to online resources has changed the final product of their translations, and these 13 people were asked to

[136] "Does my library subscribe?" Oxford English Dictionary, 2013. http://public.oed.com/how-to-subscribe/does-my-library-subscribe/ .

complete another free-answer question. Four people (24%) felt that their final product is unaffected by access to online resources, and had thus completed the survey here.

The final question, **Question 15**, was answered by all 13 of the respondents who answered yes to Question 14. Ten of these indicated that their translations are more accurate thanks to access to online resources, either by actually using the word "accurate" (as seven of them did) or by giving examples of ways in which a translation might have been less accurate prior to Web access (one participant appreciates the ease with which one can now find quotes in the original rather than relying on a re- or back-translation; another finds Latin names for plants and flowers to make sure that the source-language and target-language names refer to the same species). Other examples of final-product changes were the use of maps and pictures to enhance a text with a particular geographic setting, keeping up with new terms, keeping up cultural competence (which would be noticeable in the final product), and finding unusual terms. Another cites access to greater numbers of resources overall (that respondent expects that this has had an effect on his or her final product but does not specify how).

Two respondents do find that their final product has changed, but are cautious about relying too much on Web sources. One suspects that he or she has been misled by online resources on occasion; another still prefers the reliability of printed dictionaries and specialized books even if he or she finds online resources helpful for promoting accuracy of some specialized terms.

THE SURVEY—INTERPRETATION OF RESULTS

While this study is limited by the small sample size, it is possible to draw some conclusions from the results. Perhaps most importantly, it is clear that nearly all translators of Swedish>English use the Internet in their work—only 1 out of 26 reported that he or she did not use online resources. It is also clear that Swedish>English translators use a variety of online resources, not just online reference works, as predicted in chapter three. It seems, too, that translators make frequent use of online resources, since 72% of responding translators indicate that they use an online resource more than twice in an average hour of work. It is worth noting that translators do not use online resources to the exclusion of more traditional print resources; only 1 out of 26 respondents claimed to use online but not print resources. Thus, for most translators, online resources are an important translation tool, but not the only tool.

Furthermore, there is subjective evidence from translators who worked before having access to the Web that such access has changed the way they do the work of translation. A total of 76% of pre- and post-Web translators found this to be the case. One of the main benefits of access to online resources appeared to be in saving time; 53% of respondents found this to be the case and indicated that they work faster. Yet two participants, or 12%, found that their translations took longer with access to the Web. One of these two participants noted that Web access gave them access to more resources, which he or she then made use of—possibly increasing translation time. The other indicated that he or she felt more pressure to be accurate at all times, which would also increase translation time.

Here it is interesting to note that while I did not specifically ask translators to determine whether access to online resources is largely a negative or positive development, the comments

suggest that most translators find it to be a positive change with just a few caveats. While drawbacks mentioned include a need to consider the accuracy of an online resource more than one might a published encyclopedia (for example), the suspicion that one has occasionally been misled by information on the Web, and the aforementioned pressure toward more accuracy, 12 of the 13 respondents to Question 12, or 92%, listed only positive or both positive and negative effects of access to online resources.

In chapter four, we saw evidence from published translations—the "final products" of translation—that the translation of cultural know-how was treated differently before and after the Web. Those four published translations were completed by four different translators, so it was not possible to compare a particular translator's work before and after the Web. From the survey data, however, we can see that many translators feel that access to the Web has changed the final product of their translation work. In fact, 76% of those who answered Question 15 find this to be the case, with 58% citing accuracy of their translations as a major change. While the survey did not specifically inquire about the translation of culturally specific knowledge, we can surmise that much cultural know-how falls into the categories of specialized terminology and cultural competence, which several participants noted are easier to research with online access.

The survey data suggests some interesting differences between translators who translated both before and after the Web and those who have only translated post-Web. The most striking difference is in the translators' use of crowdsourcing:

	Pre-Web	No Pre-Web
Crowdsourcing YES	19%	78%
Crowdsourcing NO	81%	22%

Participants who have always had access to online resources while translating were much more likely to make use of crowdsourcing (posting translation questions on social media like Facebook and Twitter where they could be seen by many people at once) than those who have translated both with and without access to social media. This is likely because younger people are more likely to use social media in general,[137] and many of those who did not translate before the Web may simply be younger people who began their careers after the Web. Another reason for the disparity may be that those who began translating before the Web learned their working habits prior to the existence of online social media, and those work habits do not translate to social media. "Passive" information seeking may translate well from printed materials to Google searching, but "active" information seeking like calling a friend prior to Web access is quite different from posting a question to a broad audience on Facebook or Twitter.

[137] Maeve Duggan and Joanna Brenner, "The Demographics of Social Media Users—2012," Pew Internet, February 14, 2013, http://pewInternet.org/Reports/2013/Social-media-users.aspx.

A minor difference is found in the average number of times per hour participants use online resources:

	Pre-Web	No Pre-Web
Time 1-2	38%	11%
Time 3-4	25%	44%
Time 5 or more	38%	44%

This data indicates that those who did not translate prior to having access to the Web are slightly more likely to use online resources more often than those who did translate prior to having Web access.

When it comes to the specific online resources the participants use, there seems to be no great difference in the types or amounts of online resources utilized by participants, as reported in Question 6. The following table shows the spread of number of online resources used (out of 11) by pre-Web and post-Web translators:

Number of Resources Used

By participant

Number of Resources	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
Pre-web	0	0	0	0	3	2	2	0	1	0	1
No pre-web	1	1	0	0	2	1	3	1	5	1	1

By percentage

Number of Resources	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
Pre-web	0%	0%	0%	0%	33%	22%	22%	0%	11%	0%	11%
No pre-web	6%	6%	0%	0%	13%	6%	19%	6%	31%	6%	6%

A Case Study: Web Use in Two Novel Translations

As another way to examine the kinds of online resources one might use in the course of one translation project, I kept a diary of my Web use during two translation projects. For one translation (of the crime novel *Room No. 10* by Åke Edwardson[138]), I kept track of examples of how and why I used online resources. For another translation (of the crime novel *Bad Blood* by Arne Dahl[139]), I kept track of how often I accessed various online resources. Both are likely incomplete records simply because it was difficult to remember to write down each time I used the Internet while translating (I would be in the 5+ times per hour category if I had taken my own survey). Yet these two case studies give an interesting picture of the breadth of resources I used and the number of times each. While my main resource when translating is a variety of dictionaries (housed on the Wordfinder program), it is clear from these diaries that I rely heavily on the Web to find solutions to some of the more difficult translations.

ROOM NO. 10

It should be stressed again that this is not a complete list of my Web use while translating *Room No. 10*. Among the resources I used are the usual ones anyone might use to seek information on the Web, such as Google and Wikipedia. I noted that I used Google for several purposes. One was to find words and phrases in other contexts to better understand what they meant in Swedish. Another was to check the frequency or existence of phrases I had guessed at the translations for, one example being whether "Alsace wine" is a phrase in English (it is). I also

[138] Åke Edwardson, *Room No. 10*, trans. Rachel Willson-Broyles (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2013).

[139] Arne Dahl, *Bad Blood*, trans. Rachel Willson-Broyles (New York: Pantheon, forthcoming August 2013).

used Google to find the proper English name of a bridge in Gothenburg called Götaälvbron (Göta Älvbron is its English name as well). Another common resource I used was Thesaurus.com, to find better synonyms for English words once I had translated those words from Swedish. Similarly, I used synonymer.se, a Swedish-language thesaurus site, to find synonyms for difficult Swedish words, so that I could look those words up in a bilingual dictionary. I also used an online conversion tool to convert degrees Celsius from degrees Fahrenheit and an online shoe-size chart to convert European shoe sizes to American ones.

I used Wikipedia in both English and Swedish a great deal in this translation. One reason was to look up equivalent American police titles for the Swedish ones found in the novel. I looked up the English name for Domkyrkan, a cathedral in Gothenburg. I used Wikipedia to learn what prussic acid is typically used for, since a character makes an offhand reference to "smoking a room" with it. I needed to know just what sort of beer and what size Swedes are asking for when they order a *stor stark* (the size is imprecise, as is the brand and variety, but it is generally a tap beer with more than 3.5% alcohol content)[140] I determined whether there is a widely-used English equivalent for the Swedish Donald Duck word *läskeblask*. (There is not—the original English words, such as "Gurgleurp soda pop,"[141] don't seem to be used outside the comic books, whereas *läskebläsk* is.) I learned the origin of the carbonated apple beverage Pommac (Sweden), compared soccer terms in Swedish and English, and found out whether the German community Hunawihr is spelled the same way in Swedish and English (it is). Wikipedia

[140] "Stor stark," Svenska Wikipedia, http://sv.wikipedia.org/wiki/Stor_stark, last accessed 17 April 2013.

[141] "Läskebläsk," Svenska Wikipedia, http://sv.wikipedia.org/wiki/L%C3%A4skeblask , last accessed 17 April 2013.

also helped me determine whether English speakers sometimes call twilight "the blue hour" (yes) and whether the verb *efterlysa* in Swedish can sometimes be roughly equivalent to putting out an All Points Bulletin in the U.S. (it can). Finally, I used Wikipedia to find out what the Swedish acronym LKC stands for (*Länskommunikationscentral*, or the regional police communication center).

On several occasions I used Web resources to see examples of the word I needed to translate. One example was mentioned earlier, in chapter three: the *pinnstol*/Windsor chair example. This novel was set in Gothenburg and frequently referred to buildings and landmarks around the city, so I used Google Maps to see where the characters were and more accurately translate depictions of settings (one example of this—*sal* in the context of gym was discussed in chapter three).

There were a few instances where I needed to find specialized terminology while translating *Room No. 10*. I used an online glossary of wine terms in one case, and in another I consulted a Website about the Gothenburg dialect to find a good translation for a word particular to speakers in Gothenburg. I used Urban Dictionary (Urbandictionary.com) to find slangy synonyms for the words "house," "guy," "gay man," and "creep."

On two occasions I needed to find previously-existing English quotes that had been translated into Swedish in the novel (rather than trying to guess at the original or the established English translation myself). To find a quote from the *Divine Comedy* I used Wikiquote, and to find a line from *The Sicilian* by Mario Puzo I used Google Books.

I used YouTube twice during this translation; in both cases, it was to listen to the melodies of songs sung by characters, so that I could attempt to produce a singable yet accurate

translation. Finally, I used Facebook's "chat" feature to ask a Swedish-speaking friend about some terminology.

BAD BLOOD

While translating *Bad Blood*, I kept track of the frequency with which I used each resource rather than the reason I used it. This information is best portrayed in a table, sorted into categories (much like survey question number seven) rather than by individual Website:

Resource	**Times Used**
Search Engine (Google)	**35**
Wikipedia	**28**
English thesaurus (Thesaurus.com)	**19**
Image search engine (Google Image)	**9**
Swedish thesaurus (Synonymer.se)	**8**
Other language reference sites (Eng)	**7**
Other	
Translator forum (Proz.com)	3
Google Books	1
Other forum (soccer)	1
Blog	2
Total Other	**7**
Monolingual dictionary	**6**
Online maps (Google Maps)	**5**
Website of private company	**5**
Other language reference site (Sw.)	**1**

The category "other language references (Eng)" includes Wiktionary (3 uses), two idiom reference sites (3 uses), and a rhyming dictionary (1 use). The category "blogs" includes one travel blog and one personal blog. The category "monolingual dictionaries" includes Urbandictionary.com (4 uses) and Dictionary.com (2 uses). "Websites of a private company"

includes the Arlanda airport Website (2 uses) and one use each of a mortuary sales Website, Whitepages.com, and Kungsklippan.se (a housing company in Stockholm). The "other language reference site (Sw.) is Woxikon, a multilingual dictionary and thesaurus site offering Swedish as one of its languages.

These two case studies highlight the great information-seeking potential the Internet presents for translators. While common online resources like Google and Wikipedia were used the most frequently, a wide variety of other resources were used as well. These ranged from Websites that are meant to provide language reference to sites that are expressly meant to give other sorts of information (travel information, sales information) or are largely meant for entertainment purposes (YouTube, blogs). Without such ready access to all of these resources, and given the time constraints (I had about four months to translate each book at less than half time) it is unlikely I would have been able to research problematic and difficult words as thoroughly. Like many of the translators who responded to my survey, I make heavy use of online resources in my work, and even though I did not translate before the Web, I appreciate the level of accuracy Web resources help me to attain as well as the time I save since I do not need to go to a library or phone a friend to look up the vast majority of information I need.

CHAPTER CONCLUSION

The results of the survey provide clear evidence that current-day translators of Swedish to English not only use the Internet in their work, but also that they use it frequently and in varied ways. The majority of translators surveyed also feel that having access to online resources has changed the final product of their work in positive ways, most notably by promoting greater

accuracy. The case studies of my own Internet use while translating two novels provide a snapshot of the frequency with which a translator might use the Internet during a long project, as well as the many types of Internet resources one can make use of.

Altogether, the survey of translators and the case studies presented in this chapter indicate that the Web is an invaluable tool in the field of translation. The next chapter turns from a practical discussion of translation process and tools to a theoretical one, to investigate what translation theories old and new have said about the translation of cultural know-how and the processes translators use to cope with mismatched memes.

CHAPTER 6

THEORIES OF NORMS AND PROCESS IN TRANSLATION

We saw evidence in chapter four that the end product—actual, published novels—of translating fiction from Swedish to English has changed in nature since the advent of the Web; cultural information is treated in a less-domesticating manner overall in the translations published post-Web. In chapter five, a survey of practicing Swedish-to-English translators indicated that those translators do indeed make great use of the Internet in their work. But what does translation theory say about decision-making processes of translators in relation to the resources at hand? What does translation theory say about the translator's loyalty to source and target cultures? How have the norms of translation changed in the past several decades? In this chapter, I argue that operational norms of translation of culturally specific information—the general "rules" that translators follow when faced with a mismatched meme—have changed since the advent of the Web.

In order to make this argument, chapter six explores theories of cultural untranslatability from before and after the Web and makes steps toward a theory and practice of the translation of cultural untranslatability that will be useful to translators working in the Information Age. I first discuss several theories of cultural untranslatability in translation theory, and what paradigms exist for addressing the translation of cultural know-how, particularly as norms and processes are concerned. Next, I argue that the change in norms is ethically motivated; for this I rely heavily on the work of Lawrence Venuti. Then I seek to examine the lack of discussion of changing translator tools as they relate to theories of translation. Finally, I maintain that the recent shift in

the treatment of cultural know-how in Swedish-to-English translation, as evidenced in chapter four, is a result of a change in translational norms that is due to both a shift in recent translation theory and the new tools that access to the Web affords translators and audiences.

IS EVERYTHING OR ANYTHING UNTRANSLATABLE?

The concept of untranslatability between cultures and languages has been a topic of passionate debate within the field of translation theory. Some theorists argue that even something as seemingly simple as the word home is potentially untranslatable, or at least that no seemingly easy word-to-word translation is truly equivalent.[142] At the other end of the spectrum one finds, for example, Roman Jakobson, who dismisses the "dogma of untranslatability" and claims that "all cognitive experience and its classification is conveyable in any language," suggesting that all translation is possible (though not necessarily without problems that must be addressed).[143] In practice, of course, when a usable, readable target language product must be produced within a given time frame, the translator finds many word-to-word translations to be sufficiently equivalent. Yet there are also many items that are difficult to find a target language equivalent for—these latter items are the mismatched memes of cultural know how.

No matter where a translator stands on the question of whether anything is truly untranslatable (or whether *everything* is truly untranslatable), it is a given that in any translation there must be some give and take between the source and target cultures. While what kinds of

[142] Bassnett-McGuire, *Translation Studies,* 32-33.

[143] Roman Jakobson, "On Linguistic Aspects of Translation," in *The Translation Studies Reader*, second edition, ed. Lawrence Venuti, (New York: Routledge, 2004), 140.

things require this give and take (or "shifts" from the source text, as Gideon Toury calls them) may vary depending on factors like the languages in question, the genre being translated, the intended audience, and so on: "the occurrence of shifts has long been acknowledged as a true universal of translation."[144] If it is the case that untranslatability is a universal of translation, then it must also appear to some extent in all theories of translation. However, it is impracticable here to explore untranslatability in all of translation-theory history. My goal, rather, is to explore what a few prominent theorists say about untranslatability as it relates to cultural information and, in a practical sense, the process of translation. Hence I have chosen to focus on the theories of Roman Jakobson, Eugene Nida, Jiří Levý, Gideon Toury, and Lawrence Venuti (Venuti's comments on the writings of the first four theorists, as well as his own translation theories, strongly influence my argument).

ROMAN JAKOBSON—EVERYTHING IS TRANSLATABLE

Roman Jakobson is a good starting point because he makes a solid argument that it is *possible* to translate everything. Jakobson's view of translation is highly informed by linguistics and thus he approaches translation more as a science than as an art. In his introduction to Jakobson's essay "On Linguistic Aspects of Translation," Venuti notes that this scientific approach causes Jakobson to "underestimate the interpretive nature of translation, the fact that recoding is an active rewording that doesn't simply transmit the foreign message, but transforms

[144] Gideon Toury, "Norms in Translation," in *The Translation Studies Reader*, second edition, ed. Lawrence Venuti, (New York: Routledge, 2004), 208.

it."[145] While Jakobson may not be concerned with issues surrounding translation choices (such as audience reception, source- and target-cultural implications of a text transformed through translation, and so on), he argues that it is possible to transmit any message via translation, no matter how strange or foreign that source message is. As he points out, this is accomplished in intralingual communication by circumlocution[146]—or more simply, by explaining an unfamiliar concept to someone. In interlingual communication, such as translation, one strives for "accurate interpretation of alien code-units or messages."[147] While Jakobson leaves the particulars of what constitutes "accurate interpretation" to other theorists, his is an important first step in acknowledging that unfamiliar (to the reader) information has a place in a translated text.

