

CULTURE-SPECIFIC ITEMS IN JENS LAPIDUS' SNABBA CASH AND ITS TRANSLATIONS INTO ENGLISH AND CROATIAN

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Abstract

This article examines the treatment of culture-specific items (CSIs) in the English and Croatian translations of Jens Lapidus' crime novel Snabba Cash. Previous research has revealed that translations from Swedish into English are usually target-oriented, whereas translations from Swedish into Croatian tend to be source-oriented. Since the binary classification of strategies hardly echoes reality, the objective of this study is to conduct an in-depth, comparative analysis of the adopted translation techniques and strategies, and to highlight the differences between the two translations. Two parallel corpora have been created: one for the Swedish-English language pair, and the other for the Swedish-Croatian language pair. CSIs have been grouped into six categories and analyzed with respect to translation techniques (cf. Pedersen 2007, Franco Aixelá 1996) and strategies (cf. Veselica Majhut 2012, Pavlović 2015). Although no definite conclusions can be drawn, the quantitative results point to diverse tendencies regarding the treatment of such items in both translations.

1. Introduction

Everything around us is immersed in culture. This is a fact that we can hardly deny. But what does the concept of culture actually involve? According to the renowned American sociologist Anthony Giddens (2009), culture does not only entail values, norms and lifestyle patterns as merely symbolical or ideological entities specific to a particular society, but it also comprises artifacts, i.e. material goods produced by its members. In other words, this concept does not only refer to lifestyle or behavior patterns pertinent to a particular society, such as customs, rituals, values, institutions or languages, but also to physical objects, along with the technology required to utilize them.

Avid readers of genre fiction stemming from various countries and cultures have certainly come across such entities: they are usually names, objects or phenomena rooted in the source culture. Swedish popular fiction, for instance, opens a gateway to the world where many implicit and explicit references to Swedish culture can be found. But how should we recognize what might be perceived as typical of a particular foreign culture? The answer to that question is relatively simple: an item could be considered culture-specific when it is brought into contact with another culture (cf. Franco Aixelá 1996). Let us now look at the cultural fragments in the following sentence:

I går kväll gick Olof till den närmsta ICA-butiken för att handla, sedan kom han hem och läste Aftonbladet, medan hans fru tittade på Aktuellt.

(Yesterday evening, Olof went to the nearest ICA-store to buy groceries, and then he came home and read Aftonbladet, while his wife watched Aktuellt.)

In the constructed situation depicted above, we could list four distinct items that relate to the Swedish cultural system: the name *Olof*, the company *ICA*, the newspaper *Aftonbladet* and the TV-program *Aktuellt*. This sentence, if translated in such a way as to retain all four items in Swedish, would be rather puzzling for target readers who are not familiar with the source culture. On the other hand, if the translator replaces these items with corresponding target culture items, the potential audience would be able to understand the text with great ease, but the local flavor of the text will unfortunately disappear. Additionally, the translator may opt to omit or paraphrase these items in a neutral manner, which could potentially result in these items no longer fulfilling their “function” in the target text. Ultimately, should the translator make an effort to explicate these culture-specific items in an attempt to educate the readership, the translation might become very instructive, facilitating the comprehension of the depicted situation. How translators construe and render these items into foreign languages, however, does not depend only on their own reasoning, but also on instructions and/or guidelines issued by publishing companies and relevant bodies, national “norms” etc.

Hence, the rendering of culture-specific items appears to be one of many formidable challenges literary translators face in their professional careers. As intercultural mediators, translators play an indispensable role in constructing

cultural identities, since they are largely responsible for the way in which the source culture is portrayed and positioned in relation to the target text. Consequently, it is essential to examine items representative of a specific source culture in translations intended for other cultural markets.

The primary objective of this study is to investigate potential similarities and differences in the ways in which culture-specific items were rendered in the English and Croatian translations of Jens Lapidus' breakout novel *Snabba Cash*, as well as to identify the translation techniques and strategies employed. Although the topic of CSIs, in general, has hitherto been addressed by many influential scholars (Ivir 1987, Florin 1993, Franco Aixelá 1996, Pedersen 2007 etc.), there are very few relevant studies dealing with culture-specific items in translation from Swedish into English and/or Croatian (Grundler 2012, Takáč 2015). Therefore, the purpose of this paper is to contribute to this area of translation studies by offering fresh and helpful insights that could be used in further research of the phenomenon.

2. Jens Lapidus and *Snabba Cash*

Jens Lapidus is a Swedish lawyer who made his debut as an author in 2006 when his first crime novel *Snabba Cash* was published. The novel soon hit the bestsellers' list in Sweden and Lapidus made his real breakthrough. Praised by critics, Lapidus' approach to writing crime fiction differs from the traditional Swedish one: he illustrates the world of criminals, gangs, and brats from their own perspectives, describing them as whole individuals made of flesh and blood. In an interview with the Swedish daily newspaper *Dagens Nyheter*, he unveiled the mystery of his success: "Swedish crime novels usually follow the British tradition, while I have my role models among the Americans like Ellroy" (Carlberg 2008). *Snabba Cash* and his other two novels, *Aldrig fucka upp* ("Never Fuck Up") and *Livet deluxe* ("Life Deluxe"), which together constitute a trilogy about conflicts in a world where all boundaries between fiction and reality are disrupted, prompted the establishment of a separate subgenre that Lapidus refers to as *Stockholm Noir*.

Three life stories are intertwined in the novel. Johan Westlund, a.k.a. JW, a student of economics, earns money by driving an illegal taxicab and selling

cocaine in order to climb the social ladder and sneak into Stockholm's upper-class social circles. Drug dealer Jorge Salinas Barrio, originally from Chile, is on the run from both the police and the Serbian mafia. Having escaped from the Österåker prison, his mind is set on fleeing the country as soon as possible. Lastly, Mrado Slovic, a Serbian hatchet man, manages his boss Radovan's money laundering business, while fantasizing about a good life for his daughter Lovisa and himself. What connects these three life stories is, of course, a burning desire to earn easy money.

Although usually perceived as "low-brow" and "market-oriented" - meaning they appeal to the widest range of consumers as they are produced, sold and translated very quickly and cheaply - crime novels make a vast majority of today's translation production and, as such, may reveal more about the decision-making process than translations of "high-brow" literature (Storm 2016: 10). In addition, given that the novel about Stockholm's underworld attracted substantial attention in Sweden, achieving remarkable success on the market, which swiftly turned Lapidus into a bestselling author on the well-established Swedish crime fiction scene, the choice of *Snabba Cash* as the primary research material is not particularly surprising.

3. Theoretical background

Javier Franco Aixelá (1996: 52) suggests that "translation mixes two or more cultures", which indicates "an unstable balance of power, a balance which will depend to a great extent on the relative weight of the exporting culture as it is felt in the receiving culture". In other words, a linguistic and cultural community is characterized by a set of habits, customs, and values that sometimes overlap, but more frequently differ from another community (1996: 53). Furthermore, the cultural asymmetry between two linguistic communities "is necessarily reflected in the discourses of their members, with the potential opacity and unacceptability this may involve for the target cultural system" (1996: 53-54). Thus, "translation provides the receiving society with a wide range of strategies" so that cultural discrepancies would not deny or call our own way of life into question (1996: 54).