Even though Jakobson's article is less concerned with the process a translator goes through to deal with unfamiliar cultural information, one can extrapolate some information of translation process from it. One might expect that Jakobson would not have advocated for the non-translation option for a culture-specific word, but rather for circumlocuting or contextualizing (without the original word). Yet the seeds of non-translation and other foreignizing techniques can be found in his argument: "All cognitive experience and its classification is conveyable in any existing language. Whenever there is a deficiency, terminology may be qualified and amplified by *loan-words* or *loan translations*, neologisms or semantic shifts, and finally, by circumlocution" [emphasis mine].[148] After all, what is a loan

[145]Lawrence Venuti, "1940s-1950s," in *The Translation Studies Reader*, 2nd edition, ed. Lawrence Venuti, (New York: Routledge, 2004), 113.

[146] Jakobson, "Linguistic Aspects," 139.

[147] Ibid.

[148] Ibid., 140.

word but a word that has been non-translated (perhaps not solely in literature, of course) often enough to become a new word in a target language?[149] As E.E. Davies writes, "this operation [preservation/non-translation] is at the heart of the process of lexical borrowing, by which the elements of one language pass into another and may over time become fully integrated into this host language."[150]

Though in his practical discussion of culturally specific information Jakobson focuses more on the expression of mismatched grammatical categories and what is obligatorily expressed and experienced in a language given its grammar, his work is still useful in a treatment of mismatched cultural memes. Jakobson argues that the "semiotic fact" of a word is not to be confused with the thing itself, and notes that "any representative of a cheese-less culinary culture will understand the English word 'cheese' if he is aware than in this language it means 'food made of pressed curds.'"[151] In this way his work is a predecessor to theories that break down a word or message into its units of meaning and build them back up again within the framework of the target language and culture.

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[149] This is not to say that non-translated words and loan words are the same thing, although they might exist at opposite ends of a foreign-word continuum. A Swedish word like *smörgåsbord* likely exists on the "familiar" end of a Swedish-word continuum for American readers, while a word like *filmjölk* would be on the "unfamiliar" end. Yet if *filmjölk* suddenly became a trendy imported food in the United States (as the dairy product *kefir* has recently become), the word might move toward the "familiar" end of the continuum and even become a loan word.

[150] Davies, "Goblin," 73.

[151] Jakobson,"Linguistic Aspects," 138.

EUGENE NIDA—FORMAL AND DYNAMIC EQUIVALENCE

One such theory is Eugene Nida's model of the process of translation, wherein, for each word or phrase, a translator analyzes, transfers, and restructures the meaning.[152] This process informs Nida's theory of formal equivalence (FE) versus dynamic equivalence (DE), which gives insight into a practical method of finding equivalence by some sort of recoding in one aspect of the translation (that is, dynamically) when it is impossible in a straightforward, word-for-word manner (or formally). When striving for formal equivalence, a translator might choose to remain very close to the source text in terms of lexicon and syntax, likely making the text less transparent for the reader and requiring footnotes to help the reader fully understand.[153] In terms of culture, this sort of translation "is designed to permit the reader to identify himself as fully as possible with a person in the source-language context, and to understand as much as he can of the customs, manner of thought, and means of expression."[154] To use the *filmjölk* example from chapter two, formal equivalence might demand that the translator leave the word *filmjölk* in the translated text and add a footnote or an intratextual gloss to explain what *filmjölk* is.

On the other end of the spectrum, a translator whose goal is dynamic equivalence adapts the message of the text as fully as possible to the norms of the target culture: dynamic equivalence "does not insist that [the reader] understand the cultural patterns of the source-language context in order to comprehend the message."[155] When striving for dynamic

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[152] Eugene Nida and Charles R. Taber, *The Theory and Practice of Translation*, (Leiden: Brill, 1974), 33.

[153] Eugene Nida, "Principles of Correspondence," in *The Translation Studies Reader*, 2nd edition, ed. Lawrence Venuti, (New York: Routledge, 2004), 156.

[154] Ibid., 156.

[155] Ibid.

equivalence, however, the translator would find a similar item that would achieve "equivalent effect" in the source culture; for example by translating the *filmjölk* example above as *"*yogurt" or "kefir" or even "milk," for the effect of "what one puts on one's breakfast cereal." The ultimate goal of dynamic equivalence is to render a translation that is completely readable, that does not make itself obvious as a translation.[156]

Venuti notes that Nida's scale from formal to dynamic equivalence is a system that "derive[s] from traditional dichotomies between 'sense-for-sense' and 'word-for-word' translating which date back to antiquity, to Cicero and Horace, Jerome and Augustine,"[157] and it has similarities with many other theories of translation that strive to account for the shifts between source and target cultures. Nida's system even has similarities with Venuti's own scale from foreignization to domestication, which has been briefly discussed earlier and which will be discussed in greater detail later in this chapter. Nida notes that realistically most translations fall somewhere in between the two extremes of his scale, and that where a translator aims to fall on the scale may largely be a result of the goal and audience of his translation, and even time period in which he is translating.[158] That is, a scholarly translation aimed at students of a text is more likely to fall closer to formal equivalence while a translation of the Bible meant to familiarize a reader who is unaware of the Bible's teachings into Christianity will attempt to bring the text closer to the reader's own culture at the expense of some facets of the source text.

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[156] Ibid., 159.

[157] Lawrence Venuti, "1960s-1970s," in *The Translation Studies Reader*, 2nd edition, ed. Lawrence Venuti, (New York: Routledge, 2004), 148.

[158] Nida, "Principles," 156-158.

Unlike Jakobson, then, Nida is interested in not only the way translation is affected by the structures and systems of the source and target language but also the variables "outside" language that might influence translation choices, such as the author's purpose and the translator's purpose (which are not necessarily the same), the potential intended effect on audience behavior (especially in terms of Bible translation, as Nida was primarily a scholar of Biblical translation), audience differences, and so forth.

JIŘI LEVÝ—THE MINIMAX STRATEGY

While Nida's model of dynamic equivalence leaves the translator with a potential multitude of solutions to the translation of one word (the best of which is likely chosen based on an overall trend toward either formal or dynamic equivalence, depending on the project and other factors), theorist Jiří Levý describes the *methods* a translator uses for choosing one solution over another. Levý bases his model of the process of translation on game theory and argues that one can view a translation as "a game in which every succeeding move is influenced by the knowledge of previous decisions and by the situation which resulted from them."[159] Thus one translation decision will affect later decisions, in the translation of one text.

Of particular interest when considering translation processes is Levý's "minimax strategy," which is also a concept borrowed from game theory. Levý argues that while translation theory directs translators to choose the "optimal solution," in practice a translator "resolves for that one of the possible solutions which promises a maximum of effect with a minimum of

[159] Jiři Levý, "Translation as a Decision Process," in *To Honor Roman Jakobson: Essays On the Occasion of His Seventieth Birthday, 11 October 1966*, ed. Roman Jakobson, (The Hague: Mouton, 1967), 1172.

effort."[160] When translating, this means finding an adequate solution to a problem, much as Jakobson advocated. Yet Levý's matrix model goes farther in explaining how to find the best adequate solution: when facing several possible solutions, the translator weighs the potential reactions of a number of potential different audiences (language purists and non-purists, in his example of translating English into French) against whether the style and purity of the phrase in question is preserved.[161] The translator then opts for the translation that he intuitively feels will benefit or please the largest number of readers, while fully realizing that others will not be as content.

The implications of the minimax strategy in a contemporary light are that a translator is sometimes justified in making a decision (for example, leaving an unfamiliar cultural reference in the translation) that he understands may have a negative effect on some estimated percentage of the audience, if the effect is beneficial in some other way—but that this disturbance is always considered and weighed against other options, either consciously or subconsciously.

GIDEON TOURY—TRANSLATIONAL NORMS

All of the decisions throughout the process of bringing a text from one language and culture into another, from what to translate or have translated to all of the choices made during the translation itself, are governed by a set of norms. This is the focus of Gideon Toury's article "Norms in Translation," in which he strives to describe the types of norms that affect translation at all its stages. He considers translational norms to be an extension of socio-cultural norms,

[160] Ibid., 1179.

[161] Ibid., 1180-1181.

since "translation is a kind of activity which inevitably involves at least two languages and two cultural traditions, i.e., at least two sets of norm-systems on each level."[162] Norms of translation can vary based on factors such as genre, time and place of translation act, intended audience, and so on.[163] Norms generally exist on a continuum from "rule" to "idiosyncrasy," and can be purposefully flouted for effect.[164] Put in practical terms, and based on evidence from chapter four, one might say that one norm of Swedish-to-English literary translation in the United States today is that a translator is likely to leave place and street names in Swedish rather than translate them. This is an example of what Toury calls an "operational" norm, one that is in effect "during the act of translation itself."[165] Another present-day norm of Swedish-to-English translation might be to translate more books of the crime genre than of the literary genre. This is a "preliminary" norm, one that occurs before the actual translation, and is likely to be more a function of editors and publishing houses than the translator himself.[166]

Since norms are specific to time (among other things), they are ever-changing by way of influence from "translation criticism, translation ideology (…) and, of course, various norm setting activities of institutes where, in many societies, translators are now being trained."[167] It follows that changes in norms will lead to some type of change in the final product of translation (since, as Toury argues, the way we know norms exist is by seeing them in retrospect—we see

[162] Toury, "Norms," 207.

[163] Ibid., 206.

[164] Ibid., 206-207.

[165] Ibid., 209.

[166] Ibid., 209.

[167] Ibid, 211.

evidence and results of norms rather than norms themselves),[168] so it may be that prescriptive theories of translation strive to change the norms of their time by influencing the practices of translators. In fact, this may be a self-strengthening cycle where actions of translators begin to create a new norm which then inspires more translators to abide by the norm, until that norm becomes entrenched (and is eventually edged out by a new norm).

While I would classify the theories I am examining (with the exception of Venuti's) as more descriptive than prescriptive, they are still concerned with describing the way translators work, which is always affected by the norms surrounding translation. Since I am ultimately interested in the changing of norms as it relates to new translator tools (the Web) it is worth examining each of the theories I discuss through the lens of translational norms.

In his article, Nida is unconcerned with value judgments of translations, effectively arguing that there is no such thing as a definitively "good" translation of any one text:

> Any survey of opinions on translating serves to confirm the fact that definitions or descriptions of translating are not served by deterministic rules; rather, they depend on probabilistic rules. One cannot, therefore, state that a particular translation is good or bad without taking into consideration a myriad of factors, which in turn must be weighted in a number of different ways, with appreciably different answers. Hence there will always be a variety of valid answers to the question, "Is this a good translation?"[169]

These "probabilistic rules" of Nida's are analogous to Toury's norms; since the worth of a translation is judged according to a particular set of norms (those of the time, genre, and so on), the question of its worth will be judged differently at different times. Yet Nida also suggests that

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[168] Ibid., 213-214.

[169] Nida, "Principles," 161.

norms of his time dictate that a "good" literary translation ought to strive for ultimate readability at the expense of culturally foreign material.[170] That is, literary translators of his time strove for dynamic equivalence—making the text extremely smooth and accessible to the target-language audience— in their translations. Dynamic equivalence, then, has the effect of domesticating a text.

The way that translational norms come into play in Levý's theory of the minimax strategy is as variables in the formula that produces the best solution for a given problem. That is, he considers existing norms for the time, genre, and so on, when making a translation decision. A current translational norm may strongly suggest that a translator should conform to target-language and target-culture norms at the expense of source-culture ones (i.e. use domesticating techniques). On the other hand, the translator may flout target-language norms to privilege source-language ones (by using foreignizing techniques). Or perhaps the norms of the time suggest that a certain amount of foreignizing in the translation is a positive thing, or at least an acceptable thing.

When the translator is making such norm-governed decisions, he intuitively weighs the variables for each potential solution. Into the translator's mental equations go variables like "level of audience disturbance" and "loyalty to source culture" and "preserve style." I would argue that the variable that is most different in the minimax strategy theory in this post-Web age is the amount of disturbance that an unfamiliar reference might cause. A combination of changing translational norms and increased access to information may have made more audiences more tolerant of unfamiliar cultural knowledge. A translator would then take this into

[170] Ibid., 157, 159-160.

account when "calculating" the best solution. If today's norms allow for a certain amount of foreignizing information to remain in the translation, then a translator is likely to give less weight to the variable "level of audience disturbance."

THESE THEORIES AS THEY RELATE TO MY DATA

The data in the previous chapter indicate that the norms of literary translation, at least in the case of Swedish-to-English translations, have moved away from the goal of complete dynamic equivalence and in recent years have started to use newer strategies to find that balance between word-for-word and sense-for-sense. Nida's formal and dynamic equivalences are two extremes on a scale, and most of the levels of translation of cultural know-how from chapter five can be mapped onto that scale (although it is important to keep in mind that Nida's system of equivalence is concerned with much more than unfamiliar cultural information). Literal translation is the most FE-oriented of my translation levels; in fact, Nida uses literal translation as an example of what one might find in a "gloss translation," which is what he calls the most FE-oriented style of translation.[171] On the other end of the FE-DE scale we would find relocation, where an item is brought firmly into the target culture to allow the reader a seamless experience in which he is not disturbed by culturally unfamiliar information. Interestingly, neither of the extreme ends of my scale seems to fit into Nida's scale. Nida does seem to not allow for the possibility of non-translated words (aside from those already established as loan words). Nor is there any evidence of examples of transformation or omission in his argument (likely because he is not working from a data set but from theoretical examples).

[171] Nida, "Principles," 156.

Much as Nida argues that in practice most translations fall somewhere in between FE and DE, Swedish-English literary translation today is still in between the two poles—but it falls closer to FE. For several reasons the trends found in post-Web translation in chapter four do not suggest complete FE. For one, it is clear that the translation strategies that are closer in line with DE—the more domesticating strategies—are still in use; they are just used less frequently than they were before. For another, some of the hallmarks of FE are outside today's norms for literary translation. As Nida writes, explanatory footnotes are almost a necessity in any extremely FE-oriented translation.[172] Perhaps a translator's note, too, would be helpful in a true FE translation. Yet items like footnotes and especially translator's notes , which would remind the reader that he is not reading an original, are outside the norm in today's world of commercial literary translation, which prefers the translator to remain invisible as possible (at least as far as reviewers of translation are concerned).[173]

VENUTI—DOMESTICATING AND FOREIGNIZING

The theories discussed thus far are all scientific models of translation to some extent. Each discusses a process of translation; each is more descriptive than prescriptive. I find them useful because they describe *how* translators work and can be discussed in relation to a translator working in any situation, place, and time. That is, even though they were written in the mid-20th century by translators working in different language pairs, I can evaluate my own translation practices on the scale of formal to dynamic equivalence and think about the way I

[172] Nida, "Principles," 162.

[173] Venuti, in "Debate," in *Cultural Functions of Translation,* Eds. Christina Schäffner and Helen Kelly-Holmes, (Clevedon: Multimedia Matters Ltd., 1995), 33.

subconsciously apply the minimax principle when making a difficult decision in the translation of a cultural mismatch.

The previous theories seem to privilege at various times target audiences, genre, style, and so on but do not give equal privilege to the source culture. When Nida discusses formal equivalence and its goal of helping a reader understand the source culture as closely as possible, it is not because of a duty to the source culture but because of the position of the reader as scholar or linguist; this sort of reasoning still privileges the target above the source. When Levý writes of balancing the potential disturbance of readers with the desire to preserve the style of the original, the stylistic trait he chooses to demonstrate is "understatement;" it is completely related to French syntax (in the example he gives) rather than French culture.[174] What is not apparent in these theories (partially, I would argue, because they are largely descriptive theories and partially because the norms at the time they were written did not tend to privilege the source text and culture) is a justification for privileging the target culture over the source culture.

In the past few decades, translation theory has started to focus not only on language-structure differences but also cultural differences. In fact, Nida, writing in 1994, thirty years after *The Principles of Correspondence*, recognized the importance of the source culture to translation: "language is a part of culture, and in fact, it is the most complex set of habits that any culture exhibits. Language reflects the culture, provides access to the culture, and in many respects constitutes a model of the culture."[175] Translators must pay special attention to the fact

[174] Levý, 1180.

[175] Qtd in Christine Shäffner, "Editorial," in *Cultural Functions of Translation,* Eds. Christina Schäffner and Helen Kelly-Holmes, (Clevedon: Multimedia Matters Ltd., 1995), 1.

that they are tasked with providing access to a foreign culture (the source culture) through a language foreign to the target culture; the difficulties involved in doing so are what make it tempting to throw up one's hands in defeat and claim "untranslatable!" Yet practicing translators still translate, and translation theorists still try to explain and guide translators through the problems inherent in the culture-language clashes.

A more holistic cultural approach to translation theory is exemplified in the writings of Lawrence Venuti, who is interested not only in examining language and culture together in translation, but also in the ethics of representing a source culture in the target culture and the responsibility a translator has toward the source culture. In other words, it is not enough just to note that, in my own translations, I tend to move toward formal equivalence (in the sense of letting some foreign cultural information remain in the target language) and that, when applying the minimax strategy, I sometimes give more weight to "foreign cultural information remains" than to "target audience is undisturbed." Even if I am correct in thinking that these actions are in line with today's norms, and, similarly, that those norms are trending toward more foreignizing translation solutions, I must be able to account for my translation choices with more than just "because this is just how we translate." In order to motivate my translation processes, Lawrence Venuti's theory of translation ethics are very helpful. Here I will discuss this theory in greater detail and examine it as it relates to norms of translation.

Lawrence Venuti has written extensively about the duty of the translator to the audience and the extent to which a translator should attempt to relocate the text into the target-language culture, or, conversely, the duty a translator has *not* to domesticate the text but to force the reader into a foreign territory, as he advocates. Venuti argues for the purposeful foreignizing of a text in

translation, as opposed to domesticating it. He claims that some domesticating inevitably takes place as a text is translated, because "the foreign text is inscribed with linguistic and cultural values that are intelligible to specific domestic constituencies"[176]—values that, if they are to be intelligible to target-language readers, must sometimes be foreign to those in the source culture.

In the case of literary translation, in Venuti's argument, the domestication of a source text not only affects that one text but, along with other translated texts, contributes to the target culture's overall idea of the source culture. Since not *all* source culture texts are translated into the target language, the target culture idea of "literature from X culture" is represented by a subset whose existence is motivated by a variety of domestic factors,[177] and which is sometimes not at all representative of that culture's literature on the whole. A typical American consumer of Swedish literature today, for example, could not be blamed for wondering if Swedes only produce and read crime literature, when the reality is simply that there is more of a market for Swedish crime fiction than there is for Swedish literary fiction; as a result more crime fiction is translated than literary fiction. For these reasons and others, Venuti sees domestication (though impossible to avoid) as a disservice to both the source and target culture, in some cases going so far as to create a kind of "false canon" of a culture's texts in translation or a constructed cultural identity.

Venuti argues that this is especially true of a translator working into American English, because of the incredible hegemony of American culture. Everything else, in comparison with

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[176] Lawrence Venuti, "Translation and the Formation of Cultural Identities," in *Cultural Functions of Translation,* Eds. Christina Schäffner and Helen Kelly-Holmes, (Clevedon: Multimedia Matters Ltd., 1995), 9. This talk and the "preliminary remarks" following it are reproduced in edited form in a chapter of *Scandals of Translation* (1998).

[177] Ibid., 9.

American texts written in the standard language, is in some way a minor literature because "the economic and political ascendancy of the United States has reduced foreign languages and cultures to minorities in relation to its language and culture."[178] In Venuti's opinion, an American translator, charged with representing a minority language and culture for the consumption of a hegemonic culture, ought to be careful not to reassert the dominant culture in the translation: "Good translation is minoritizing: it releases the remainder by cultivating a heterogeneous discourse, opening up the standard dialect and literary canons to what is foreign to themselves, to the substandard and the marginal."[179]

Translators, then, have a duty to counteract the inevitable domestication, or as Venuti puts it, "redirect the ethnocentric movement of translation so as to decenter the domestic cultural terms that a translation project must inescapably utilize."[180] This is what he refers to as an "ethics of difference."[181] The translator potentially has a variety of means at his disposal for counteracting domestication, which may or may not be feasible at a given time. For when Venuti advises avoiding domestication he is often talking about quite drastic changes. One is a careful choice of *what* to translate, in order to avoid or counteract the "false canon" or the tendency for translations to be used to advance the ideas and values of a specific social group.[182] Realistically, though, this is a choice made by publishing houses rather than by translators. Although a

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[178] Lawrence Venuti, *The Scandals of Translation,* (New York: Routledge, 1998), 10.

[179] Ibid., 11.

[180] Ibid., 22.

[181] Ibid., 84.

[182] Lawrence Venuti, "Translation and the Formation of Cultural Identities," 18.

translator does have to choose to accept a translation job offer, it is the lucky translator who has the means to be choosy and turn down potentially canon-confirming translations. This sort of choice of what to translate is often not possible for the translator who makes a living freelancing.[183]

Venuti notes that "what is foreign can only be measured against domestic conventions," so a translator must be aware of what the domestic situation is and strive to foreignize the text accordingly.[184] Venuti suggests that the most important factor in minoritizing a text is to "reveal the translation to be a translation," using language that is somehow foreign to the domestic standard, such as non-standard target-language dialects.[185] Some additional ways of forcing the reader into a foreign space might include changing syntax or using anachronistic speech or vocabulary. These sorts of changes often seem drastic and antithetical to norms that dictate what a translator ought to do, namely produce a fluent, readable text. Yet it is important to consider that producing a fluent text (that is, being loyal to the audience and to domestic conventions) is just one variable in each translator's minimax-strategy equation. Indeed, Venuti addresses the problem of a foreignized text becoming unintelligible; he asks, "Can a translator maintain a critical distance from domestic norms without dooming a translation to be dismissed as unreadable?"[186] He gives evidence that this need not be the case by turning to a translation of a Japanese novel by Banana Yoshimoto that makes use of what he considers effective methods of

[183] Venuti, in "Debate," 35.

[184] Ibid., 34.

[185] Ibid.

[186] Venuti, *Scandals*, 84.

foreignization. In the novel, called *Kitchen* in English, translator Megan Backus "foregrounds the differences between American and Japanese culture for an English-language reader" by mixing standard American English with non-standard dialects and colloquialisms.[187] Furthermore, she employs non-translation of unfamiliar cultural information: "many italicized Japanese words [are] scattered throughout the text, mostly for food—'katsudon,' 'ramen,' 'soba,' 'udon,' 'wasabi'—but including other aspects of Japanese culture, like clothing ('obi') and furnishings ('tatami mat')."[188] Venuti speculates on the type of audience that this translator was targeting with this method of foreignization, arguing that it is made up of "a wider, middle-brow readership, youthful and educated, although not necessarily academic."[189] Referring to an "educated" audience indicates an expectation that a curious reader unfamiliar with the non-translated terms might be motivated and able to seek an explanation—perhaps even via the Web at this point, since Venuti was speaking in 1995.

Ultimately, an ethics of difference as Venuti advocates, and as exemplified in his example of Backus' translation, means that a translator's loyalty must lie not only with the target language and culture but also with the source culture: the translated text must not be rid of foreign references for the sake of the reader's ease of understanding, for to cater so one-sidedly to the reader is to translate unethically. This case study in miniature indicates that a relatively mainstream audience is well-served by some level of foreignization, especially given the success of the translation. While retaining items of cultural know how as non-translations is just one way

[187] Ibid., 85.

[188] Ibid.

[189] Ibid., 87.

of working against domestication, it is perhaps one of the methods most available to a translator. I would argue that the methods of linguistic translation and contextualization are also valid and useful ways of bringing foreign information to the target audience, especially in cases where context does not allow non-translation. Certainly in the case of linguistic translation, the concept of (for example) "flatbed moped" jolts the reader out of a complacent domestic reading to wonder "what could that be?" Contextualization, too, often still contains the untranslated foreign word, but with a nearby explanation. To be sure, using foreignizing translation techniques to render cultural know-how is just one small way to bring about the larger changes that Venuti advocates for, but it is quite a realistic and feasible one. Speaking from personal experience, judiciously applied non-translation, linguistic translation, and contextualization are methods that survive the editing process even when the translation is meant to reach a wide, mainstream audience—if one is willing to clarify terms for the editor and proofreader during the editing process.

Today's willingness on the part of the translator and editor to include information that is likely culturally foreign to a large portion of the intended audience is in direct contrast to a series of much earlier translations Venuti mentions in *Scandals of Translation*. In the 1950s and 1960s, several translations of works by a popular Italian writer named Giovanni Guareschi were published. Venuti discusses these translations in the context of "bestseller"—these translations were meant for a very broad audience in the target culture. The bestseller, according to Venuti, is a special case because more than other translations it "must be intelligible within the different, potentially conflicting codes and ideologies that characterize that audience."[190] In other words, a

[190] Venuti, "Scandals," 125.

book meant for a broad audience must be made more accessible, presumably by minimizing differences between source and target culture (and even by minimizing or ignoring differences within the target culture).[191] Indeed, this is the case in the bestselling translations of Giovanni Guareschi's books. The books are about "Don Camillo, a priest in a northern Italian village who engages in amusing ideological skirmishes with the Communist mayor, Peppone, and always comes out the victor."[192] Some of the reasons that the books were so popular in the United States was that they were read (at least by reviewers) as conforming to the anti-Communist fervor of the time and because they did not challenge American stereotypes of Italians.[193] Yet the translation of the book itself was instrumental in making the bestseller so palatable to an American audience, by changing or omitting many passages that the editor felt would not aid in attaining the "extreme fluency" she was after.[194] One of the types of omissions was of culture-specific references that would have reminded the reader that he was reading a translation; a book that was originally wholly Italian. For example, the word *comune*, a municipal government, was translated to "town hall."[195] Among other changes, brand names were made generic, names of Italian newspapers were omitted, and a number of Italian names were condensed into one name.[196]

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[191] Ibid., 127.

[192] Ibid.

[193] Ibid., 129-130.

[194] Ibid., 142.

[195] Ibid., 143.

[196] Ibid., 145.

This is all presented as typical treatment of a novel, especially one meant to be a bestseller, in the period from 1950-1970 (and judging from my data in chapter four, this was the case in the 1970s and 1980s as well). Yet consider that *The Girl Who Kicked the Hornet's Nest*, one of the four novels in my data set, is the third and final novel in a bestselling trilogy. If translational norms currently dictate that a book meant for bestseller-dom should be heavily domesticated in order to reach its audience, this book ought to bear the marks of such domestication. The second book in the trilogy, *The Girl Who Played with Fire*, had been the 34th bestselling hardcover of 2009,[197] and expectations were high for the final book: it was at the top of Amazon's pre-order list prior to its release in May 2010.[198] *The Girl Who Kicked the Hornet's Nest* went on to become the bestselling hardcover of 2010 and sold nearly 2 million copies.[199] This is despite extensive use of foreignizing techniques in the treatment of culturally specific knowledge, as demonstrated in the previous chapter. Furthermore, reviews of *The Girl Who Kicked the Hornet's Nest* suggest that audiences appreciate that the trilogy does not merely confirm American stereotypes of Sweden: "'Scandinavia has a squeaky clean image,' said R.J. Julia Booksellers' buyer Karen Corvello in Madison, Connecticut. 'People find it interesting that there is a seamy side to countries like Sweden, with financial and political corruption.'" This general interest in an unfamiliar side to Sweden is evidence that audience-expectation norms

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[197] Michael Coffey, "The View from the Top," *Publishers Weekly*, March 22, 2010, http://www.publishersweekly.com/pw/by-topic/industry-news/financial-reporting/article/42534-the-view-from-the-top.html.

[198] Walker Simon, "Swedish Thriller Poised for Blockbuster U.S. Debut," *Reuters*, May 25, 2010, http://www.reuters.com/article/2010/05/25/us-books-larsson-idUSTRE64O63Z20100525?pageNumber=1.

[199] Daisy Maryles, "The Winning Game: 2010 Hardcovers: Facts & Figures 2011," *Publishers Weekly*, March 21, 2011, http://www.publishersweekly.com/pw/by-topic/industry-news/publisher-news/article/46541-the-winning-game-2010-hardcovers-facts-figures-2011.html.

have changed in recent years. The comparison of the Guareschi novels in the 1950s and 1960s and the Millenium Trilogy in the past decade strongly indicate that the norms dictating how a book meant for a very broad English-speaking audience should be translated and edited have also changed a great deal, and that the retention of foreign CSIs need not make a book unreadable; rather the opposite.

THE (LACK OF) ATTENTION TO TRANSLATOR TOOLS IN TRANSLATION THEORY

While I find Venuti's theory of translation ethics to be a wonderful and practical guide to cultural translation, and while I appreciate the opportunities for reflections on process that the earlier theories provide, they all share one shortcoming. Namely, they all fail to address one large variable which plays a great part in determining the final product of a translator's labor: translator tools. While most of the previously-discussed theories acknowledge that extratextual variables are important in translation decisions (and receptions of translations), none of them takes into account the decision-making tools a translator has access to. Given that all of these theories address the *process* of translating, it is important not to ignore what happens in the middle of the process, from "input of mismatched word to translator's brain" to "best solution." Levý's minimax theory addresses this middle of the process in terms of some variables (such as considering the intended audience and attempting to preserve style), but tools are left out of the equation here as well. This is a shortcoming in translation theory—what are the tools we as translators use to help us with the processes of translating? Certainly bi- and monolingual dictionaries come to mind for looking up the meanings and potential translations of words, but simply looking up words is not the end of the translator's search. As we saw in chapters three

and five, translators use a variety of tools to help them make decisions. If a translator uses tools such as dictionaries, reference works, or any sort of extra-textual information to arrive at (what he or she feels to be) the optimal solution, then the sorts of tools she has access to will have an effect the outcome—the translated text.

TRANSLATOR TOOLS IN RECENT TRANSLATION-STUDIES LITERATURE

In an attempt to discover whether more recent writings on translation take into account the drastic way that a translator's tools have changed in the past 15-20 years, I surveyed several very recent books on translation theory and practice. I found that it is not only those theories explored in this chapter that do not address translator tools as a major variable in the production of translation. While the books I consulted all addressed the Internet in some fashion, I could find no examples with an in-depth discussion of using the Internet or Web as an information-seeking tool. In *Translation and Globalization,* for example, Michael Cronin discusses translator tools, the Internet, and the future of machine translation at length, but he does not consider how these developments have affected the ways that translators actually work; rather, he focuses on implications for such things as linguistic diversity and the business aspects of translating (how many translators are needed, how their work is rewarded).[200]

There is a similar lack of attention to the Internet as a translation tool in several recent, broad treatments of translation studies I consulted. In *Handbook of Translation Studies: Volumes 1-3*, which combines theoretical and practical information for translators and was published

[200] Michael Cronin, *Translation and Globalization,* (London: Routledge, 2003).

between 2010-2012, the Internet is briefly mentioned as a terminology resource.[201] Another chapter calls attention to crowdsourcing via the Internet as a sort of CAT (computer-aided translation) but is more interested in translations done via crowdsourcing (that is, using translations produced by multilingual users, as Facebook has done[202]) than in how a translator might use crowdsourcing to solve a problem.[203] In his chapter "Information, Communication, Translation," Roberto Valdeón writes that "the Internet has been crucial in the spread of information, a change that can only parallel the appearance of the printing press, although its rapid effects have been far more far-reaching"[204] but does not discuss how this new media might have an effect on a translated text; rather, he is more interested in translation *in* the media and how real-world incidents can be framed by way of purposeful translation choices. Other mentions of the Internet and Web in the *Handbook of Translation Studies* focus mainly on online corpora and the effects of globalization on demand for translation (such as localization services).

In Jeremy Munday's *Introducing Translation Studies: Theories and Applications, 3rd Edition*, meant to be "the definitive guide to the theories and concepts that make up the dynamic field of translation studies" and where one of the new features listed is "new technologies,"[205]

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[201] M. Terese Cabré, "Terminology and Translation," in *Handbook of Translation Studies: Volume 1,* eds. Yves Gambier and Luc van Doorslaer, (Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2010), 361.

[202] Erick Schonfeld, "Facebook Spreads its Crowdsourced Translations Across the Web, and the World," *Techcrunch*, September 29, 2009, http://techcrunch.com/2009/09/29/facebook-spreads-its-crowdsourced-translations-across-the-web-and-the-world/.

[203]Lynne Bowker and Des Fisher, "Computer-Aided Translation," in *Handbook of Translation Studies, Volume 1,* eds. Yves Gambier and Luc van Doorslaer, (Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2010), 64.

[204] Robert Valdeón, "Information, Communication, Translation," in *Handbook of Translation Studies: Volume 3.* Eds. Yves Gambier and Luc van Doorslaer, (Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2012), 68.

[205] Jeremy Munday, *Introducing Translation Studies: Theories and Applications, 3rd Edition*, (Oxon and New York: Routledge, 2012), back cover matter.

there is likewise little mention of the Internet as a resource. Despite a promising chapter introduction that begins "Although they do not represent a new theoretical model, the emergence and proliferation of new technologies have transformed translation practice and are now exerting an impact on research and, as a consequence, on the theorization of translation,"[206] this book limits its chapter on new media and technology to three areas: "audiovisual translation studies" (such as subtitling), "localization and globalization" (including computer-aided translation and machine translation), and "corpus-based translation studies."[207] While corpora are tools that can be accessed via the Internet, they are just one resource available to translators online (recall, too, that corpora were one of the least commonly used online tools as reported by translators in chapter five). Missing from this textbook is the Internet as a crucial set of tools for translators and what effect those tools might have on translations themselves.

I found similar results in *Global Trends in Translation and Interpreting*,[208] a book meant to aid in developing curricula for training new translators and interpreters. Various chapters in this book are concerned with online corpora, computer-aided translation programs, the Internet as a tool for recruiting translators and moving documents, and so on, but again no attention is paid to the effect such a massive tool has on translations. Based on this limited survey of recent translation studies literature, it seems that an exploration of what new technology means for the translator's actual message and for the receiver of that message appears to be lacking so far in translation studies books, both those on theory and practice.

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[206] Ibid., 268.

[207] Ibid., 267-294.

[208] Séverine Hubscher-Davidson and Michal Borodo, *Global Trends In Translator and Interpreter Training: Mediation and Culture* (London: Continuum, 2012).