In this section, the cues that commonly cause cultural asymmetry - culture-specific items - will be discussed. This aspect of translation will be described with reference to previous research and elaborated upon in the sections to follow.

3.1 Previous research on culture-specific items

In recent years, there have only been two relevant “pilot project studies” on translations of popular fiction from Swedish into English and/or Croatian, both focusing on Stieg Larsson’s *Män som hatar kvinnor*. In 2012, Mišo Grundler conducted a qualitative study on the Croatian and English translations of the novel (by Željka Černok and Reg Keeland, respectively). He found, among other things, that one of the greatest dissimilarities between the Croatian and the English translations of Stieg Larsson’s *Män som hatar kvinnor* lay in the distribution of global translation strategies. Referring to the analysis of the Croatian translation, the author concludes that

Černok generally used *foreignisation* for more important culture-specific items, while she domesticated those that did not play a great role in reality and/or the novel. On the other hand, *domestication* is the dominant strategy in Keeland’s translation. (2012: 37)

Even though Grundler gained the impression that the English translation was target-oriented, Adrián Takáč (2015: 2), who adopted both qualitative and quantitative approaches, revealed in his study that Keeland’s translation was strongly source-oriented (89%). This clearly demonstrates that studies on culture-specific items to some extent are influenced by the researchers’ own construal of what should and should not be perceived as culture-specificity in a given context. Grundler’s study, furthermore, produced interesting results relating to the use of footnotes in translations into both English and Croatian, a question he posed to the translators. Unlike the American translator, who believed that footnotes have a negative effect on how the novel as a text hangs together, the Croatian translator thought that they always play an immensely instructive role in translations as they inform the potential readers about foreign cultures.

Furthermore, we would like to acknowledge two further studies, which have meaningfully contributed to both translation studies as a discipline and research

on culture-specific items, and which we have greatly benefited from, although they have not exactly covered the Swedish-English and Swedish-Croatian language pairs. Jan Pedersen's (2007) dissertation on subtitling norms in Sweden and Denmark with an emphasis on culture-specific items shed new light onto how subtitlers may deal with such elements. Pedersen provided valuable and universally applicable insights into the nature of *Extralinguistic Cultural References (ECR)*, developing a more detailed taxonomy of translation techniques, which to a certain degree has also been implemented in this study, and signaling tentatively that Venuti's (1995) relatively "sharp" binary classification of translation strategies into *domestication* and *foreignisation* hardly finds echoes in reality. A similar idea comes to the fore in Snježana Veselica Majhut's (2012) comprehensive diachronic study on culture-specific items in translations of popular fiction from English into Croatian, in which she outlined a system where all translation techniques could contribute to one or both axes indicating possible text-level orientations or global strategies. These two studies are looked at and discussed in more detail in Section 3.4.3.

In the next section, the fundamental notion of *culture-specific items*, as well as our reasoning of the concept, will be introduced and described.

3.2 *Culture-specific items (CSIs)*

Many translation theorists have already devoted their research to CSIs, which has resulted in the existence of various terms denoting the same phenomenon. During the 1980s, Ivir (1987) and Newmark (1988) contributed to this subject area with their formulations of "cultural words". Although redefined by Florin (1993), who called them "realia", Mailhac (1996) and Olk (2001) spoke of "cultural references", whereas Franco Aixelá (1996) and Kwieciński (2001) chose "culture-specific items". Pedersen took a step further to expound the notion: he refined the concept, adapting it to his own corpus, and opted to name it "Extralinguistic Cultural Reference" (2007). In the subsequent paragraph, we will look at Florin's and Franco Aixelá's descriptions, as both form the basis for our own interpretation of CSIs.

Florin (1993: 123) uses the term "realia" to refer to CSIs, i.e. elements in the original that "are intimately bound up with the universe of reference of the original culture". Here he gives a more thorough definition:

Realia (from the Latin *realis*) are words and combinations of words denoting objects and concepts characteristic of the way of life, the culture, the social and historical development of one nation and alien to another. Since they express local and/or historical color they have no exact equivalents in other languages. They cannot be translated in a conventional way and they require a special approach. (ibid.)

On the other hand, Franco Aixelá (1996: 58) defines CSIs as:

Those textually actualized items whose function and connotations in a source text involve a translation problem in their transference to a target text, whenever this problem is a product of the non-existence of the referred item or of its different intertextual status in the cultural system of the readers of the target text.

Veselica Majhut (2012: 24) argues that Florin's conceptualization highlights the role CSIs have as "textual markers of the cultural otherness contained in a ST". As mentioned above, Florin (1993: 123) underscores that these items carry local and/or historical color and convey cultural specificity in the following example:

On the other hand, it is possible to take a bath in a *sauna* anywhere in Europe, but that bath will be called Finnish, not Turkish or Russian. There is a great difference between an ancient Roman *toga* and *togas* judges wear in some countries. India has *jungles*, South Africa has a *veld*, and Siberia has its *taiga*.

In his article, Franco Aixelá views the same subject from a different angle, takes his rationale further, as well as criticizes Newmark and his static view of CSIs: "If we [...] have learnt anything about translation and intercultural relationships, it is their dynamic nature. No two elements retain the same relationship over a sufficient period of time" (1996: 57). According to Snell-Hornby (1988: 42, cited in Franco Aixelá 1996:57), such translation problems, as many scholars have labeled them, do not only depend on the ST, but also on how relevant these items are for the readers of the TT who "belong to a particular culture or a subgroup within that culture". As a result, they have acquired their own knowledge of the world, which they apply to create perceptions, make judgments and form attitudes. At this point, we would like to turn the attention to the idea that, in fact, there are no culture-specific items as such, a claim also supported

by Franco Aixelá. He holds that “in translation a CSI does not exist of itself”, but rather mediates a clash arising from

any linguistically represented reference in a source text which, when transferred to a target language, poses a translation problem due to the nonexistence or to the different value [...] of the given item in the target language culture. (ibid.)