Perhaps it is not so strange that earlier works on translation theory would not spend time discussing translator tools as a variable, for two reasons. For one, perhaps in the days before the Internet, it was a given that a translator would have access to a few dictionaries and probably a library where one could look up more information. For another, it could be that access to tools is too practical a matter to have been dealt with by theorists, who are generally more concerned with larger, more philosophical questions of translation rather than the methods of translation.

In writings on translation today, translators' access to the Internet is taken for granted, likely because most practicing translators do seem to use it. It is a part of our daily life, much as dictionaries and other reference works would have been earlier (and still are, of course). This would explain why even current books on translation theory and practice mention the *tools* of the Internet and the Web only briefly and are more concerned with the way computers and the Internet have changed the field of translation outside of the actual texts produced, such as computers actually *doing* the translation (because this is both a popular field of study and a threat to working translators) or with the translation opportunities the Web has brought with it (demand for more localization, for example). Yet there is a lot to be learned about how translator tools affect the final product of translation. After such an incredible change as the Web, something that changes the way translators work so drastically, it is important to take those changes into account in both translator handbooks and translation theory, given that easy access to so much information is likely to change the way a translator works as well as the final product.

Furthermore, it is not only the scope of information that has changed, but the ease and speed with which one can find information on the Internet. If, before Internet access (and even online library catalog access), a translator had to search information out in various books in

person at a library, this made searching for one piece of information potentially very time-consuming. If we consider the Minimax theory and include time and effort as one variable on the way to the optimal translation solution, it would not be surprising if the potential payoff for researching one difficult-to-translate item of cultural know-how was not enough to justify expending a great deal of time and effort researching it. Indeed, translators' comments in chapter five attesting that Internet access has increased their accuracy suggest that this is the case.

It is clear that many facts and ideas about the process of translation have changed over the past few decades—and not only when it comes to the translation of cultural information. Translational and editorial norms have changed, translators' and readers' access to information has changed radically thanks to the Web, and translation theory has begun to focus more on considerations and ethics of source and target culture interplay. These three factors (along with others) are inextricably linked; each affects the others, so it is impossible to determine which is most responsible for the change in the final product of less-domesticated literary translations. Yet without the radical way the Web changed the ways translators seek information and brought the world within reach for most readers, I do not believe the translations examined in this study would display so much evidence of foreignizing techniques. Such widespread access to information has made the retention of unfamiliar cultural knowledge more palatable to translators, editors, and audiences alike.

CHAPTER CONCLUSION

This chapter has examined several translation theories that discuss the processes and norms of translation. Roman Jakobson argues that all translation is possible, while Eugene Nida

provides a way to examine purposeful fidelity to the source or target texts and discusses potential reasons a translator might choose one or the other. Jiří Levý posits the game theory idea of the Minimax strategy as a way of imagining the decision-making process of a translator and argues that a translator subconsciously weighs a variety of factors while making each decision. Gideon Toury gives us a way to view trends in translation as norms that influence the way a translator makes decisions (and, indeed, Toury's norms are analogous to some of the factors in Levý's process). Lawrence Venuti's theory of ethics suggests that just describing and understanding translation processes is not enough; that a translator must always be able to justify his or her translation decisions, especially the ways in which those decisions may affect the perception of the source culture on the part of the target culture.

Despite the lack of explicit discussion of translator tools in the theories of process and in current literature on translation, I argue that access to real-world tools such as the Web is a crucial variable in how a translator works and in the end product. For if a translator is to consciously choose to leave foreignizing material (such as a non-translated or contextualized CSIs) in a translation, the translator must have a full understanding of that CSI and its meaning in the source culture, as well as how likely the target audience is to understand it and/or have access to target-language information about it. Judging from the translator surveys in chapter five, where many respondents cite "accuracy" as one of the main changes access to online resources has brought about in their translations, this is likely much easier to accomplish with access to a multitude of online resources than it was when dictionaries, libraries and native speakers were a translator's main tools. Thus the Web has enabled translators to find more information about words that are difficult to translate (including CSIs), and it has likely been a

large part of the driving force behind the clear trend toward the greater percentage of retained source-culture CSIs found in chapter four. Access to the Web, along with changing norms and theories of translation, has positively changed the way translators translate and the literature that results; the source culture is allowed to shine through rather than being diminished in or erased from the translation.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION:

TOWARD A PRACTICAL THEORY OF CULTURAL TRANSLATION IN THE AGE OF THE INTERNET

This study set out to determine whether and how access to the World Wide Web changed the work of translating literature from Swedish to English, and, more specifically, whether cultural knowledge is treated differently in more recent, post-Web translations. The study encompassed an examination of what constitutes cultural knowledge and what sorts of online resources are available to translators, a comparative study of the translation of culture-specific terms in four novels translated from Swedish to English, a survey of working translators, and an overview of several translation theories.

Since the overarching goal of this study is to discover whether translators' access to online resources has changed the treatment of culture-specific knowledge in Swedish-to-English literary translation, it is a (limited) comparative study of translational norms in two periods: before and after the Web. The examination of Internet access in the United States in chapter three, the data from translated novels in chapter four, and the translator-survey results in chapter five indicate that operational norms have changed since the advent of the Web in three interrelated ways: 1. translators rely heavily on the Internet for research while translating; 2. most target audiences (at least in terms of American readerships) have access to the Web and use it for information-seeking purposes;[209] and 3. It has become more common and thus more

[209] While this is not a translation-operational norm, it does affect translation processes.

acceptable (not only on the part of translators but also editors, reviewers, audiences, and so on) to use foreignizing techniques (such as non-translation, linguistic translation, and contextualization) more often when translating items of cultural know-how. I argue that the third norm is a direct result of the first two norms.

It is the accessibility of information to both translator and reader (where the translator necessarily accesses new information while the reader has the option to) that makes it possible to foreignize the translation to a greater extent today than was possible just twenty years ago. This is truly one of the quickly-changing norms that Toury writes about. This norm finds support in current translation theory, notably in Lawrence Venuti's writing on domestication versus foreignization in translation. In addition, the technological situation (in the United States) *allows* us to privilege foreignizing in translations. Ethically, Venuti (and I) would argue, we must prioritize retention of the cultural information that exists in the source text, and practically, we have more of the means—both when it comes to researching that information and when we expect our audience to accept its existence in the text.

Furthermore, the field of memetics, as discussed in chapter two, makes clear that cultural knowledge can be transmitted from one person to another, and that an author (or translator) can serve as the transmitter. This, combined with the idea that *any* new cultural knowledge is at first foreign to the person learning it (that is, it does not matter whether the new cultural knowledge comes from a domestic subculture or is general knowledge in another country—it is still a new item of information), suggests that it is often possible to retain source-culture CSIs via foreignizing translation strategies without disrupting a reader. This does not, of course, mean that

a translator can choose to leave any word untranslated that he or she wishes; rather, this is where context becomes important. Instead, the translator (consciously or subconsciously) makes use of his or her personal Minimax strategy and weighs a variety of factors, such as the likelihood that a reader will be able to generally understand the meaning of the item in context, potential translations or circumlocutions that would serve the item without doing damage to the foreignness of the text, and the importance of understanding the item at hand to the reader's understanding of the text as a whole. In other words, we translators take what we have learned from theories of process like Jakobson's, Nida's, and Levý's, and what we know about the way norms change, as Toury discusses, and assess and re-assess our personal translation theories and strategies accordingly. In doing so, we look at the big picture of text, context, intended audience, and so on, because we translators are not locked in a room, away from what is going on in the world; nor is our audience. This, I find, is where the worlds of theory and practice meet in the most positive of ways: the theory encourages translators to work ethically and to consider who or what the current norms are serving, and whether they should be challenged; the practice is aided by a wealth of readily-accessible resources to help the translator make the best decision possible.

APPENDIX A
Data from the four novels

Note: a "t." in the page number column indicates that the word or phrase is found many times throughout the novel.

Book	Swedish	pg	English	pg	category	translation level
BÖ	[personnummer]	20	identity number [same personnummer]	16	sociocultural concept	contextualizing
LSS	112 (SOS)	165	112	129	sociocultural concept	non-translation
BÖ	33:60	27	thirty *kronor* sixty	23	sociocultural concept	contextualizing
BÖ	420314 Staffan Rosén	215	Staffan Rosén [no birthdate]	195	sociocultural concept	omission
LSS	A4	t.	[none--just "pages" etc]	t.	object	omission
DSR	AA	59	AA	58	sociocultural concept	non-translation
DSR	AB	59	AB	58	sociocultural concept	non-translation
MEUT	ABF	149	Workers' Educational Association	149	organization	linguistic translation
DSR	AB-märkt	13	an "AB" plate	11	sociocultural concept	non-translation
BÖ	Adventsstjärna	285	advent star	259	holiday concept	linguistic translation
LSS	advokat Annika Giannini	37	advokat Giannini	27	sociocultural concept	non-translation
LSS	Advokat Bjurman	43	advokat Bjurman	32	sociocultural concept	non-translation
BÖ	Aftonblad	155	evening newspaper	140	media	substitution
LSS	Aftonbladet	60	Aftonbladet	48	media	non-translation
LSS	Aftonbladet	382	Aftonbladet	301	media	non-translation
LSS	Aftonbladet	545	Aftonbladet	432	media	non-translation
MEUT	äggulor	146	fried eggs	121	food/drink	linguistic translation
LSS	Åhlén & Åkerlunds förlag	388	Åhlén and Åkerlund publishers	306	art/literature/music	contextualizing
MEUT	Åhléns	287	Åhléns	245	business name	non-translation
MEUT	Åhléns	288	Åhléns	246	business name	non-translation
LSS	Åhléns	471	Åhléns department store	371	business name	contextualizing

MEUT	Åhlénsklockan	152	the Åhléns clock	126	business name	non-translation
LSS	Akademibokhandeln	231	Academic bookshop	180	business name	linguistic translation
LSS	Akademibokhandeln	468	the Academy bookshop	369	business name	linguistic translation
MEUT	Aktuell fotografi	t.	Current Photography	t.	media	linguistic translation
LSS	Aktuellt	646	Aktuellt	517	media	non-translation
DSR	Albyl	185	aspirin	190	brand name	substitution
MEUT	Allemansrätten	206	Everyman's Right	174	sociocultural concept	linguistic translation
BÖ	Allmänna BB	147	the Maternity Hospital	133	place name	substitution
BÖ	allsång	11	a sing	9	sociocultural concept	substitution
MEUT	Almarnas konflikt	170	Battle of the Elms	141	history	linguistic translation
LSS	Alvedon	319	Tylenol	249	brand name	relocation
MEUT	Älvsjömässan	324	the Stockholm Exhibition	277	place name	substitution
LSS	Amaranten på Kungsholmen	381	the Amaranth on Kungsholmen	300	business name	linguistic translation
DSR	A-märkt	13	"A"-marked	12	sociocultural concept	non-translation
DSR	A-märkt	48	"A"-registered	46	sociocultural concept	contextualizing
BÖ	Anders de Wahl	161	Henry Irving	145	public figure	relocation
BÖ	Anders de Wahl	164	Henry Irving	149	public figure	relocation
BÖ	angå från Hässelby	102	leaving [no place]	91	place name	omission
MEUT	Annas mat	142	Anna's Food	118	art/literature/music	linguistic translation
MEUT	Ännu doftar det kärlek	159	It Still Smells Like Love	132	art/literature/music	linguistic translation
MEUT	Apoteket	223	the pharmacy	190	business name	substitution
MEUT	Apoteksskylt	195	Apoteket sign	195	business name	non-translation
BÖ	Äppel-mer	6	apple juice	4	food/drink	substitution
BÖ	Äppel-Mer	48	apple juice	42	brand name	substitution
BÖ	är det Svarta Katten?	186	what is it?	169	food/drink	omission
BÖ	Året Runt	225	[nothing]	203	media	omission
BÖ	Arlanda	98	the airport	88	place name	substitution

DSR	Arlanda	76	Arlanda	75	place name	non-translation
DSR	Arlanda	78	Arlanda	78	place name	non-translation
LSS	Arlanda	118	[no arlanda]	92	place name	omission
LSS	Arlanda	229	Arlanda	179	place name	non-translation
LSS	Arlanda	378	Arlanda	298	place name	non-translation
MEUT	Arlanda	132	Arlanda	109	place name	non-translation
MEUT	Arlanda	323	Arlanda	275	place name	non-translation
LSS	Arlanda Express	378	Arlanda Express	298	sociocultural concept	non-translation
MEUT	Arlanda, Stockholm	167	Arlanda, Stockholm	138	place name	non-translation
LSS	Armémuseum	475	the Armémuseum	374	place name	non-translation
LSS	Årstabron	66	(the train came into) Stockholm	51	place name	substitution
DSR	Artur Lindqvist	205	Artur Lundqvist	211	art/literature/music	non-translation
BÖ	Ät mera gröt	265	Eat more oatmeal	241	sociocultural concept	linguistic translation
BÖ	avdelning 72 av SHF	40	Department 72 of the Company	34	organization	transformation
LSS	axelmärke	286	shoulder patch	223	object	substitution
BÖ	Bagarbyvägen	8	Bagarby Road	6	place name	linguistic translation
BÖ	Bagarbyvägen 44C	183	Bagarby Road 44C	167	place name	linguistic translation
BÖ	Bagarbyvägen 44C	186	Bagarby Road 44C	169	place name	linguistic translation
MEUT	bandy	155	bandy	128	sports	non-translation
BÖ	Barnängen	240	Child's	217	business name	linguistic translation
BÖ	barnavårdsnämnden	20	welfare officials	17	organization	substitution
BÖ	barnavårdsnämnden	189	the children's department	172	govt. and politics	linguistic translation
BÖ	barnavårdsnämnden	190	the children's department	173	govt. and politics	linguistic translation
BÖ	barnavårdsnämnden	277	Children's department	251	govt. and politics	linguistic translation
BÖ	barnavårdsnämnden	288	the children's department	262	govt. and politics	linguistic translation
BÖ	barnbidrag	28	children's allowance she received from the government	23	sociocultural concept	linguistic translation

BÖ	barnbidrag	284	government allowance...children's allowance	258	sociocultural concept	linguistic translation
LSS	Beckers färg	691	Beckers Paints	552	brand name	linguistic translation
MEUT	Bengt Westerbergs dotter	282	Bengt Westerberg's daughter	240	public figure	non-translation
MEUT	Bert Karlsson	t.	Bert Karlsson	t.	public figure	non-translation
BÖ	bidrag och understöd	288	welfare	262	sociocultural concept	substitution
MEUT	Bildt	294	Bildt	252	public figure	non-translation
BÖ	biografen Palladium	30	the Palladium building	25	place name	substitution
BÖ	Birger Jarls torg	90	Birger Jarl Square	81	place name	linguistic translation
BÖ	Björn Boll	165	Björn Ball	149	public figure	non-translation
MEUT	Björn Ranelid	50	Björn Ranelid	37	public figure	non-translation
LSS	blågula	257	Swedish	201	sociocultural concept	substitution
MEUT	blandsaft	245	juice	207	food/drink	substitution
MEUT	blatte	t.	blatte	t.	sociocultural concept	non-translation
BÖ	blodpudding	215	black pudding	194	food/drink	relocation
BÖ	Bo Svensson	24	Bo Svensson	20	public figure	non-translation
MEUT	Bonniers	86	Bonniers	69	public figure	non-translation
BÖ	bostadsbidrag	284	rent relief	258	sociocultural concept	linguistic translation
MEUT	brännbollsträ	250	brännboll bat	212	sports	non-translation
MEUT	brännbollsträ	279	brännboll bat	238	sports	non-translation
DSR	brännvin	142	brandy	144	food/drink	substitution
LSS	Brottsförebyggande rådet	564	Crime Prevention Council	447	organization	linguistic translation
MEUT	BSS	284	Keep Sweden Swedish	242	organization	contextualizing
MEUT	BSS	319	Keep Sweden Swedish	272	organization	contextualizing
MEUT	BSS	325	KSS	277	organization	linguistic translation
MEUT	BSS	333	KSS	285	organization	linguistic translation
BÖ	Buster	173	Buster	157	media	non-translation

BÖ	Buttericks	270	Buttericks	245	business name	non-translation
BÖ	byggt upp Uppsala högar	116	building grave mounds	104	place name	substitution
DSR	Carlshamns Flaggpunsch	182	Carlshamn punch	187	food/drink	substitution
LSS	Catch Dry	327	Catch Dry snuff	257	brand name	contextualizing
LSS	Catch Dry	503	Catch Dry snuff	397	brand name	contextualizing
LSS	centern	137	the Centre Party	107	govt. and politics	contextualizing
DSR	Centralbadet	245	Central Baths	258	business name	linguistic translation
BÖ	Centralen	5	the Central Station	4	place name	contextualizing
BÖ	Centralplanen	14	[place name removed]	12	place name	omission
MEUT	Centralstationen	t.	Central Station	t.	place name	linguistic translation
MEUT	Champis	61	Champis	46	brand name	non-translation
BÖ	Cider	58	cider	51	brand name	substitution
LSS	City Hotel på Lorensbergsgatan intill Avenyn	36	City Hotel on Lorensbergsgatan [no Avenyn]	26	place name	non-translation
DSR	Clarté	169	"a leftist student group"	174	organization	substitution
LSS	Comviq	196	Comviq	154	brand name	non-translation
LSS	Comviq kontantkort	702	Comviq cash card	561	brand name	linguistic translation
BÖ	Corner	145	[nothing]	131	business name	omission
LSS	Dagens Eko	172	Dagens Eko	134	media	non-translation
DSR	Dagens namn var Klas	203	The name of the day in the Swedish calendar was "Klas"	210	holiday concept	contextualizing
BÖ	Dagens Nyheter	119	The Daily News	107	media	linguistic translation
BÖ	Dagens Nyheter	138	the papers	122	media	substitution
BÖ	Dagens Nyheter	170	The Daily News	154	Media	linguistic translation
DSR	Dagens Nyheter	46	Dagens Nyheter	44	media	non-translation
LSS	Dagens Nyheter	347	Dagens Nyheter	273	media	non-translation