The following example further reinforces this notion:

In Bible translation, there is the now classic argument over how to translate the image of the ‘lamb’ into languages in whose cultures this animal is unknown or, if known, does not have connotations of innocence, helplessness, and so on. Thus, the translation of ‘lamb’ from Hebrew into the language of Eskimo will acquire, in principle, the status of a CSI and will become a translation problem. On the other hand, it will not constitute a culture-specific item, in its translation into Spanish or English, given its intertextually comparable load as a pure and sacrificial animal in the three languages. (1996: 57-58)

This rationale also applies to several examples noted in our corpus. In the original, various units of length and mass such as *centimeter*, *meter*, *kilometer* or *kilogram* appear, which we treat as culture-specific in relation to the traditional British or American units of measurement, even though they are not only used in Sweden:

SV: Femtio **meter** längre fram låg en avlång villa med ett lusthus bredvid och ett garage som såg ut att vara byggt direkt i berggrunden. (p. 8)

EN: Fifty or so **yards** farther up was a rectangular home with an outdoor pavilion and a garage that looked like it was built right into the bedrock. (p. 4)

On the other hand, we do not consider these units culture-specific in translation into Croatian because they are widely accepted in both Sweden and Croatia, and they contain similar connotations in both languages. These two examples underpin the view that CSIs exclusively occur in contact with a different culture. Naturally, we should not forget that whether an item could be identified as culture-specific depends on the cultures and languages in question.

3.3 *Categorization of CSIs*

Since the main topic of the present research is to analyze culture-specific items, it seems reasonable to develop a method for mapping all items found in the

original within various “domains” (Pedersen 2007: 108). Franco Aixelá (1996: 57) divides CSIs into two basic categories, namely *proper nouns* and *common expressions*, and shows that translators do not approach them in the same way. Nevertheless, his classification appears to be inadequate. In this regard, we have adopted Newmark’s (1988) older but more nuanced model as the groundwork for our own categorization that would be more suitable for the analysis. We would like to present Newmark’s (1988: 95) arrangement of “foreign cultural words”. He puts forth the following categories:

1. *Ecology* (including flora, fauna, winds, plains and hills)
2. *Material culture* (artefacts)
 - a) Food
 - b) Clothes
 - c) Houses and towns
 - d) Transport
3. *Social culture* – work and leisure
4. *Organisations, customs, activities, procedures and concepts*
 - a) Political and administrative
 - b) Religious
 - c) Artistic
5. *Gestures and habits*

In addition to the categories mentioned above, Newmark (1988: 214-216) specifies three more categories: *people’s names*, *names of objects* and *geographical terms*.

We have decided to adapt Newmark’s categories to the collected data. Below we propose a potential categorization of CSIs found in *Snabba Cash*, which has been used throughout this study:

1. *Geographical names* (e.g. *Värmland*, *Medborgarplatsen* etc.)
2. *Names of institutions, companies, organizations and other business activities* (e.g. *SL*, *Grosshandlarn* etc.)

3. Names of people (e.g. *Magnus Ugglå, Ove Rytter* etc.)
4. Mass media (e.g. *Aftonbladet, Slitz* etc.)
5. Food and drinks (e.g. *Ramlösa, mellanöl* etc.)
6. Other (e.g. *enkrona, VG* etc.)

We comment on this categorization in more detail in Section 6, illustrating each category with more examples extracted from the translations of the novel into English and Croatian.

Now we turn to translation techniques that translators have at their disposal in order to transfer CSIs from a source language into a target language. Apart from this, in the next section we discuss a potential classification of translation techniques we deem more relevant within the context of this research. Largely, it relies on Pedersen's (2007) taxonomy, which we have modified with respect to Franco Aixelá's (1996) categories.

3.4 Translation techniques or translation strategies?

In this study, it seems crucial to make a clear distinction between *translation techniques* and *translation strategies*. Veselica Majhut (2012: 29) points out that one of the central issues influencing scholarly discussions of CSIs pertains to a terminologically "inconsistent and overlapping use" of the terms "strategy", "procedure", "method" and "technique", "which imposes a burden on the entire discipline of Translation Studies". However, Marco (2009: 73, cited in Veselica Majhut 2012: 31) offers a viable solution:

How many concepts do we need? I think we only need two:

- a) one for the cognitive routes which lead to problem-solving and are concerned, therefore, with the translation process. There is broad consensus, I think, on the use of the term 'strategy' to refer to this concept. Strategies could be conscious or automatized; and it would be an important step ahead if the term strategy were used to refer to this concept only.
- b) one for the various kinds of relationship observable between source text segments and target text segments, which could be referred to as 'techniques' or 'solution types'. Both terms have advantages and drawbacks. The former has a long history in

the literature, can be easily distorted and often carries undesired connotations; the latter is perfectly logical but lacks tradition.

While Veselica Majhut (2012: 31) adopts the term *solution type* because it does not carry any negative connotations, we have preferred to adhere to the term *technique* which, according to Marco (2009: 73, cited in Veselica Majhut 2012: 31), boasts a much longer history in the literature. Having said that, we have decided to employ the terms *translation technique* and *translation strategy* in this study.

3.4.1 Translation techniques

In his study on subtitling norms in translations from English into Swedish and Danish, Pedersen (2007) distinguishes between seven major categories of translation techniques¹: *retention*, *specification*, *direct translation*, *generalization*, *substitution*, *omission*, and the use of an *official equivalent*. We elaborate on these techniques using examples from the English and Croatian translations of the novel.

3.4.1.1 Retention

The term *retention*, to which many refer as the most source-language and source-culture oriented translation technique, means that a CSI is retained either in its original form or in a form adapted to the target language. Hence, Pedersen differentiates between *complete* and *TL-adjusted retention*, which is also known as *adapted retention* (cf. Veselica Majhut 2012: 68).

Complete retention:

SV: **Österåker** var ett så kallat klass-II fängelse, en sluten anstalt av andra graden.
(p. 17)

EN: **Österåker** was a close-security prison, a correctional facility of the second degree. (p. 15)

By *TL-adjusted retention* we mean that a CSI is retained in translation with minor form modifications, i.e. such items are then written in italics, marked by

¹ In his study, Pedersen refers to them as "strategies".

inverted commas or adjusted to the grammatical or stylistic features of the target language (Pedersen 2007: 130):

SV: Camilla hade extrajobbat på **Café Ogo** på Odensgatan... (p. 50)

HR: Camilla je imala dodatni posao u "**Kaféu Ogo**" u ulici Odengatan... (p. 44)

3.4.1.2 Specification

Specification means that while translators retain a CSI in its original form, they also add information that is not present in the ST and, as a result, the given item becomes more specific in the TT than it is in the ST (ibid.). According to Pedersen, there are two ways to make the TT more comprehensible and instructive, and they are *completion* and *addition*.

Completion involves adding information implicit in the linguistic sign used to express a particular CSI: "Examples include spelling out acronyms or abbreviations [...], adding someone's first name or completing an official name" (2007: 132).

SV: Ett skottdrama på **Söder** i helgen. (p. 31)

HR: Pucnjava prošlog vikenda na **Södermalmu**. (p. 27)

In contrast, *addition* implies that the added information is implicit in the denotative or connotative meanings a CSI may have. Two types of addition can provide the readers with "extra and often necessary information" depending on whether the information is placed within or outside the text (2007: 134). Franco Aixelá (1996: 62) refers to these as *intratextual* and *extratextual gloss*.