LSS	dagsböter	92	fine of ten times his daily income	72	sociocultural concept	contextualizing
BÖ	Daily's	264	Daily's	240	business name	non-translation
MEUT	dalahästar	142	Dala horses	117	art/literature/music	linguistic translation
MEUT	Damernas värld	40	Woman's World	27	media	relocation
LSS	de passerade just Sergels Torg	404	they were just passing Sergels Torg in the city centre	318	place name	non-translation
DSR	Den Gyldene Freden	233	"a restaurant called The Golden Peace"	245	business name	contextualizing
MEUT	den svenska fotografen Christer Strömholm	171	Swedish photographer Christer Strömholm	141	public figure	non-translation
BÖ	det allmänna smörgåsbordet	202	the laden table	184	sociocultural concept	substitution
LSS	Dexofen	318	Dexofen	250	brand name	non-translation
BÖ	Dinky-Toy bilar	48	Tinker Toys	42	object	transformation
MEUT	Disney på julafton	142	Disney on Christmas Eve	117	holiday concept	linguistic translation
DSR	djurgårdare	219	soccer fans	229	organization	substitution
MEUT	Djurgårdenhalsduk	259	Djurgården scarf	220	sports	non-translation
MEUT	Djurgårdshalsduk	102	Djurgården scarf	83	sports	non-translation
MEUT	Djurgårdshalsduk	147	Djurgården scarf	121	sports	non-translation
LSS	Djurholms (gymnasium)	508	Djurholms (gymnasium)	400	place name	non-translation
MEUT	DN	326	Dagens Nyheter	279	media	contextualizing
MEUT	dom konservativas patron, Ulf Adelsohn	164	the Conservatives' master, Ulf Adelsohn	135	public figure	non-translation
MEUT	Dr. Alban	80	Dr. Alban	64	public figure	non-translation
MEUT	Dra dit pepparn växer med Leif Hultgrens	159	Go Where the Pepper Grows by Leif Hultgren	132	art/literature/music	linguistic translation

DSR	drack yogurt	18	*no verb* (not drank or ate)	16	sociocultural concept	substitution
BÖ	Dramaten	172	the Royal Dramatic Theater	156	place name	contextualizing
LSS	Dramaten	66	The Dramaten	52	place name	contextualizing
LSS	Dressman	185	Dressman	145	business name	non-translation
BÖ	drog i spolknoppen	130	pulled the handle	118	sociocultural concept	linguistic translation
MEUT	Drottninggatan	224	Drottninggatan	191	place name	non-translation
DSR	du är Smålänning	279	you're from Småland	295	linguistic distinction	linguistic translation
DSR	Dumle-klubbor	65	lollipops	64	food/drink	omission
LSS	E18	703	the E18	561	place name	non-translation
BÖ	E4:an	187	the E4	170	place name	non-translation
MEUT	E4:an	131	the E4 highway	130	place name	contextualizing
LSS	Ebbe Carlsson	398	the journalist Ebbe Carlsson	313	public figure	contextualizing
BÖ	Elvströms Efterträdare	82	Successors and Sons	73	business name	transformation
BÖ	en ask Domino	72	a box of coughdrops	64	food/drink	substitution
LSS	en flaska Loka mineralvatten	483	a full bottle of mineral water	380	food/drink	omission
BÖ	en halvfull burk Exeter	209	a half-empty can	189	brand name	omission
LSS	en kvinnlig riksledamot (v)	277	a female member of parliament [no party given]	217	govt. and politics	omission
BÖ	en mjölkbar i Åkersberga	198	a lunch counter	181	place name	omission
BÖ	en plåtask Three Nuns	280	a tin of Three Nuns	254	brand name	non-translation
BÖ	en stor sportaffär i hörnet Tunnelgatan-Birger Jarlsgatan	122	the sports store [no location]	110	place name	omission
BÖ	en telefonhytt på Stureplan	122	a telephone booth [no place]	110	place name	omission
BÖ	en tia	7	a ten-*kronor* note	5	sociocultural concept	contextualizing
BÖ	en tia	12	a ten	9	sociocultural concept	linguistic translation

LSS	en vanlig Svensson	78	most people	60	sociocultural concept	substitution
MEUT	Eniro	93	Eniro	75	business name	non-translation
LSS	Enrst Fontells Plats (vid Nya Ullevi)	29	Ernst Fontells Plats [no Ullevi]	21	place name	non-translation
DSR	ett paket Prins	78	a pack of Prince cigarettes	77	brand name	contextualizing
MEUT	ettan	301	channel 1	257	media	contextualizing
MEUT	Expressen	326	the paper Expressen	279	media	contextualizing
LSS	extrainsatt *Nyheterna*	551	news special	443	media	substitution
LSS	fackorganet Journalisten	527	the trade magazine Journalisten	417	media	non-translation
BÖ	falukorv	58	hot dogs	51	food/drink	relocation
MEUT	falukorvar	90	Falukorv	72	food/drink	non-translation
DSR	Fanta	106	soda pop	107	brand name	substitution
BÖ	Fazer wienernougat	280	Fazer chocolates, "Wiener Nougat"	254	food/drink	contextualizing
BÖ	Fazers (gröna kulor)	58	green goodies	52	food/drink	omission
BÖ	femtio öre	143	fifty öre	129	sociocultural concept	non-translation
MEUT	Ferrari	132	gummy Ferrari	109	food/drink	contextualizing
MEUT	Ferrari	132	gummy Ferrari first time, then Ferrari	109	food/drink	non-translation
MEUT	Festisförpackning	157	juice packet	130	brand name	substitution
BÖ	FIB/Aktuellt	68	a picture magazine	60	media	transformation
DSR	Filip Trofast Mauritzon, "ett hundnamn"	110	Filip Faithful Mauritzon	110	name	linguistic translation
DSR	Filip Trofast Mauritzon, "ett hundnamn"	175	Filip Faithful Mauritzon	179	name	linguistic translation
MEUT	filmjölk	274	yogurt	233	food/drink	substitution
BÖ	Filmkrönikan	215	Film Chronicle	195	media	linguistic translation

DSR	finlandssvenska	69	Finnish-Swedish	69	linguistic distinction	linguistic translation
MEUT	Fiskeby papp	61	Fiskeby Paper	46	brand name	linguistic translation
MEUT	Fjällrävenryggsäckar	142	Fjällräven backpacks	117	brand name	linguistic translation
DSR	fläsklägg med rotmos	193	pork and mashed turnips	200	food/drink	linguistic translation
DSR	fläskpannkaka	194	pork pancakes	200	food/drink	linguistic translation
BÖ	Flink	78	detergent	70	Brand name	substitution
BÖ	Floras kulle	154	Flora's Mound	139	place name	linguistic translation
MEUT	Flyg fri med Kikki Danielsson	159	Fly Free by Kikki Danielsson	132	art/literature/music	linguistic translation
DSR	Flygcity	179	downtown air terminal	185	business name	transformation
BÖ	flygkapten i SAS	296	a SAS captain	269	business name	linguistic translation
BÖ	Flygstyrman i SAS	160	Airline flight controller	145	brand name	transformation
DSR	födelsenummer	226	social security number	237	sociocultural concept	relocation
BÖ	folk i hela Sthlm skulle tro att Statens Järnvägar firade världens nedläggningsjubileum	134	people all over Sthlm would think the city was celebrating the opening of the greatest hamburger bar in the whole world	121	business name	transformation
BÖ	folka	102	car	92	sociocultural concept	substitution
BÖ	folka	201	Volkswagen	182	sociocultural concept	linguistic translation
LSS	folkbokföringen	269	[sentence deleted]	211	sociocultural concept	omission
LSS	folkbokföringen	331	the public registry	261	sociocultural concept	linguistic translation
MEUT	folkdräktsklädd	151	folk-costumed	126	sociocultural concept	linguistic translation
MEUT	folköl	279	near beer	237	food/drink	substitution
LSS	folkpartistisk	247	People's Party	193	govt. and politics	linguistic translation
BÖ	folkpension	229	a pension		sociocultural concept	substitution
MEUT	follis	331	near beer	282	food/drink	substitution

LSS	Fonus	9	Fonus Funeral Services	6	business name	contextualizing
BÖ	FÖR SVERIGE I TIDEN MED MOTORBUREN UNGDOM	207	YOUNG DRAGSTER SWEDEN	187	sociocultural concept	transformation
LSS	författningsskyddet	t.	Constitutional Protection Unit	t.	govt. and politics	linguistic translation
LSS	första maj	189	May 1st, Mayday	149	holiday concept	relocation
MEUT	Fotohuset: Göteborg	184	the Photo House in Gothenburg	184	place name	linguistic translation
BÖ	från Skåne	220	from the South	198	place name	substitution
MEUT	Fredagskvällsblues by Alf Robertson	159	Friday Evening Blues by Alf Robertson	132	art/literature/music	linguistic translation
LSS	Freys Hotell	101	Freys Hotel	79	business name	non-translation
LSS	Freys Hotell (intill Bobergs gamla posthus) på Vasagatan	101	Freys Hotel, next to the old post office on Vasagatan	79	place name	non-translation
BÖ	Fridhemsplan	175	Fridhemsplan	159	place name	non-translation
BÖ	Fridhemsplan	176	Fridhemsplan	159	place name	non-translation
MEUT	Friggebo	294	Friggebo	252	public figure	non-translation
LSS	Fröviksjacka	286	[sentence deleted]	222	object	omission
LSS	Gallerian	231	the Galleria	180	place name	linguistic translation
BÖ	Gamla Stan	169	Old City	153	place name	linguistic translation
DSR	Gamla Stan	246	The Old City	259	place name	linguistic translation
LSS	Gamla Stan	231	Gamla Stan	180	place name	non-translation
MEUT	Gamla Stan	t.	Gamla Stan	t.	place name	non-translation
BÖ	gamla Uppsalavägen	189	the old Uppsala road	171	place name	linguistic translation
BÖ	gatukök	100	snack bar	89	sociocultural concept	substitution
BÖ	geléhallon	23	raspberry jelly	19	food/drink	transformation
LSS	Glasakuten	414	Emergency Glass	325	business name	linguistic translation

BÖ	glittrade som Pommac	103	glittered like champagne	92	Brand name	substitution
MEUT	Gomorron Sverige	180	Good Morning Sweden	149 - 150	media	linguistic translation
MEUT	Gösta Gigolo med Ingmar Nordströms	159	Gösta Gigolo by Ingmar Nordstroms	132	art/literature/music	linguistic translation
DSR	Göteborg	60	Göteborg	59	place name	non-translation
LSS	Göteborg	t.	Göteborg	t.	place name	non-translation
MEUT	Göteborg	50	Gothenburg	37	place name	linguistic translation
LSS	Göteborgs central	t.	Göteborg Central Station	t.	place name	contextualizing
LSS	Göteborgs Rapé	74	Göteborgs Rapé snuff	57	brand name	contextualizing
BÖ	Gotska sandön	175	[nothing]	159	place name	omission
MEUT	gräddad längtan	237	whole grain bread	201	food/drink	substitution
MEUT	Graningekängor	142	Graninge boots	117	brand name	linguistic translation
BÖ	grillad korv på Matbiten vid Norra Bantorget	144	a hotdog at a stand	125	Business name	omission
BÖ	grisfest	136	roast suckling pig parties	123	food/drink	contextualizing
BÖ	Grodan Boll	76	Kermit	67	art/literature/music	relocation
BÖ	Gröna kulor	55	green goodies	49	food/drink	linguistic translation
BÖ	Gröna kulor	220	green goodies	199	food/drink	linguistic translation
BÖ	gröna kulor (Fazers)	58	green goodies	52	food/drink	linguistic translation
BÖ	Gröna Lund	19	Gröna Lund	16	place name	contextualizing
BÖ	gröna marmeladkulor	268	green goodies	243	food/drink	linguistic translation
LSS	Guillou	175	"He'd read Jan Guillou's books"	136	art/literature/music	contextualizing
BÖ	Gula änkan (Veuve Cliquot)	29	liquor	25	Brand name	transformation

BÖ	Guldhjälm, Plymsköld, Silverspjut	87	Goldhelmet, Plumeshield, Silverspear	78	sociocultural concept	linguistic translation
LSS	Gustav Vasas dagar	284	the time of Gustav Vasa in the 16th century	222	history	contextualizing
DSR	gymnasiet	188	college	194	sociocultural concept	substitution
LSS	gymnasium (Djurholms)	508	(Djurholms) gymnasium	400	sociocultural concept	non-translation
MEUT	gymnasium (Sven Winqvists)	184	secondary school	154	sociocultural concept	substitution
BÖ	Häggvik	186	Häggvik	169	place name	non-translation
DSR	Hakberget	218	Hakberget	228	place name	non-translation
MEUT	Hallandsåsen	247	Hallandsås	209	place name	non-translation
BÖ	hallonbåt	276	raspberry jellybeans	250	food/drink	transformation
MEUT	hallonbåt	130	raspberry boat	107	food/drink	linguistic translation
MEUT	hallonbåt	146	raspberry boat	121	food/drink	linguistic translation
LSS	Hallvigs Reklamtryckeri	532	Hallvigs Reklam, the printers	421	art/literature/music	linguistic translation
BÖ	Hälsan för halsen--Tenor!	280	PAL--Prolonged Active Life	254	brand name	relocation
MEUT	Hälsovägen	93	Health Street	75	place name	linguistic translation
BÖ	hambo	77	hambo	68	sociocultural concept	non-translation
BÖ	hamburgarerestaurangen Carrols	11	Carrol's hamburger bar	10	business name	linguistic translation
BÖ	Hammarbyslussen	111	Hammarby Lock	111	place name	linguistic translation
BÖ	handbollsskor	5	sneakers	3	sports	substitution
DSR	Handelsbanken	234	Handelsbanken	246	business name	contextualizing
DSR	Handelshögskolan	248	College of Commerce	248	organization	substitution
BÖ	Hässelby	106	Hässelby	95	place name	non-translation
BÖ	Hässelby brygga	102	Hässelby Quay	92	place name	non-translation
MEUT	hästtipsen	105	horse-racing coupons	85	sports	contextualizing
BÖ	Havre Fras	131	oatmeal cookies	118	Brand name	substitution
BÖ	Hela Björkfjärden	102	the whole bay	92	place name	substitution

MEUT	hemspråksundervisningen	164	home-language lessons	135	sociocultural concept	linguistic translation
LSS	historiska skepp Kronan och Wasa	124	warships Kronan and Wasa	96	history	non-translation
BÖ	hjortronmarmelad	286	cloudberry jam	286	food/drink	linguistic translation
LSS	hjortronsylt	67	cloudberry jam	52	food/drink	linguistic translation
BÖ	höga husen på Kungsklippan	84	tall buildings in the distance	75	place name	omission
BÖ	hon bodde nära Norra Bantorget	91	back at her apartment	81	place name	omission
LSS	hon var bosatt i ett egnahem i Nacka	278	[sentence deleted]	217	place name	omission
BÖ	Hormoslyr	29	growth inhibitors	24	Brand name	substitution
BÖ	Hötorget	9	the Haymarket	7	place name	linguistic translation
BÖ	Hötorgshallen	136	Haymarket food hall	123	place name	contextualizing
MEUT	Hötorgshallen	149	the Hötorgshallen market	123	place name	contextualizing
BÖ	HP-sås (actually English)	46	ketchup	40	food/drink	substitution
MEUT	Humlans gård	92	Humlans Gård	74	place name	non-translation
BÖ	Humle och Dumle	38	the flowers and the bees	33	art/literature/music	transformation
BÖ	Humlegården	122	Humle Gardens	110	place name	linguistic translation
BÖ	Humlegården	130	Humle Gardens	118	place name	linguistic translation
DSR	Humlegården	138	Humlegården Park	141	place name	contextualizing
DSR	husmanskost	194	the simplest of food	200	food/drink	substitution
BÖ	Husquarna	44	Husqvarna	39	Brand name	non-translation
LSS	hyresnämnden	679	[sentence deleted]	542	sociocultural concept	omission
LSS	i bilen på Lundagatan	81	in his car [no Lundagatan]	63	place name	omission
BÖ	i korsningen Flemingsgatan-S:t Eriksplan	175	at the intersection	158	place name	omission
MEUT	Ian Wachtmeister	282	Ian Wachtmeister	240	public figure	non-translation
LSS	IB-affären	111	the Internal Bureau Affair	86	history	contextualizing

LSS	IB-affären	117	[sentence deleted]	91	history	omission
LSS	IB-affären	226	the IB affair	177	history	non-translation
LSS	ICA-butiken	533	the grocery	422	business name	substitution
MEUT	idomisera	108	Pond-ize	88	brand name	relocation
DSR	Inger Malmroos stilskola	52	Inger Malmroos' School for Models	50	organization	non-translation
LSS	intill Bobergs gamla posthus	101	next to the old post office	79	business name	omission
DSR	isterband med stuvad potatis vilket var dagens husmansrätt	194	"the *plat du jour*: sausages and boiled potatoes"	200	food/drink	substitution
MEUT	Izabella Scorupco	80	Izabella Scorupco	64	public figure	non-translation
BÖ	jag tar nog Corner på Vasagatan	144	no, perhaps he'd go to the Corner House	130	business name	contextualizing
MEUT	Jan Guillou	80	Jan Guillou	64	public figure	non-translation
BÖ	Janne Schaffers	66	Janne Schaffer	59	art/literature/music	non-translation
LSS	JO	678	parliamentary ombudsman	541	govt. and politics	contextualizing
MEUT	julmust	85	julmust	67	food/drink	non-translation
LSS	Kaffebar på Hornsgatan	166	the Kaffebar on Hornsgatan	130	business name	non-translation
MEUT	Kaknästorn	85	Kaknäs Tower	69	place name	linguistic translation
LSS	Kalle Jävla Blomquist	58	Kalle Fucking Blomquist	45	art/literature/music	linguistic translation
BÖ	Kapten Albatross	266	Captain Albatross	241	art/literature/music	linguistic translation
LSS	Karlskrona Hem	257	Karlskrona Homes	201	business name	linguistic translation
BÖ	Karlsson på taket	67	Karlson on the Roof	67	art/literature/music	contextualizing
BÖ	Karlsson på taket	244	Karlson on the Roof	244	art/literature/music	linguistic translation
DSR	Karolinska sjukhuset	17	Karolinska hospital	14	organization	non-translation
MEUT	Kastanjevägen	93	Chestnut Street	75	place name	linguistic translation
MEUT	Katarina Mazetti	50	Katarina Mazetti	37	public figure	non-translation

MEUT	Katrinebergsvägen	93	Katrineberg Street	75	place name	linguistic translation
LSS	KDU och SSU (on mugs)	167	the KDU and SSU political parties	130	govt. and politics	contextualizing
MEUT	KFUM Söder	267	KFUM Söder	227	organization	non-translation
MEUT	Khemiris smultronställe (bergmansk och aptiterande)	181	Khemiri's Wild Strawberry Patch (Bergmanesque and appetizing)	151	art/literature/music	linguistic translation
LSS	klyftpotatis	336	Greek potatoes	264	food/drink	relocation
BÖ	knäckebröd	19	hardbread	16	food/drink	linguistic translation
BÖ	Knoll & Tott	74	Pop Goes the Weasel	65	art/literature/music	transformation
BÖ	kokosbollar	5	coconut balls	3	food/drink	linguistic translation
MEUT	kolonihus	323	small garden houses	276	sociocultural concept	substitution
LSS	kommunisttidningen Clarté	104	communist publication Clarté	81	media	non-translation
MEUT	Konstnärsnämnden	155	The Arts Grants Committee	128	organization	linguistic translation
MEUT	Konstnärsnämnden	171	The Swedish Art Grants Committee	142	organization	contextualizing
MEUT	Konsum	195	Konsum grocery	163	business name	contextualizing
MEUT	Konsum	268	Konsum	228	business name	non-translation
LSS	Konsum	555	Konsum	440	business name	non-translation
LSS	Konsumkasse	510	Konsum bag	403	business name	non-translation
BÖ	Konsum's märke [the infinity sign]	239	the Konsum trademark [no image]	217	business name	linguistic translation
BÖ	konsumvaruhuset OBS!	187	a large co-op	170	business name	substitution
DSR	Kontrollstyrelse	155	State Wines and Spirits Board	158	organization	contextualizing
BÖ	korsningen Kungsgatan-Vasagatan	145	intersection	131	place name	omission
BÖ	kräftlykta	92	outdoor party lantern	82	Holiday concept	substitution
BÖ	kräftlykta	285	clambake lantern	259	Holiday concept	relocation
DSR	kräftor	91	crawfish	91	food/drink	linguistic translation

DSR	kräftor	94	crawfish	92	food/drink	linguistic translation
DSR	kräftor	96	crawfish	95	food/drink	linguistic translation
MEUT	kritor	146	chalk licorice	121	food/drink	contextualizing
MEUT	krona	t.	crown	t.	sociocultural concept	linguistic translation
LSS	Kronobergshäktet	199	Kronoberg Prison	156	place name	linguistic translation
DSR	Kronobergsparken	72	Kronoberg Park	72	place name	linguistic translation
BÖ	kronofogdmyndigheten i Stockholm	294	Inland Revenue: Inspector's Office	268	govt. and politics	transformation
DSR	kronor	137	Swedish kronor/kronor	139	sociocultural concept	non-translation
LSS	kronor	37	kronor	27	sociocultural concept	non-translation
BÖ	Kronvodka	209	vodka	189	brand name	omission
BÖ	kryddost	104	spicy cheese	94	food/drink	linguistic translation
MEUT	KTH	326	the Royal Institute of Technology	279	organization	contextualizing
BÖ	Kulan Växer	66	[no song title]	59	art/literature/music	omission
DSR	Kumla	60	Kumla Prison	59	place name	contextualizing
DSR	Kumla	t.	Kumla	t.	place name	non-translation
LSS	Kumla	76	Kumla prison	59	place name	contextualizing
BÖ	Kung Carl XVI Gustaf of Sverige	179	King Karl Gustaf XVI of Sweden	162	public figure	non-translation
MEUT	Kungsan	289	Kungsträdgården	246	place name	contextualizing
BÖ	Kungsgatan	146	the main street	131	place name	substitution
BÖ	Kungsgatan	147	King Street	133	place name	linguistic translation
MEUT	Kungsgatan	224	Kungsgatan	191	place name	non-translation
BÖ	Kungsörnen spaghetti	59	spaghetti	53	brand name	omission
LSS	Kungstornet...caféet	347	Kungstornet...the café	273	business name	non-translation
BÖ	Kungsträdgården	152	King's Gardens	137	place name	linguistic translation
MEUT	Kungsträdgården	t.	Kungsträdgården	t.	place name	non-translation
DSR	låg på någon klinik på SöS	277	"some clinic on the South Side"	294	organization	transformation

BÖ	lagom	104	sufficiently	93	sociocultural concept	substitution
DSR	lagom	47	medium	45	sociocultural concept	substitution
DSR	lagom	177	medium	182	sociocultural concept	substitution
DSR	lagom	195	[none]	201	sociocultural concept	contextualizing
MEUT	lagom	56	perfect	42	sociocultural concept	substitution
MEUT	lagom	140	the right	116	sociocultural concept	substitution
MEUT	lagom	142	just right	118	sociocultural concept	substitution
MEUT	lagom	174	lagom	144	sociocultural concept	non-translation
MEUT	lagom	174	lagom	144	sociocultural concept	non-translation
MEUT	lagom	222	sufficiently	189	sociocultural concept	substitution
MEUT	lagom	235	just the right level of	199	sociocultural concept	substitution
MEUT	Läkerol	132	Läkerol lozenges	108	brand name	contextualizing
BÖ	Lakka	280	Lakka	254	food/drink	non-translation
BÖ	Lakka	286	Lakka	260	food/drink	non-translation
LSS	landstingen	t.	the hospital('s)	t.	govt. and politics	transformation
LSS	Långholmen	104	Långholmen prison	80	place name	contextualizing
MEUT	Långholmen	170	Långholmen	141	place name	non-translation
DSR	lapplisa	103	crossing guard	103	sociocultural concept	transformation
DSR	lapplisa	104	crossing guard	104	sociocultural concept	transformation
MEUT	Lasermannen	t.	the Laser Man	t.	public figure	linguistic translation
LSS	lättöl	134	light beer	104	food/drink	substitution
LSS	lättöl	335	light beer	264	food/drink	substitution
LSS	lättöl	335	beer	264	food/drink	substitution
LSS	Laurinska huset	320	the Laurinska building	251	place name	linguistic translation
DSR	Lergigan	5	a tranquilizer	3	brand name	substitution
DSR	lingonsylt	127	whortleberry jam	129	food/drink	linguistic translation
DSR	lingonsylt	129	whortleberry jam	131	food/drink	linguistic translation

LSS	Livets Ord	481	the Word of Life	379	sociocultural concept	linguistic translation
LSS	LO	231	Trade Union Confederation	181	organization	contextualizing
LSS	LO	257	Trade Union Confederation	202	organization	contextualizing
DSR	löjrom	92	black caviar	93	food/drink	transformation
MEUT	löpsedlar	281	news bills	240	media	substitution
LSS	löpsedlarna	10	billboards	7	media	substitution
LSS	löpsedlarna	21	newspaper billboards	15	media	contextualizing
LSS	löpsedlarna	100	headline	77	media	substitution
LSS	löpsedlarna	119	headline	92	media	substitution
LSS	löpsedlarna	333	headline	262	media	substitution
MEUT	löpsedlarna	326	news bills	279	media	linguistic translation
BÖ	lördagsdeckare	200	Saturday detective thriller	182	sociocultural concept	linguistic translation
BÖ	Lövet/Löwenströmska	47	Löwenström Hospital	46	place name	contextualizing
BÖ	Lövsta	290	reform school	263	place name	substitution
BÖ	Löwenströmska personalbostäder	188	the staff quarters at Löwenström Hospital	171	place name	non-translation
BÖ	Lucia	202	Lucia Day	184	holiday concept	contextualizing
BÖ	Luciatåg	301	Lucia Day procession	274	holiday concept	linguistic translation
MEUT	Luciatåg	142	Lucia processions	117	holiday concept	linguistic translation
DSR	macka	162	sandwich	166	sociocultural concept	linguistic translation
BÖ	mackor	35	sandwiches	30	food/drink	substitution
BÖ	Mackor!...räkor, majonnäs, ost, ägg och ansjovis, leverpastej med gurka, kokt skinka med mandarinklyftor	169	Eats!...open-faced sandwiches with shrimps, mayonnaise, egg and anchovies, liver sausage with gherkins, cold ham with sections of mandarin orange	153	food/drink	substitution
BÖ	Mälaren	108	the Mälare	97	place name	linguistic translation

BÖ	Mälaren	176	the Mälare	159	place name	linguistic translation
BÖ	Marabou	20	Marabou Chocolate, Inc.	17	food/drink	contextualizing
BÖ	Maranataförsamling	10	Maranata church	8	sociocultural concept	non-translation
DSR	Maria kyrka	5	Church of St. Maria	3	place name	linguistic translation
LSS	Mariahissen	320	the Maria lift	251	place name	linguistic translation
DSR	Mariatorget	5	The Maria Square	3	place name	linguistic translation
DSR	Mariatorget	50	The Maria Square	47	place name	linguistic translation
DSR	Mariatorget	59	The Maria Square	58	place name	linguistic translation
LSS	Mariatorget	348	Hornsgatan	274	place name	transformation
BÖ	Mariebergsbadet	177	Marieberg swimming area	160	place name	linguistic translation
BÖ	Mariekex	46	vanilla wafers	41	Brand name	substitution
DSR	märket Mjau	156	"with the label 'Miaow'"	159	brand name	linguistic translation
BÖ	Märklin	257	Märklin	233	brand name	non-translation
BÖ	Matbiten	144	[nothing]	130	business name	omission
MEUT	Mauro Scocco	80	Mauro Scocco	64	public figure	non-translation
MEUT	Mazettis Ögon Cacao	61	Mazettis Ögon Cacao	46	brand name	non-translation
BÖ	McDonald's on Kungsgatan	123	McDonalds [no street]	105	place name	omission
BÖ	Mefa	244	Mefa	220	business name	non-translation
MEUT	Mega	287	Mega	245	business name	non-translation
MEUT	Mellanbergsvägen	93	Mellanberg Street	75	place name	linguistic translation
BÖ	mellanöl	19	[removed]	16	food/drink	non-translation
BÖ	mellanöl	19	beer	16	food/drink	substitution
BÖ	mellanöl	46	beer	40	food/drink	substitution
BÖ	mellanöl	287	beer	261	food/drink	substitution
DSR	mellanöl	46	beer	44	food/drink	substitution
DSR	mellanöl	257	beer	271	food/drink	substitution
LSS	mellis (mellanöl)	470	beer	371	food/drink	substitution

MEUT	Melodifestivaler	102	Eurovision	83	art/literature/music	substitution
BÖ	Mesimarja	280	Mesimarja	254	brand name	non-translation
DSR	Metallarbetaren	46	The Metal Worker	44	media	linguistic translation
BÖ	Micke	300	Mickey	273	name	relocation
BÖ	Midsommar	58	Midsummer	50	Holiday concept	linguistic translation
BÖ	Midsommarafton	57	Midsummer Eve	50	Holiday concept	linguistic translation
DSR	Midsommarafton 1968	269	The summer of 1968	284	holiday concept	omission
MEUT	midsommarfester	248	midsummer parties	210	holiday concept	linguistic translation
MEUT	midsommarfirande	142	midsummer celebrations	117	holiday concept	linguistic translation
BÖ	Midsommarnatten	66	Midsummer Eve	59	Holiday concept	linguistic translation
BÖ	Midsommarnatten	67	Midsummer	59	Holiday concept	linguistic translation
MEUT	miljonprojektbox	248	Million Program box	210	sociocultural concept	linguistic translation
MEUT	miljonprojektslägenhet	172	Million Program apartment	143	sociocultural concept	linguistic translation
MEUT	Moderna Museet (Skeppsholmens)	170	the Museum of Modern Art	141	art/literature/music	linguistic translation
DSR	morakniv	184	peasant knife	189	object	substitution
LSS	morakniv	209	Mora sheath knife	163	object	contextualizing
LSS	Morgondraken	49	the biggest daily	37	media	substitution
BÖ	mörkrött--falurött	107	auburn [no second shade of red]	98	sociocultural concept	omission
DSR	Morris	114	Morris's	115	business name	non-translation
BÖ	Mors lille Olle	116	Mother's Little Olle	104	art/literature/music	contextualizing
MEUT	Mullvadens kvarter	170	block of the Mullvaden Occupation	141	history	contextualizing
DSR	mums-mums	65	Mums-mums chocolate balls	64	food/drink	contextualizing
DSR	murklor och nejlikbroskivling	160	"ribbons with dried mushrooms"	163	food/drink	substitution
LSS	Myrorna	299	Salvation Army Store	233	business name	relocation
MEUT	någon som delar namn med Pippis apa	301	someone who shares a name with Pippi's monkey	257	art/literature/music	linguistic translation

BÖ	när du kommer till korsningen Kungsgatan-Vasagatan	144	when you get to that intersection...	130	place name	omission
BÖ	när man cyklade över ett övergångsställe vid Fridhemsplan	175	bicycling around here...	159	place name	omission
DSR	närkingska	103	"a Närke dialect"	104	linguistic distinction	linguistic translation
MEUT	nassarna äger stan varje 30 november	276	the Nazis own the city every November 30	235	sociocultural concept	linguistic translation
LSS	NCC	255	NCC	200	organization	non-translation
BÖ	nej, det får bli Wimpeys bar	144	no, it would have to be a Wimpey Bar	130	business name	non-translation
MEUT	Nibblebacken	93	Nibble Hill	75	place name	linguistic translation
MEUT	niglows	322	niglows	275	sociocultural concept	non-translation
BÖ	NK	229	the NK store	229	business name	contextualizing
LSS	NK	231	NK department store	180	business name	contextualizing
MEUT	NK	256	NK	218	business name	non-translation
BÖ	Norra Bantorget	145	...over there?	131	place name	omission
BÖ	Norra Bantorget	269	North Station Square	294	place name	linguistic translation
BÖ	Norra Kyrkogården	285	North Churchyard	259	place name	linguistic translation
BÖ	Norra Ljusterö	199	North Ljuster Island	181	place name	linguistic translation
BÖ	Norra Ljusterö	206	North Ljuster Island	185	place name	linguistic translation
LSS	Norrbygg AB	680	Norrbygg Inc	544	business name	non-translation
BÖ	Norrland	47	Norrland	41	place name	non-translation
BÖ	Norrlandsgatan	232	Norrland Street	210	place name	linguistic translation
BÖ	Norrlandsgatan	284	the street	257	place name	omission
MEUT	Norrlandsgatan	290	Norrlandsgatan	248	place name	non-translation
MEUT	norrlänning	294	Norrlander	251	place name	linguistic translation
MEUT	Norrmalmspiket	292	Norrmalm riot squad	250	place name	non-translation
MEUT	Norrmalmspoliser	294	Norrmalm police	252	place name	non-translation

BÖ	Norrmalmstorg	163	Norrmalm Square	147	place name	linguistic translation
DSR	Norrskär	86	The "Norrskär"	86	name	non-translation
BÖ	Norrtull	285	Norrtull	259	place name	non-translation
DSR	Norstedts	228	Norstedts	239	business name	non-translation
MEUT	Norstedts	28	Norstedts	17	business name	non-translation
MEUT	Norstedts	39	Norstedts	27	business name	non-translation
MEUT	Norstedts	80	Norstedts	64	business name	non-translation
MEUT	Nov. 30	321	Nov. 30	274	sociocultural concept	non-translation
MEUT	nubbe	248	schnapps	210	food/drink	substitution
DSR	Ny Dag	46	"the communist paper Ny Dag"	44	media	contextualizing
LSS	Ny Demokrati	229	New Democracy Party	180	govt. and politics	contextualizing
MEUT	Ny Demokrati	t.	New Democracy	t.	govt. and politics	linguistic translation
BÖ	OBS!	152	[whole sentence deleted]	138	Business name	omission
BÖ	OBS! Sveriges största hotdogstand	187	N.B. The largest hotdog stand in Sweden	170	business name	linguistic translation
BÖ	Odengatan	81	[no street name]	72	place name	omission
BÖ	Odengatan	292	Oden Street	266	place name	linguistic translation
MEUT	Odengatan	224	Odengatan	191	place name	non-translation
BÖ	OK--konsumentägd	195	O.K. Co-op owned	177	business name	linguistic translation
LSS	OK-mack	683	gas station	545	business name	substitution
BÖ	OK-mössan	219	his cap	198	brand name	omission
BÖ	OK-mössan	225	his OK Co-op hat	204	brand name	contextualizing
DSR	Ölands (öl)	92	[deleted]	93	brand name	omission
LSS	ombud	129	representative	100	sociocultural concept	linguistic translation
DSR	Operakällarens matsal	83	Opera Cellar restaurant	83	business name	linguistic translation
BÖ	Operan	174	the Opera	158	place name	linguistic translation
LSS	Operan	298	the opera	232	place name	linguistic translation