Intratextual gloss refers to an unobtrusive, short or expanded explanation, inserted within a text in such a way that it does not deflect the reader's attention from the plot:

SV: Han kom från **Robertsfors, ovanför Umeå**, [...] (p. 47)

EN: He came from **Robertsfors, a small town above Umeå, in the rural north**, [...] (p. 48)

Conversely, *extratextual gloss* appears outside the text (ibid.). Most frequently such glosses are explanations in terms of footnotes, endnotes, glossaries, comments or brief translations placed in parentheses or italics. In the

example below, the Swedish *kronor* have been directly translated into Croatian as *krune*, but a footnote enclosing relevant information about this item has been added:

SV: Men det är mycket, kanske en miljon **kronor**. (p. 13)

HR: Ali puno, možda milijun **kruna**². (p. 11)

² **1 švedska kruna iznosi otprilike 0,90 hrvatskih kuna.**

(1 Swedish crown is approximately 0.90 Croatian kuna.)

Since these two techniques occur exclusively in combinations with other translation techniques, we have not incorporated them in our taxonomy as separate techniques. Instead, they are dealt with in the category *combination*, which is brought to the fore in Section 3.4.2.

3.4.1.3 Direct translation

As the term itself suggests, *direct translation* entails that CSIs are literally translated into a target language, with minor adjustments to the linguistic norms of the target language. Pavlović (2015: 75) argues that, while using this technique preserves cultural specificity of an item, indicating that we are dealing with a translation and, consequently, with another culture, direct translations can sometimes hamper the readers' understanding of the TT. In any case, the success of the end-result will depend upon the knowledge and competence of the translator:

SV: De tipsade honom om två ställen: Stadsmissionens **Nattugglan** vid Slussen, och Karisma Care vid Fridhemsplan. (p. 97)

EN: They told him about two places: Stadsmissionen's place by Slussen, **Night Owl**, and KarismaCare by Fridhemsplan. (p. 102)

Veselica Majhut (2012: 73-74) provides similar examples in her study, where she makes a difference between *direct translation* and *linguistic translation*. She elucidates that, unlike direct translation, the results of linguistic translation do not bear any traces of foreign culture, which is why she classifies it as an assimilating "solution type", e.g. *Evening Shriek* – *Večernji vrisak* or *square* – *trg*. Whether such distinction is entirely justified or not has surely given us food for thought. For the sake of simplicity, however, we have not embraced this

approach, but rather have observed how various examples of direct translation have contributed to global translation strategies.

3.4.1.4 Generalization

According to Pedersen (2007: 137), this translation technique implies that items related to something specific are generalized, i.e. they are replaced with less specific items by using *superordinate terms* or *paraphrase*.

Using a superordinate term involves a hypernym or holonym placed instead of a CSI. In the following example, *ATG-ombudet*, where *ATG* stands for *Aktiebolaget Trav och Galopp*, a company that enjoys a legal monopoly on horse betting in Sweden, has been substituted with a Croatian hypernym *kladionica* ("betting shop"):

SV: Inne hos **ATG-ombudet** stötte jag på Jorge. (p. 15)

HR: U **kladionici** sam naletio na Jorgea. (p. 13)

(I ran into Jorge at the **betting shop**.)

Alternatively, translators may opt to paraphrase CSIs, which means that a CSI is reduced to its sense, i.e. items in their genuine form are omitted, and the denotative and connotative sense they carry are described instead. Usually, this technique is applied to items that are considered too complex and multi-dimensional to be simply replaced with superordinate terms or retained and explicated at the same time (2007: 140). In the following example, we look at the stickers featuring Bamse, "the world's strongest bear" and the main character in the highly popular Swedish cartoon of the same name:

SV: Hans gamla barndomsskrivbordslampa satt fastskruvad i bordet med kladdiga spår efter **Bamseklistermärken**. (p. 49)

EN: The lamp from his childhood room was screwed into the desk. It still had glue marks from **old cartoon stickers**. (p. 50)

HR: Njegova stara svjetiljka iz djetinjstva bila je pričvršćena za stol, a na njoj ljepljivi ostaci **starih sličica**. (p. 43)

(His old childhood lamp was screwed into the desk and had glue marks from **old stickers**.)

3.4.1.5 Substitution

In Pedersen's taxonomy (2007: 141), *substitution* means that a CSI is replaced by another item from either the source or target culture. In some cases, translators may even substitute the original item with an item from a "third culture" (ibid.). Furthermore, Pedersen puts forward another type of substitution, namely *situational substitution*, in which the translator replaces a CSI with a completely different item that fits in with the situation. In this study, however, we will not include this category, as we have not come across any examples of the technique during our textual analysis.

There are three types of *cultural substitution*. Firstly, translators may replace source-culture specific items with other such items that the target readers would probably recognize more easily because they are familiar with them or they have already come across them earlier in the novel. For instance, *ett öre* (a centesimal subdivision of the Swedish *krona*) has been substituted with another, already described item from Swedish culture, and that is the Swedish *krona*:

SV: Ställena själva deklarerar inte **ett öre** av det där. (p. 86)

HR (partly in Serbian): Ni sama mesta ne prijavljuju porezniku niti **krune**. (p. 74)

Secondly, a corresponding target-culture specific item may take the place of a source-culture specific item, and this is the most common type of cultural substitution. Such is the case with *Komvux*, a form of secondary education for adults in Sweden, which has been substituted with GED. The acronym stands for General Education Development, a group of four tests which, when passed, give those who have not completed their high school education an opportunity to obtain a high school equivalency credential:

SV: Han hade börjat läsa på **Komvux** på distans. (p. 36)

EN: He had started to study for his **GED**. (p. 35)

Nevertheless, we might encounter isolated examples in which the translator substituted a source-culture specific item with a target-culture specific item that is not a close cultural equivalent, but that in some way can be associated with it:

SV: Jorge tog en klunk **lättöl**... (p. 22)

EN: Jorge swallowed a gulp of his **soda**. (p. 19)

Although both items indisputably belong to the domain of beverages, the most obvious disparity lies in that *lättöl* contains a maximum of 2.25% of alcohol by volume, whereas *soda* signifies a soft drink, i.e. a sweetened, carbonated and often flavored beverage.

Finally, translators can use an item that is considered neither source-culture nor target-culture specific, but that originates from a third culture and is widely known in the target culture. The implications of such items transcend cultural boundaries, which is why Pedersen calls them *transcultural*, for example:

SV: Mitt i **morslillaolleland** tog alla spåren slut. (p. 90)

EN: That's where the trail ended: deep in **Hansel and Gretel land**. (p. 96)

HR: Tragovi su se izgubili u šumi: možda **tamo gdje su lutali Ivica i Marica**. (p. 78)

(The trail ended in the woods: maybe **there, where Hansel and Gretel wandered**.)

In the example above, *morslillaolleland* – the land where *Mors lilla Olle* (“Mother’s little Olle”) from a typically Swedish children’s song by Alice Tegnér – has been replaced with a highly recognizable transcultural item, *Hansel and Gretel*, a reference to the German folktale recorded by the Brothers Grimm more than 200 years ago.

3.4.1.6 Omission

Under the term *omission*, we mean that CSIs are removed in their entirety. According to Leppihalme (1994: 93, cited in Pedersen 2007: 148), translators choose this technique for various reasons: they can make a decision to omit an item responsibly after brainstorming all the available options, or irresponsibly so that they could save themselves the trouble of looking up what they do not necessarily know. On such occasions, the TT becomes more neutral as CSIs completely disappear. Below we provide two examples of the technique found in the translations:

[1] SV: Du vet, de låg och tryckte under en bro i **Sorunda** när nationella insatsstyrkan plockade dem. (p. 44)

[1] EN: You know, those guys were lying doggo under some bridge **(X)** when the military forces plucked 'em. (p. 44)

[2] SV: Jorge hade kört i hundratio längs skogsvägen. Rally som i **Värmlandsskogarna**. (p. 90)

[2] HR: Jorge je po šumskoj stazi vozio kao manijak. Kao da je vozač relija **(X)**. (p. 78)

(Jorge drove down the forest trail like a maniac. Like he was a rally driver **(X)**.)

3.4.1.7 Official equivalent

The term *official equivalent* is defined as a ready-made, established solution to translation problems. It differs from other translation techniques in that “the process is administrative rather than linguistic” (Pedersen 2007: 149). What is more, there must even be an official decision taken by the state authorities in order for certain solutions to attain the status of official equivalents (ibid.). Among the most famous examples are foreign units of measurement, whose rendering is regulated by parliaments in Scandinavian countries, and *Donald Duck*, whose official Swedish equivalent, in accordance with a decree issued by Disney in Sweden, would be *Kalle Anka*. Pedersen also names standard bilingual dictionaries as primary sources of official equivalents. If we were to translate, for example, *the Statue of Liberty* into Danish, then we would always choose its official Danish equivalent – *Frihedsgudinden* (2007: 150). Usually, however, official equivalents have become entrenched through their continuous use. In this study, we have decided to omit this category since it predominantly relies upon other translation techniques such as *complete retention*, *TL-adjusted retention*, *direct translation* etc.

3.4.2 Our taxonomy of translation techniques

Below we present our own, somewhat modified, taxonomy of translation techniques applied in the present research:

1. Complete retention
2. Adapted retention

3. Direct translation
4. Generalization by a superordinate term
5. Generalization by paraphrase
6. Omission
7. Replacement with a source culture item
8. Replacement with a transcultural item
9. Replacement with a target culture item
10. Combination

As we have so far covered all translation techniques except *combination*; in this section we examine the most frequent combinations found in our corpora. It is also worth saying that some of the translation techniques mentioned before in Pedersen's and Franco Aixelá's taxonomies, namely *completion*, *intratextual* and *extratextual gloss*, appear exclusively alongside other techniques such as *complete retention*, *adapted retention*, as well as *direct translation*, and are therefore observed solely in combinations. For the sake of brevity, we will only provide examples of the most distinctive combinations:

Complete retention + completion:

SV: Lördag började med middag hos Putte, därefter abonnerat bord på **Caféet**. (p. 102)

EN: Saturday started with dinner at Putte's, followed by a reserved table at **Café Opera**. (p. 108)

Complete retention + intratextual gloss:

SV: Hon var på väg ut mot **Lilla Sjötullsbron**, längst ut på **Djurgården**. (p. 8)

EN: She was heading **toward Lilla Sjötullsbron, a bridge** at the far edge of **Djurgården, a park on the fringe of Stockholm's inner city**. (p. 4)

HR: Trčala je prema **mostu Lilla Sjötullsbron**, na kraju **otoka Djurgårdena, blizu središta Stockholma**. (p. 8)

(She was running toward **the Lilla Sjötullsbron bridge**, at the edge of **the Djurgården island, near the center of Stockholm**.)

Complete retention + extratextual gloss:

SV: Med förrådet menar du lagerutrymmet hos Shurgard Self-Storage vid **Kungens kurva**? (p. 11)

HR: Pod skladištem podrazumijevate skladišni prostor tvrtke Shurgard Self-Storage na **Kungens kurvi**¹? (p. 10)

¹ **Kungens kurva, u doslovnom prijevodu Kraljev zavoj, je dio u predgrađu Stockholma zvanom Skärholmen (čit. Šerholmen) poznat po velikim trgovačkim centrima, poslovnim prostorima i najvećoj IKEA-i na svijetu (op. prev.)**

(Kungens kurva, literally “The King’s Bend”, is a Stockholm suburb called Skärholmen (pron. Šerholmen) known for large shopping malls, business premises and the largest IKEA store in the world.)

Moreover, we have often come across a rather peculiar combination, which we discuss in more detail in Section 6, and which brings together *complete retention* and *direct translation*:

SV: JW körde förbi UD vid **Gustav Adolfs torg**. (p. 51)

EN: JW drove past the Foreign Ministry at **Gustav Adolf’s Square**. (p. 52)

HR: JW se provezao pored Ministarstva vanjskih poslova na **Trgu Gustava Adolfa**. (p. 44)

3.4.3 Global translation strategies

In addition to the translation techniques employed to render CSIs, many scholars have investigated how translators’ decisions affect the governing global strategy of the target text. As Pavlović (2015: 86) summarizes, researchers have in principle differentiated between two fundamental translation strategies or “orientations”: a translation is either source- or target-culture oriented. Remodeled and strongly advocated by Venuti in 1995, this binary classification actually dates back to Cicero and Saint Jerome (ibid.). It does not only refer to culture-specific items, but also pertains to syntactic and lexical choices. The objective of many researchers who have primarily analyzed CSIs has been to nuance translation techniques with respect to how they can contribute to global translation strategies (ibid.). Hence, several models have hitherto been developed and, in this section, we will review those models that have served as the baseline for the translation strategies adopted in this study.

While Hervey and Higgins (1992: 31, cited in Pavlović 2015: 87) emphasize in their linear model that translators in practice avoid both complete exoticization and complete cultural transplantation, they propose *cultural borrowing*, *calque*, and *communicative translation* as possible solutions between these two global strategies. Mailhac (1996: 134-135, cited in Veselica Majhut 71-72), however, revises this model and claims that there are three possible global translation strategies: "cultural transplantation, exoticism with minimum presence of the translator and exoticism with the maximum presence of the translator". Furthermore, he draws a contrast between two types of exoticization with regard to the degree of informativity of the target text, especially if we take into consideration certain translation techniques, such as retention or direct translation in combination with, for example, intra- or extratextual gloss.