DSR	ordningspolisen	31	Metropolitan police	28	organization	substitution
LSS	öre	678	öre	542	sociocultural concept	non-translation
LSS	öre	324	öre	254	sociocultural concept	non-translation
LSS	Öresundsbron	262	the bridge to Copenhagen	205	place name	substitution
LSS	Öresundsbron	364	the Øresundsbron	286	place name	non-translation
MEUT	Östermalm	273	Östermalm	232	place name	non-translation
MEUT	Östermalmslägenheter	164	Östermalm apartments	135	place name	non-translation
MEUT	Östermalmssvenskar	303	Östermalm Swedes	260	place name	non-translation
LSS	osthyvelprincipen	292	"cheese plane" principle	227	object	linguistic translation
DSR	ostkupa	153	casserole cover	156	object	transformation
MEUT	otursgivande gatbrunnor	244	bad-luck manhole covers	244	sociocultural concept	linguistic translation
BÖ	över halva Svealand	211	over half of Sweden	191	place name	substitution
MEUT	P1	60	P1	45	media	non-translation
BÖ	på just Sveavägen	229	on this road	207	place name	omission
BÖ	på lagom avstånd	147	at a distance	133	sociocultural concept	omission
BÖ	på Lucia	20	on St. Lucia Day	16	Holiday concept	contextualizing
BÖ	på väg till Stureplan	148	on their way to Stureplan	133	place name	non-translation
BÖ	pålägg	58	cold cuts	51	food/drink	substitution
DSR	Palme och Geijer och Calle P…	91	"Palme, and Geijer, and Calle P."	92	name	non-translation
MEUT	pant- (in various forms)	140	(redeemable) bottles	116	sociocultural concept	linguistic translation
MEUT	pappan i Emil	147	the dad in Emil in the Soup Tureen	122	art/literature/music	contextualizing
LSS	passerade Årstabron	151	passed Årstabron	118	place name	non-translation
MEUT	pepparkakor	144	ginger snaps	120	food/drink	relocation
MEUT	Per Ahlmark	284	Per Ahlmark	242	public figure	non-translation
LSS	perspektivfönstret med utsikt mot Saltsjön	403	the picture window	315	place name	omission
BÖ	plankorna från torpet vid Rösjön	241	the bare boards in the cottage last	218	place name	omission

			night			
LSS	Pocketshop	469	Pocket bookshop	370	business name	contextualizing
BÖ	postgiro	33	account	28	sociocultural concept	substitution
DSR	prästkrage	210	Michaelmas daisy	219	object	transformation
LSS	Pressbyrån	101	Pressbyrån	78	business name	non-translation
LSS	Pressbyrån	327	Pressbyrån	257	business name	non-translation
LSS	Pressbyrån	470	Pressbyrån	370	business name	non-translation
LSS	Pressbyrån	535	Pressbyrån news stand	424	business name	contextualizing
MEUT	Pressbyrån	146	the newspaper stand	121	business name	substitution
LSS	Pressens tidning	527	Pressens tidning, a media journal	527	media	contextualizing
BÖ	Pripps Blå	99	Pripps Blue	89	brand name	linguistic translation
BÖ	Pripps fatöl	58	Pripps beer cans	51	brand name	linguistic translation
LSS	PUB	474	PUB department store	374	business name	contextualizing
LSS	puben Tre Remmare	470	the Tre Remmare pub	370	business name	non-translation
LSS	RÅ	563	NPO	446	govt. and politics	linguistic translation
MEUT	racistiska Sjöbo	327	the racist town of Sjöbo	279	place name	non-translation
MEUT	Rädda-träd-demonstranter	92	Save-the-trees demonstrators	74	sociocultural concept	linguistic translation
LSS	Räddningstjänsten	8	Rescue Service	6	organization	linguistic translation
LSS	Räddningstjänsten	17	Rescue Service	10	organization	linguistic translation
LSS	Rådhuset	89	city hall	70	place name	substitution
MEUT	raggare	92	raggare gangs	74	sociocultural concept	contextualizing
BÖ	Raggarna	207	the dragsters	207	sociocultural concept	substitution
LSS	rågkaka med ost och leverpastej	60	cheese and liver paté sandwich	47	food/drink	substitution
BÖ	Rålambshov	164	Rålambshov	148	place name	non-translation
BÖ	Rålambshovsparken	176	Rålambshovsparken	159	place name	non-translation
BÖ	Rålambsparken	175	the park	164	place name	omission
BÖ	Rålambsparken	180	the park	175	place name	omission

DSR	Ramlösa	65	Ramlösa	65	brand name	non-translation
LSS	Ramlösa	38	water	28	brand name	substitution
LSS	Ramlösa	393	Ramlösa	310	brand name	contextualizing
LSS	Ramlösa	394	[sentence deleted]	310	brand name	omission
LSS	Ramlösa	532	Ramlösa	422	brand name	non-translation
LSS	Ramlösa	608	mineral water	484	brand name	substitution
MEUT	Ramlösavatten	61	Ramlösa mineral water	46	brand name	contextualizing
BÖ	Rangsells	116	a dumpster [no name]	104	Business name	substitution
BÖ	Rapport	24	the news	24	media	substitution
MEUT	Rapport	166	the news program Rapport	137	media	contextualizing
MEUT	Rapport	282	Rapport	241	media	non-translation
MEUT	Regulatorvägen	93	Regulator Street	75	place name	linguistic translation
MEUT	remmar	147	whips	121	food/drink	linguistic translation
LSS	ressallskap9april@hotmail.com	373	ressallskap9april@hotmail.com	294	linguistic distinction	non-translation
LSS	restaurang Mäster Anders	602	Mäster Anders restaurant	479	business name	non-translation
BÖ	RFSU	170	Trojan	154	organization	transformation
BÖ	Richard Widmark	153	Richard Widmark	138	public figure	non-translation
BÖ	Ricky Bruch	96	Ricky Bruch, the discus thrower	86	public figure	contextualizing
BÖ	Riddarholmskajen	84	Riddarholm Quay	75	place name	linguistic translation
BÖ	Riddarholmskyrkan	85	Riddarholm Church	75	place name	linguistic translation
BÖ	Riddarholmskyrkan	86	Riddarholm Church	77	place name	linguistic translation
LSS	Riksåklagarämbetet	563	National Prosecutors' Office	446	govt. and politics	linguistic translation
LSS	Riksdagen	156	Parliament	122	govt. and politics	substitution
DSR	riksmordskommisionen	19	National Homicide Squad	17	organization	linguistic translation
DSR	Rikspolisstyrelsen	21	National Police Board	19	organization	linguistic translation
DSR	Rikspolisstyrelsen	52	National Police Board	50	organization	linguistic translation
LSS	Riksväg 180	63	the 180	51	place name	substitution

MEUT	Rinkeby	295	Rinkeby	252	place name	non-translation
MEUT	Rinkebysvenska	28	Rinkeby Swedish	17	sociocultural concept	non-translation
MEUT	Rinkebysvenska	39	Rinkeby Swedish	27	sociocultural concept	non-translation
MEUT	Röda Kvarn	342	the Röda Kvarn theater	294	business name	contextualizing
LSS	rödbetssallad	288	beet salad	225	food/drink	linguistic translation
LSS	Rosenbad	111	Rosenbad	87	place name	non-translation
LSS	Rosenbad	201	Rosenbad	158	place name	non-translation
LSS	Rosenbad	378	Rosenbad	298	place name	non-translation
BÖ	Roslagskulla	209	Roslagskulla	189	place name	non-translation
DSR	RPS	21	NPB	19	organization	linguistic translation
LSS	RPS/Säk	65	Swedish internal security		organization	contextualizing
LSS	RPS/Säk	t.	SIS	t.	organization	linguistic translation
BÖ	Ryttaren	155	[no name]	140	brand name	omission
BÖ	S:t Eriksbron	174	St. Erik's bridge	174	place name	linguistic translation
BÖ	S:t Eriksplan	174	St. Erik's square	158	place name	linguistic translation
MEUT	S:t Eriksplan	184	Sankt Eriksplan	153	place name	non-translation
BÖ	saft	44	juice	38	food/drink	substitution
DSR	säkerhetspolisen	154	security police	157	organization	linguistic translation
DSR	säkerhetspolisen	218	security police	227	organization	linguistic translation
LSS	säkerhetspolisen	t.	security police	t.	organization	linguistic translation
MEUT	salt godispatron	231	salty sucker	196	food/drink	substitution
MEUT	saltsugisar	147	salty suckers	121	food/drink	linguistic translation
BÖ	Salubrin	10	ointment	7	brand name	substitution
MEUT	Samarin	61	Samarin	46	brand name	non-translation
LSS	sambo	79	girlfriend	61	sociocultural concept	substitution
LSS	sambo	317	living with someone	249	sociocultural concept	linguistic translation
LSS	Samirs Gryta	335	Samir's Cauldron	263	business name	linguistic translation

LSS	Säpo	t.	Säpo	t.	organization	non-translation
MEUT	Säpo	292	Security Service	250	organization	contextualizing
MEUT	Säpo	325	security police	278	organization	contextualizing
LSS	Säpoutredning	17	Säpo report	11	organization	non-translation
MEUT	Scan-sponsrad	225	Scan Foods-sponsored	191	brand name	contextualizing
BÖ	Securitas	289	watchman	263	business name	substitution
LSS	Securitas	198	Securitas	156	business name	non-translation
LSS	Securitas	215	Securitas	168	business name	non-translation
LSS	Securitas	266	Securitas	208	business name	non-translation
MEUT	Securitasvakter	284	Securitas Guards	242	business name	non-translation
LSS	sedan föll skotten på Sveavägen	108	then the assassin's shots rang out on Sveavägen	84	history	contextualizing
BÖ	sedan går jag ned till Norra Bantorget	144	then he'd go down to the northern station for a bite to eat	130	place name	substitution
DSR	Sergels torg	179	Sergelstorg	184	place name	non-translation
MEUT	Sergels Torg	288	Sergels Torg	246	place name	non-translation
MEUT	Sergels Torg	330	Sergels Torg	283	place name	non-translation
BÖ	sill	105	pickled herring	94	food/drink	linguistic translation
DSR	sirapslimpa	102	loaf of bread	102	food/drink	substitution
DSR	sirapslimpa	106	bread	107	food/drink	substitution
DSR	sirapslimpa	108	loaf	108	food/drink	substitution
LSS	SJ (Website)	61	[no mention of name just site]	48	business name	omission
LSS	Sjöbodebatten	229	the Sjöbö debate	188	history	non-translation
MEUT	Sjöbopolitiker	294	Sjöbo politicians	252	place name	non-translation
MEUT	skagenröra	237	Skagen shrimp salad	201	food/drink	contextualizing
LSS	Skandia	401	Skandia	315	business name	non-translation
LSS	Skandiadirektörer	324	directors of Skandia	254	business name	non-translation

LSS	Skandiadirektörer	332	directors of Skandia	261	business name	non-translation
MEUT	Skåne	153	Skåne	127	place name	non-translation
MEUT	Skansen	138	Skansen	114	place name	non-translation
MEUT	Skansen	142	Skansen	117	place name	non-translation
MEUT	Skansen	182	Skansen	151	place name	non-translation
BÖ	skånsk husmorspastej	58	liverwurst	51	food/drink	substitution
LSS	Skanska	256	Skanska	200	business name	non-translation
BÖ	Skanstullsbron	111	the Skanstull Bridge	101	place name	linguistic translation
MEUT	Skara Sommarland	326	Skara Sommarland	279	business name	non-translation
MEUT	Skärholmens billigaffärer	214	cheap stores in Skärholmen	214	place name	non-translation
MEUT	Skarpnäck	87	Skarpnäck	69	place name	non-translation
MEUT	Skattemyndigheten	91	the tax board	72	govt. and politics	linguistic translation
DSR	Skatteverket	249	Internal Revenue	239	organization	relocation
DSR	Skeppsbron	19	Skeppsbron	17	place name	non-translation
DSR	Skeppsbron	233	Skeppsbron Quay	245	place name	contextualizing
DSR	Skeppsbron	240	Skeppsbron	252	place name	non-translation
DSR	Skeppsbron	245	Skeppsbron	258	place name	non-translation
MEUT	Skeppsholmens (Moderna Muséet)	170	(the Museum of Modern Art) of Skeppsholmen	141	place name	non-translation
DSR	SKL	142	the lab	142	organization	substitution
LSS	SKL	73	the lab	56	organization	substitution
MEUT	skogaholmslimpa	143	rye bread	119	food/drink	substitution
MEUT	skogaholmslimpa	237	rye bread	201	food/drink	substitution
BÖ	Skogskyrkogården	74	Skogs Cemetery	66	place name	linguistic translation
DSR	skorrande	220	rolling his *r*s	230	linguistic distinction	transformation
MEUT	SL	t.	Stockholm Public Transit first time, thereafter SL	t.	business name	contextualizing

MEUT	SL	t.	SL	t.	business name	non-translation
BÖ	slå om till rött	197	lock the bathroom door	180	sociocultural concept	substitution
DSR	Slussen	9	Slussen	8	place name	non-translation
LSS	smeknamnet Falun	174	the nickname Falun	136	name	non-translation
LSS	smörgåsar	653	open sandwiches	520	food/drink	contextualizing
LSS	smörgåsar	t.	sandwiches	t.	food/drink	substitution
BÖ	smörgåsbordet	202	the table	184	sociocultural concept	omission
LSS	smörgåstårta	393	sandwiches	310	food/drink	transformation
LSS	SMP	t.	SMP	t.	media	non-translation
MEUT	Snabbköpskassörskan	159	The Convenience Store Cashier	132	art/literature/music	linguistic translation
LSS	snus	283	snuff	222	object	substitution
MEUT	snus	142	snuff	117	object	linguistic translation
MEUT	snus	321	snuff	274	object	substitution
BÖ	Snus-Johan	158	Snuff-Sam	148	name	relocation
DSR	Söder	60	the South Side	59	place name	substitution
MEUT	Söderfolket	195	people from Söder	163	place name	non-translation
MEUT	Södermalm	195	Södermalm	163	place name	non-translation
DSR	Södermalm (är en ö...)	59	The South Side of Stockholm is an island...	58	place name	substitution
LSS	Söderort	137	Söder	106	place name	non-translation
DSR	Söders polisdistrikt	8	South Precinct	10	organization	relocation
DSR	Södersjukhusets infektionsklinik	229	the communicable disease clinic of South Hospital	240	place name	linguistic translation
MEUT	Södertälje	230	Södertälje	195	place name	non-translation
LSS	Södra teatern	375	Södra theater	297	place name	linguistic translation
BÖ	solhatt från Marimekko	86	Marimekko sun hat	86	brand name	non-translation
BÖ	Solution	153	[no name]	139	brand name	omission

DSR	som en tomte på julafton	210	as Father Christmas	219	holiday concept	relocation
LSS	Sosse	137	Social Democrat	106	govt. and politics	contextualizing
LSS	Sosse	190	Pinkos	150	govt. and politics	transformation
DSR	sparkstöttning	186	a sled	192	object	substitution
BÖ	sportlovet	144	sports breaks	130	sociocultural concept	linguistic translation
BÖ	sportlovet	200	school skiing week	182	sociocultural concept	substitution
DSR	Stadsgården	240	Stadsgården Quay	252	place name	contextualizing
LSS	Stadsmuseet	327	the Stadsmuseum	257	place name	linguistic translation
DSR	Stål vs. Svärd (names)	149	not translated	151	name	non-translation
BÖ	Stallmästargården	98	the Stallmästar restaurant	88	business name	contextualizing
BÖ	stanna vid trafikljusen i korsningen Kungsgatan-Sveavägen	147	stop at the traffic lights	133	place name	omission
LSS	starköl	676	beer	540	food/drink	substitution
LSS	Stockholm maraton	469	a marathon	370	sociocultural concept	substitution
MEUT	Stomatol	61	Stomatol	46	brand name	non-translation
BÖ	stor som en surströmmingsburk	97	big as a plate	87	food/drink	transformation
MEUT	storkolakuber	146	big toffee squares	121	food/drink	linguistic translation
BÖ	Storm P:s glada uteliggare	58	[nothing]	51	brand name	omission
DSR	Ström (affär)	178	Ström	184	business name	non-translation
DSR	Strömmen	86	The Stream	86	place name	linguistic translation
LSS	studentmössa	509	mortarboard	402	object	relocation
LSS	Sturegallerian	375	the Sture gallerian	296	place name	non-translation
MEUT	Sunlight Tvål	61	Sunlight Soap	46	brand name	linguistic translation
BÖ	surströmming	73	sour pickled herring	64	food/drink	linguistic translation
BÖ	surströmmingsfabriken	10	pickled herring factory	8	food/drink	linguistic translation
MEUT	svagdricka	177	small beer	147	food/drink	substitution