Veselica Majhut (2012: 82), on the other hand, argues that what binary classifications have in common is that various translation techniques might be placed along a continuum ranging from the most source-oriented to the most target-oriented techniques, whereas omission and other generalizing techniques lie in between. Thus, she puts forth a new global translation strategy, *neutralization*, which involves generalizing or removing cultural specificity of a particular CSI. Her model comprises three global translation strategies: *exoticization*, implying a more source-culture oriented text, *assimilation*, entailing a more target-culture oriented text, and *neutralization*, all placed on the first axis: "The first axis is related to the presence of culture-specific content in a TT. With regard to this criterion all the solution types can be classified as contributing to one of the three text-level orientations" (2012: 83). To some extent, translators also tend to provide information about culture-specific items, and Veselica Majhut (ibid.) places this strategy on the second axis: "The second axis is related to the level of relevant information on the SC elements present in the TT". As a result, any translation technique contributes to how much the prospective target readers are informed about a culture-specific item.

Pavlović (2015: 87, cf. Veselica Majhut 2012: 85, Pym 2016: 235) simplifies the model so that it subsumes four global strategies: exoticization, assimilation, neutralization and education:

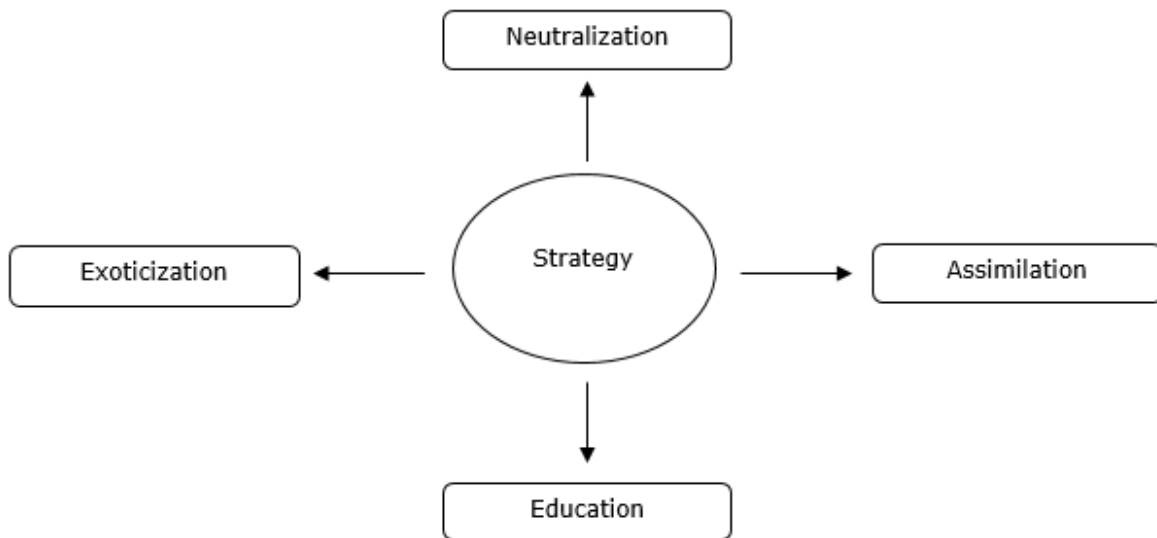


Figure 1. Global translation strategies

Based on our rationale, the translation techniques we outlined in the previous section could contribute to global translation strategies as follows:

1. Exoticization: complete retention, adapted retention, direct translation, replacement with a source culture item
2. Neutralization: generalization by a superordinate term, generalization by paraphrase, omission, replacement with a transcultural item
3. Assimilation: replacement with a target culture item, direct translation
4. Education: combinations of two or more translation techniques

It is particularly curious that *direct translation* may contribute to both exoticization and assimilation. However, this comes as no surprise if we consider the idea that there is a difference between direct translations introducing a new and/or foreign feature in the target culture and direct translations aimed at the target text readers, so that they would get the impression that they could find the same item in their culture (see also: 3.4.1.).

4. Objective of the study, research questions and hypotheses

The main objective of this study is to conduct an in-depth, comparative analysis of the novel and its translations into English and Croatian with a special emphasis on culture-specific items. More specifically, the aim was to identify the

techniques employed, as well as determine the distribution of global strategies in both translations.

The research questions asked in the beginning were as follows:

1. What culture-specific items can be found in the novel and its translations into English and Croatian?
2. How did the translators render these culture-specific items in their respective translations?
3. Are there any substantial differences between the English and Croatian translations?
4. Which global translation strategies can be identified in the translations?

In accordance with previous research (Grundler 2012, Takáč 2015) and our own assumptions regarding culture-specific items in translations of popular literature, these four hypotheses were formulated:

1. Both the target culture and the target language influence how culture-specific items are rendered in translation.
2. How culture-specific items are rendered in translation depends on their type.
3. With respect to culture-specific items, the English translation is predominantly exoticized.
4. The Croatian translation is more educational than the English translation of the novel.

5. Research material, methodology and limitations

5.1 Research material

The primary material for the analysis included the Swedish original, *Snabba Cash* (2006), and its respective translations: the English one, entitled *Easy Money*, and the Croatian one, published under the name *Laka Iova*. The novel was first translated for the American market in 2011 by Astri von Arbin Ahlander. The version examined in this paper is a republication of the American translation that was put on the British market in 2012 by the well-known publisher *Pan Books*.

The Croatian publishing company *V.B.Z. d.o.o.* launched the novel onto the Croatian market that same year, in Danilo Brozović's translation.

5.2 *Research methodology and limitations*

The study was conducted in several steps. In the first step, the focus was placed on text analysis, which means that all the culture-specific items encountered in the first hundred pages of the Swedish original, where many items surfaced for the first time, were properly marked. Secondly, these items were compared with their respective renditions into English and Croatian, a method Gideon Toury refers to as the analysis of the coupled pairs of target- and source text-segments (1995: 89). For this purpose, two bilingual parallel corpora were formed. While the first corpus comprised textual data on the Swedish-English language pair, the second corpus was composed of textual data on the Swedish-Croatian language pair. During the analysis, the two corpora were edited, supplemented with necessary information and codified with respect to the following two categories: *translation technique* and *global translation strategy*.

In order to map culture-specific items, Newmark's (1988: 95, 215) model was used and adapted. As the model, unfortunately, did not meet the requirements for this research, it was crucial to modify it. Consequently, the culture-specific items were counted and divided into six categories: *geographical names; names of institutions, companies, organizations and other business activities; names of people; mass media; food and drinks; and other*.

In addition, it is worth mentioning that the Swedish-English and the Swedish-Croatian corpora differ in the total number of recorded culture-specific items for various reasons. As already stated, an item becomes culture-specific only when it is exposed to another, foreign culture. Looking at examples from the novel, such as *kilometer* or *kilogram*, which are only deemed culture-specific in relation to the American, and not Croatian, culture, the discrepancies in the overall count appear even more justifiable.

However, another aspect should be taken into consideration. Due to the inconsistencies in the rendering of culture-specific items in the novel, we decided to note, and subsequently count, every occurrence of a culture-specific item rendered differently as a separate item. For example, we counted *Komvux* as two

separate items in our Swedish-Croatian corpus because the item was rendered into Croatian in two entirely different ways, the first being generalization by paraphrase, and the second complete retention combined with extratextual gloss:

SV [1]: Han hade börjat läsa **Komvux** på distans. (p. 36)

HR [1]: Upisao se u **dopisnu večernju školu**. (p. 31)

(He enrolled in **a correspondence night school**.)

SV [2]: ...och gått på **Komvux** där hon läst upp betygen i svenska, matte och engelska. (p. 50-51)

HR [2]: ..., te je pohađala **Komvux**⁷ gdje je popravljala ocjene iz švedskog, matematike i engleskog. (p. 44)

⁷ **Komvux, odnosno Kommunal vuxenutbildning, švedska je obrazovna institucija u organizaciji općina, a namijenjena je osobama odrasle dobi koje nisu pohađale osnovnu ili srednju školu, ili koje žele popraviti određene ocjene prije upisa na studij, kao JW-ova sestra. Hrvatski pandan bila bi večernja škola (op. prev.).**

(Komvux, or Kommunal vuxenutbildning, is a Swedish educational institution organized at the municipal level, intended for adults who have not attended elementary or secondary school or who want to improve certain grades prior to university enrollment, like JW's sister. The Croatian equivalent of Komvux would be a night school.)

The collected culture-specific items were then analyzed qualitatively in light of the taxonomies of translation techniques suggested by Pedersen (2007) and Franco Aixelá (1996). The taxonomies were slightly adapted on the basis of the analyzed material. Therefore, the classification applied in this study encompasses ten translation techniques: *complete retention, adapted retention, direct translation, generalization by a superordinate term, generalization by paraphrase, omission, replacement with a source culture item, replacement with a transcultural item, replacement with a target culture item and combination*.

Moreover, all translation techniques contributed to one of the four global translation strategies (Veselica Majhut 2012, Pavlović 2015): exoticization, neutralization, education and assimilation. We should also underline that some of the techniques such as direct translation or combination contributed to different translation strategies depending on the context.

The quantitative analysis produced encouraging results. The overall distribution of culture-specific items, as well as the findings regarding the techniques and strategies dominant in each category, are presented comparatively in Section 6, followed by a general overview of the translation techniques and strategies employed in the two translations.

We should also observe that if a CSI was rendered using a combination of two or more translation techniques, such cases were examined under the designation *combination*. Accordingly, these combinations contributed to corresponding translation strategies. At times, it was a demanding task to set demarcation lines between various translation techniques and strategies. Because of this, we should bear in mind that our own perception of the subject matter to some extent has had a significant impact on the findings displayed in the next section. There we discuss them in connection with interesting and/or unusual techniques applied in the translations. Nevertheless, we should be very careful in drawing definite conclusions, as this area of research has not yet been sufficiently investigated (specifically when it concerns the Swedish-English and the Swedish-Croatian language pairs), and the analyzed material is relatively limited in scope.

6. Results

In this section, we will lay out the results of the quantitative analysis, and accompany them with our own observations and remarks.

6.1 Mapping of culture-specific items

The analysis showed that the Swedish-English and the Swedish-Croatian corpora differed in size to a slight degree (Table 1).

The table indicates that CSIs have been grouped into the same six categories: geographical names; names of institutions, companies, organizations and other business activities; names of people; mass media; food and drinks; and other. Their total amounts, however, vary due to either intercultural discrepancies or the translators' sporadic, (un)conscious inconsistency: while the Swedish-English corpus comprises 218 culture-specific items, the Swedish-Croatian corpus contains 222 culture-specific items.

Table 1. CSIs in the SV-EN corpus (left) and in the SV-HR corpus (right)

Categories (SV-EN)		Categories (SV-HR)	
Geographical names	82	Geographical names	87
Names of institutions, companies, organizations and other business activities	81	Names of institutions, companies, organizations and other business activities	85
Names of people	11	Names of people	11
Mass media	6	Mass media	7
Food and drinks	5	Food and drinks	5
Other	33	Other	27
Total	218	Total	222

We should point out that geographical names (82; 87) and names of institutions, companies, organizations and other business activities (81; 85) together make more than half of all CSIs in both corpora. This is hardly unexpected if we keep in mind that it is relevant, and thus frequent, to describe a particular event by naming the places and institutions that characters in a novel see, visit, go by or just talk about. Names of people also occur quite often, as plots usually develop around people; however, in this study, we have only taken the names of historical or actual people into account (see also 6.1.3.). The CSIs grouped into the categories mass media or food and drinks are naturally not as frequent, while the third largest category, other (33; 27), is composed of individual items that do not belong to any of the other five categories. In the following sections, we will describe and illustrate each category with respect to both target languages.

6.1.1 Geographical names

This category contains names of Swedish provinces, bodies of water, cities, towns, villages, boroughs, districts, streets, squares, bridges and parks. In this section, the results regarding translation techniques and strategies used to render geographical names into both English and Croatian are presented.

Table 2 shows the results concerning the translation into English.

Table 2. Techniques (left) and strategies (right) used to render geographical names (SV-EN)

Technique (SV-EN)		
Complete retention	48	58.54%
Adapted retention	4	4.88%
Generalization by a superordinate term	4	4.88%
Generalization by paraphrase	8	9.76%
Omission	5	6.10%
Combination	13	15.85%
Total	82	100.00%

Strategy (SV-EN)		
Exoticization	52	63.41%
Neutralization	17	20.73%
Education	13	15.85%
Total	82	100.00%

As expected, the statistics in Table 3 demonstrate that more than half of geographical names (52 items) have been either retained in their original form or adapted to the grammatical and stylistic features of the English language, for instance, *Kungsgatan* (p. 41) – *Kungsgatan* (p. 41; complete retention) or *Tessinparken* (p. 49) – *Tessin Park* (p. 50; adapted retention). This has contributed to exoticization as the prevalent strategy in this domain (63.41%). As many as 17 geographical names (20.73%) have been neutralized by using superordinate terms, paraphrase or omission. For example, the motorway *E4:an* (p. 104) has been replaced with its hypernym *the freeway* (p. 110), Stockholm's district *Söder* (p. 31) has been paraphrased as *the city's south side* (p. 30), and the locality *Sorunda* has been removed in its entirety. Lastly, 13 items (15.85%) have been translated into English using two different techniques in combination, namely complete retention and either intratextual gloss, completion or direct translation, which has enabled the potential readership to learn something new and interesting about Sweden and its capital. These combinations have all contributed to the strategy of education.

Now our attention moves to the results associated with the Croatian translation of the novel (Table 3).

According to the data, nearly half of the geographical names (42 items) have been preserved, to a greater or lesser degree, in the Croatian translation of the novel. The use of complete and adapted retention has resulted in exoticization being the dominant strategy in this category (48.28%).