MEUT	Svartskallarnas sammansvärjning	80	Colored Conspiracy	64	art/literature/music	linguistic translation
LSS	svartskalle	265	dark-skinned immigrant	208	sociocultural concept	substitution
LSS	svartskalle	265	foreign	208	sociocultural concept	substitution
LSS	svartskalle	296	nigger	223	sociocultural concept	relocation
MEUT	svartskalle	80	coloreds	64	sociocultural concept	relocation
MEUT	svartskalle	175	nigger	146	sociocultural concept	relocation
MEUT	svartskalle	242	niggers	205	sociocultural concept	relocation
LSS	Svartvitt förlag	231	Black/White Publishing	181	business name	linguistic translation
LSS	Svavelsjö MC	25	Svavelsjö Motorcycle Club	18	organization	contextualizing
LSS	Svavelsjö MC	t.	Svavelsjö MC	t.	organization	non-translation
LSS	Svea Rikes Lag	258	The Laws of the Swedish Kingdom	203	govt. and politics	linguistic translation
LSS	Sveabygg AB	328	Svea Construction Inc.	258	business name	linguistic translation
BÖ	Sveaplan	285	Sveaplan	259	place name	non-translation
BÖ	Sveavägen	285	Svea Road	258	place name	linguistic translation
MEUT	Sveavägens korsning med Odengatan	224	Sveavägen's intersection with Odengatan	191	place name	non-translation
MEUT	Sven Winqvists (gymnasium)	184	Sven Winqvist's (Secondary School)	154	place name	non-translation
MEUT	svennarna	t.	swediots	t.	sociocultural concept	contextualizing
MEUT	svenne	142	Swede	118	sociocultural concept	substitution
LSS	Svensk Handel	257	Svensk Handel	200	organization	non-translation
MEUT	Svenska Dagbladet	199	Svenska Dagbladet	167	media	non-translation
MEUT	Svenska Dagbladet	358	Svenska Dagbladet	310	media	non-translation
LSS	Svenska Morgon-Posten	t.	Svenska Morgon-Posten	t.	media	non-translation
MEUT	Svenska ÖB	326	the Swedish commander-in-chief	279	govt. and politics	contextualizing
LSS	Svenskt Näringsliv	536	Svenskt Näringsliv, the confederation of Swedish enterprise	425	organization	contextualizing

MEUT	sverigedemokrater	t.	Sweden democrats	t.	govt. and politics	linguistic translation
MEUT	SVT	255	Swedish Television	217	media	contextualizing
MEUT	SVT chef	326	director of Swedish Television	279	media	contextualizing
MEUT	Swedlows	28	Swedelow	17	sociocultural concept	non-translation
MEUT	Swedlows	268	Swediots	228	sociocultural concept	contextualizing
MEUT	Swedlows	281	Swedlows	239	sociocultural concept	non-translation
MEUT	Swedlows	322	Swedlows	275	sociocultural concept	non-translation
DSR	systembolaget	248	state liquor store	262	organization	contextualizing
MEUT	Systembolaget	195	Systembolaget	163	business name	non-translation
MEUT	Systembolaget	256	Systembolaget	217	business name	non-translation
LSS	Systemkasse med flaskor (champagne)	647	crate from the liquor store	517	business name	substitution
MEUT	Systempåsar	332	Systembolaget bags	286	business name	non-translation
DSR	Systempåse	262	a bag containing some bottles from the State Liquor Monopoly	276	organization	contextualizing
MEUT	Täbyskola	248	school in Täby	210	place name	non-translation
MEUT	Tanto	107	Tanto Park	87	place name	contextualizing
MEUT	Tanto	140	Tanto Park	116	place name	contextualizing
DSR	Tantolunden	233	Tantolunden Park	244	place name	contextualizing
DSR	T-Centralen	248	Central Station	262	place name	contextualizing
BÖ	Teknikens Värld	60	Technical World	53	media	linguistic translation
BÖ	telefonerade till Sonesson & Rilke	122	calling Sonesson & Rilke	110	business name	non-translation
MEUT	Televerket	256	telephone company	217	business name	substitution
BÖ	tetra-pak	266	the carton	242	brand name	substitution
BÖ	Thorleif H.	27	Thorleif Hansen	22	public figure	contextualizing
BÖ	Thorleif Hansen	199	Thorleif Hansen	182	public figure	non-translation

BÖ	Thorleif Hansen (motocrosstjärna)	24	motocross star Hansen	20	public figure	non-translation
LSS	tidningen *Se*	388	*Se* magazine	306	media	non-translation
LSS	Tidningsutgivarna	559	Newspaper Publishers' Association	443	media	contextualizing
MEUT	Tiedemanns tobak	61	Tiedemann's Tobacco	61	brand name	linguistic translation
BÖ	till en öde ö, Gotska Sandön?	175	to an uninhabited island	159	place name	omission
DSR	tips	193	soccer pools	199	sociocultural concept	contextualizing
DSR	tipset	108	State Soccer Pools	108	sociocultural concept	contextualizing
MEUT	Tipsextra	102	Tipsextra soccer matches	83	sports	contextualizing
BÖ	tipskupong	240	a betting form	217	sociocultural concept	linguistic translation
LSS	TIR-skyltad	683	with the emblem of the International Road Transport Union	546	organization	contextualizing
MEUT	Tom Hjelte	80	Tom Hjelte	64	public figure	non-translation
BÖ	TOR-linje	265	the TOR line	241	business name	non-translation
DSR	torrbastun	245	sauna	258	sociocultural concept	substitution
BÖ	Tre små röda	81	Three Red Roses	72	business name	transformation
MEUT	Trekanten	129	the lake Trekanten	106	place name	contextualizing
MEUT	Trekanten	195	Trekanten	164	place name	non-translation
MEUT	Treotabletter...metallrör	279	Treo tablets...metal tubes	237	brand name	linguistic translation
MEUT	Troppstigen	285	the Tropp Path	243	place name	linguistic translation
DSR	T-skyltad	217	T-registered	226	sociocultural concept	linguistic translation
LSS	TT	323	TT wire service	252	media	contextualizing
BÖ	Tuborg	58	Tuborg	51	brand name	non-translation
BÖ	Tuborg	149	Tuborg	135	Brand name	contextualizing
LSS	tunnelbana	66	tunnelbana	52	object	non-translation
MEUT	Turkisk peppar	146	Turkish pepper	121	food/drink	linguistic translation
BÖ	TV1/TV2	124	Channels 1 and 2	111	Media	contextualizing

LSS	TV4	536	TV4	425	media	non-translation
BÖ	tvärsöver Smålandsgatan	232	[nothing]	210	place name	omission
MEUT	TV-stjärnan Magnus Härenstam	347	the TV star Magnus Härenstam	298	public figure	non-translation
MEUT	Ultima Thule	284	Ultima Thule	242	art/literature/music	non-translation
MEUT	Unni Drougge	50	Unni Drougge	37	public figure	non-translation
BÖ	upp mot Pub	145	up toward Haymarket	131	Business name	transformation
BÖ	Upplands Väsby trafikplats	189	the Upplands Väsby turn	171	place name	non-translation
BÖ	Urho Kekkonen käkar lemmin makkara	65	Urho Kekkonen eats lemmin makkara	58	public figure	non-translation
BÖ	Urho Kekkonen käkar lemmin makkara	269	Urho Kekkonen eats lemmin makkara	244	public figure	non-translation
MEUT	V65	255	V65 racing bets	217	sports	contextualizing
BÖ	väderleksrapporten med Lennart Hyland	144	the weather forecast	130	public figure	omission
LSS	Valborgsmässoafton	443	Walpurgis night	349	holiday concept	linguistic translation
BÖ	valborgsmässobål	184	gigantic bonfire	167	holiday concept	substitution
MEUT	VAM	t.	White Aryan Resistance	t.	organization	contextualizing
MEUT	VAM	t.	WAR	t.	organization	linguistic translation
BÖ	Vänern och Vättern	41	Läke Väner and Läke Vätter	46	place name	contextualizing
BÖ	var har vi kallskänka	104	where the hell's the cold cuts	93	sociocultural concept	transformation
BÖ	Varg-Olle Nygren, speedwaysuperhjälten	24	Speedway hero Nygren	20	public figure	non-translation
BÖ	Vasagatan	144	[nothing]	130	place name	omission
LSS	Västra Götaland	29	Västra Götaland	21	place name	non-translation
DSR	vetebröd	171	a loaf	175	food/drink	substitution
DSR	vetelängd	109	a cake	110	food/drink	transformation
DSR	Vi	46	Vi	44	media	non-translation

BÖ	Vic-juice	266	[no brand]	241	brand name	omission
LSS	vid Nya Ullevi (Ernst Fontells Plats)	29	Ernst Fontells Plats [no Ullevi]	21	place name	omission
BÖ	Vinterpalatset	91	the Winter Palace	81	place name	linguistic translation
BÖ	vit Matbiten (snabbrestaurangen vid Norra Bantorget?)	145	…over there?	131	business name	omission
LSS	Vitavara AB	257	Vitavara Inc.	201	business name	non-translation
MEUT	Vivianne Franzén	327	Vivianne Franzén	279	public figure	non-translation
MEUT	Volvopatronen Gyllenhammar	172	the Volvo master Gyllenhammar	143	public figure	non-translation
LSS	Wennerströmaffären	154	the Wennerström affair	120	history	non-translation
BÖ	Wentzels	15	Wentzels	12	business name	non-translation
LSS	X2000	21	X2000	15	object	non-translation
LSS	X2000	211	X2000	165	object	non-translation
LSS	X2000 (passerade Årstabron)	66	the train (came into Stockholm)	51	object	non-translation
BÖ	Zingo	198	Zingo	181	food/drink	non-translation
BÖ	Zingo	292	Zingo	266	food/drink	non-translation

APPENDIX B
Survey material, Part I: The Survey

UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN-MADISON Research Participant Information and Consent Form

Title of the Study: Swedish-to-English Translators' Use of Online Resources in Translation Projects: A Survey Study

Principal Investigator: Kirsten Wolf (phone: (XXX) XXX-XXXX, email: XXXX@wisc.edu)

Student Researcher: Rachel Willson-Broyles (email: XXXX@wisc.edu)

DESCRIPTION OF THE RESEARCH You are invited to participate in a research study about how Swedish-to-English translators use online resources in their translation work. You have been asked to participate because you are a Swedish-to-English translator. The purpose of the research is to find out 1) how often and in what ways Swedish-to-English translators use online resources in their translation work and 2) whether translators who worked prior to having access to online resources find that access to online resources has changed the way they translate. This study will include translators who work in the Swedish-to-English language pair. The research consists of an Internet survey that can be completed from any computer. The data collected in the survey will be retained for purposes not described in the application (i.e. future unrelated research projects.)

WHAT WILL MY PARTICIPATION INVOLVE? If you decide to participate in this research you will be asked to answer a series of questions about your translation work. You may skip any questions you do not wish to answer. You will be asked to complete 1 survey. Your participation will last approximately 15 minutes per session and will require 1 session which will require 15 minutes in total.

ARE THERE ANY RISKS TO ME? We don't anticipate any risks to you from participation in this study.

ARE THERE ANY BENEFITS TO ME? We don't expect any direct benefits to you from participation in this study.

HOW WILL MY CONFIDENTIALITY BE PROTECTED? This study is anonymous. Neither your name nor any other identifiable information will be recorded.

WHOM SHOULD I CONTACT IF I HAVE QUESTIONS? You may ask any questions about the research at any time. If you have questions about the research after you complete the survey you should contact the Principal Investigator Kirsten Wolf at (XXX) XXX-XXXX. You may also contact the student researcher, Rachel Willson-Broyles, via email at XXXX@wisc.edu . If you are not satisfied with response of research team, have more questions, or want to talk with someone about your rights as a research participant, you should contact the Education Research and Social & Behavioral Science IRB Office at 608-263-2320.

Your participation is completely voluntary. If you begin participation and change your mind you may end your participation at any time without penalty. By continuing you agree to participate in this survey.

Q18 Are you at least 18 years of age?

- ❍ Yes (1)
- ❍ No (2)

If No Is Selected, Then Skip To End of Survey

Q1 Do you translate professionally (i.e. are you paid to translate by a client, publisher, agency, etc.)?

- ❍ Yes (1)
- ❍ No (2)

If No Is Selected, Then Skip To End of Survey

Q2 Is Swedish to English your primary language pair?

- ❍ Yes (1)
- ❍ No, my primary language pair is (2) _____

Q3 What is your primary translation specialization?

- ❍ Medical (1)
- ❍ Legal (2)
- ❍ Technical (3)
- ❍ Literary (4)
- ❍ Other (please specify) (5) _____

Q4 Do you translate literature from Swedish to English?

- ❍ Yes (1)
- ❍ No (2)

Q5 When doing your translation work, which of the following types of resources do you use? Select all that apply.

- ❑ Online resources (online dictionaries, search engines, other Websites) (1)
- ❑ Electronic resources (computer-based resources that are stored on a hard drive, such as a dictionary program or Computer-Aided Translation program) (2)
- ❑ Non-digital resources (books, other printed material) (3)
- ❑ Other (please specify) (4) _____
- ❑ None of the above (5)

If Online resources (online di... Is Not Selected, Then Skip To Did you translate professionally befo...

Q6 Which of the following types of online resources do you use when you translate? Select all that apply.

- ❑ Search engines (e.g. Google, Bing, DuckDuckGo) (1)
- ❑ Wikipedia (2)
- ❑ Online thesauri (3)
- ❑ Online monolingual dictionaries (4)
- ❑ Online bilingual dictionaries (5)
- ❑ Websites of a government agency (6)
- ❑ Websites of a private company (7)
- ❑ Image search engines (e.g. Google Image) (8)
- ❑ Online maps (e.g. Google Maps, Mapquest) (9)
- ❑ Online term banks (e.g. Eurotermbank, Rikstermbanken) (10)
- ❑ Online corpora (11)
- ❑ Other (please specify) (12) _____
- ❑ I do not use online resources (13)

Q9 Crowdsourcing is a term for using social media (such as Facebook or Twitter) to ask a large number of people a question simultaneously. Have you ever used crowdsourcing to get an answer to a translation problem?

- ❍ Yes (1)
- ❍ No (2)

Q7 Imagine a typical hour of translation work. How many times during this hour would you make use of an online resource, on average?

- ❍ 0 times (1)
- ❍ 1-2 times (2)
- ❍ 3-4 times (3)
- ❍ 5 or more times (4)

Q8 Did you translate professionally before you had access to online resources?

- ❍ Yes (1)
- ❍ No (2)
- ❍ I do not currently have access to online resources when I translate. (3)

If Yes Is Not Selected, Then Skip To End of Survey

Q10 Do you feel that having access to online resources changed the way you did the work of translation?

- ❍ Yes (1)
- ❍ No (2)

If No Is Selected, Then Skip To Do you feel that having access to the...

Q12 Please give examples of how having access to online resources changed the way you did the work of translation.

Q11 Do you feel that having access to online resources changed the amount of time it took you to complete a translation project?

- ❍ Yes; I finish translations more quickly. (1)
- ❍ Yes; it takes me longer to finish translations. (2)
- ❍ No (3)

Q14 Do you feel that having access to online resources changed the final product of your translations?

- ❍ Yes (1)
- ❍ No (2)

If No Is Selected, Then Skip To End of Survey

Q15 Please give examples of how access to online resources changed the final product of your translations.

Survey material, Part II: Email Invitation Text

Dear Translator,

You are invited to participate in a short survey about Swedish-to-English translation practices and the Internet. You have been identified as a potential participant because you are a member of a professional organization for translators.

The data gathered from this survey will be used in research for my dissertation, entitled "Cultural Untranslatability in Swedish-English Literary Translation in the Age of the Internet." My research is on translation of culture-specific material and the ways translators use the Internet in their work.

To access the survey, please use this link: [link] The survey will be accessible until [date].

Please feel free to forward this survey to any Swedish-to-English translator you may know who might not have received the invitation via the mailing list of a professional organization.

Thank you for your time!

Best wishes,

Rachel Willson-Broyles
XXXX@wisc.edu
Ph.D. Candidate, Dept. of Scandinavian Studies
University of Wisconsin-Madison

Survey Materials, Part III: IRB Exemption Letter

Education Research IRB - Social and Behavioral Sciences IRB

Submission ID number: 2012-1042

Title: A Survey on How Swedish-to-English Translators Use Online Resources

Principal Investigator: Kirsten Wolf

Point-of-contact: Rachel Willson-Broyles

IRB Staff Reviewer: Casey Pellien

Date of Determination: 01/11/2013

Determination

___IRB review is not required because, in accordance with federal regulations, your project does not:
___constitute research as defined under 45 CFR 46.102 (d)
___involve human subjects as defined under 45 CFR 46.102 (f)
Additional information:

_X_Your study qualifies for exemption under category:
___45 CFR 46.101(b)(1): Research in educational settings
_X_45 CFR 46.101(b)(2): Research involving the use of educational tests, surveys, interviews
___45 CFR 46.101(b)(3): Research involving the use of educational tests, surveys, interviews with public officials or required by federal statute
___45 CFR 46.101(b)(4): Research involving existing data or specimens
___45 CFR 46.101(b)(5): Demonstration projects
___45 CFR 46.101(b)(6) Taste and food quality evaluation

Although your study is exempt from federal regulations, UW-Madison Human Research Protection Program policy requires that all human subjects research be conducted in accordance with the highest ethical standards/Belmont Report.

Additional information:

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