Table 3. Techniques (left) and strategies (right) used to render geographical names (SV-HR)

Technique (SV-HR)		
Complete retention	39	44.83%
Adapted retention	3	3.45%
Generalization by a superordinate term	2	2.30%
Generalization by paraphrase	4	4.60%
Omission	2	2.30%
Combination	37	42.53%
Total	87	100.00%

Strategy (SV-HR)		
Exoticization	42	48.28%
Neutralization	8	9.20%
Education	37	42.53%
Total	87	100.00%

Nevertheless, compared to the English translation, the number of occurrences and the percentage of combinations in the Croatian translation should be highlighted (37 = 42.53%). The figures reveal that there is a substantial difference in how committed the American and the Croatian translators have been to making their respective translations as accessible to the target audience as possible. Because they are responsible for how Swedish culture has been portrayed in American or Croatian culture, translators play a pivotal role in the target readers' reception of the novel. A further dissimilarity lies in that the Croatian translator, unlike the American translator, also employs extratextual gloss in the form of footnotes, comments and remarks, as can be seen in this example:

SV: Ett år senare var han slagsmålets mästare i **Södertälje**. (p. 87)

HR: Godinu dana kasnije bio je majstor tučnjave u **Södertäljeu**¹⁰. (p. 75)

¹⁰ **Södertälje, grad nedaleko od Stockholma i dio njegovog metropolitanskog područja. Karakterizira ga visok udio useljenika u cjelokupnom stanovništvu (op. prev.).**

(Södertälje, a city not far from Stockholm and part of its metropolitan area. It is characterized by a high share of immigrants in the entire population.)

At any rate, we can establish that, having evaluated their communicative background, the Croatian translator has put much more effort into instructing the audience about geographical names than his American counterpart. Aside from the "more usual" combinations, one combination seems to be an isolated case, since it consists of three translation techniques – direct translation, intratextual gloss and complete retention:

SV: **Nedre Gärdet** dög för JW, ... (p. 49)

HR: ...**u donjem dijelu kvarta Gärdet**. (p. 43)

(...**in the lower part of the Gärdet neighborhood**.)

Lastly, only eight items have been neutralized using generalization techniques (9.20%). They have been replaced with superordinate terms, e.g. *Saltsjön* (p. 10) – *Baltičko more* (p. 9); paraphrased, e.g. *Plattan* (p. 97) – *blizu centra* (p. 84), where *Plattan* refers to a sunken pedestrian plaza at Sergel's Square in Stockholm; or even omitted, and such is the case with the park *Humlan* (p. 70).

6.1.2 Names of institutions, companies, organizations and other business activities

In this part, we look at names of institutions, companies, organizations and other business activities that we can somehow link to Swedish culture. First, we provide the results regarding the English translation (Table 4).

Table 4. Techniques (left) and strategies (right) used to render names of institutions, companies, organizations and other business activities (SV-EN)

Technique (SV-EN)		
Complete retention	34	41.98%
Adapted retention	9	11.11%
Direct translation	8	9.88%
Generalization by a superordinate term	9	11.11%
Generalization by paraphrase	3	3.70%
Omission	4	4.94%
Replacement with a target culture item	4	4.94%
Combination	10	12.35%
Total	81	100.00%

Strategy (SV-EN)		
Exoticization	48	59.26%
Neutralization	16	19.75%
Education	10	12.35%
Assimilation	7	8.64%
Total	81	100.00%

According to the figures from Table 4, the majority of institutions, companies, organizations and other business activities have been exoticized (59.26%), i.e. the names of, for example, coffee shops or bars such as *Karma* (p. 25) and *Kvarnen* (p. 52), as well as boutiques such as *Stadium* (p. 41) and *Sachajuan* (p. 100) have been retained in their authentic form. Some names of criminal

organizations and hotels have been slightly altered, for instance, *Fittja Boys* (p. 18) has become *the Fittja Boys* (p. 16), and *Scandic hotell* (p. 51) has been adapted as *the Scandic Hotel* (p. 52). In addition, some of the names of institutions have been directly translated into English: *Kungliga biblioteket* (p. 74) – *the Royal Library* (p. 79).

There are also names that have been generalized, and thus neutralized (19.75%). These items have either been replaced with superordinate terms, e.g. *S.A.T.S.* (p. 8) – *the gym* (p. 4), paraphrased, e.g. the open-air museum and zoo *Skansen* (p. 83) is described as *the jungle* (p. 87), or simply deleted, and such is the case with the hairdressing salon *Hårgänget* (p. 100).

Ten combinations have resulted in education (12.35%), of which the most prominent combines complete retention and intratextual gloss. For instance, the famous elite upper secondary school *Östra Real* (p. 47) has been retained and supplemented with new information in translation – *Östra Real, a premier brat high school* (p. 48). In this way, the readers have the opportunity to learn something new that could facilitate their understanding of the novel's context in a more comprehensive manner.

In some cases, “analogous” target culture items have taken the place of the original items, for example, (*Stockholms*) *åklagarkammare* (p. 75) has been substituted with (*Stockholm*) *District Attorney's Office* (p. 79), an item deeply rooted in American culture. Moreover, some items have been directly translated into English, which could result in the target readers thinking that a similar item/name may also exist in their culture: *5emtio4yra* (p. 58) – *Fifty4our* (p. 60). Consequently, 8.64% of names of institutions, companies, organizations and other business activities have been assimilated.

Similar trends have been detected in the Croatian translation of the novel (Table 5).

As in the translation into English, names of institutions, companies, organizations and other business activities have largely been exoticized in the Croatian translation (54.12%). In this regard, we have noted that there are more occurrences of adapted (23 = 27.06%) than complete retention (18 = 21.18%). Mostly, inverted commas have been added to the names of coffee shops, bars, taverns and restaurants as markers, e.g. *Spy Bar* (p. 53) – „*Spy Bar*” (p. 46) or

Sturehof (p. 56) – „*Sturehof*“ (p. 49). Several names have also been directly translated, for example, *klass-II fängelse* (p. 17) – *zatvor druge klase* (p. 15).

Table 5. Techniques (left) and strategies (right) used to render names of institutions, companies, organizations and other business activities (SV-HR)

Technique (SV-HR)		
Complete retention	18	21.18%
Adapted retention	23	27.06%
Direct translation	8	9.41%
Generalization by a superordinate term	10	11.76%
Generalization by paraphrase	3	3.53%
Omission	2	2.35%
Replacement with a target culture item	3	3.53%
Combination	18	21.18%
Total	85	100.00%

Strategy (SV-HR)		
Exoticization	46	54.12%
Neutralization	15	17.65%
Education	18	21.18%
Assimilation	6	7.06%
Total	85	100.00%

Contrary to the English translation, education (21.18%) is a more commonly adopted strategy than neutralization (17.65%), owing to the fact that as many as 18 combinations of various techniques have been employed, which again confirms that the tendency to inform the potential audience about Swedish cultural specificity is more pronounced in the Croatian translation. An example of complete retention in combination with intratextual gloss is given below:

SV: Längs ena väggen stod tre låga bokhyllor från **Nordiska Galleriet**. (p. 26)

HR: Duž jednog zida bile su tri niske police za knjige iz **skupog lanca za dizajn interijera Nordiska Galleriet**. (p. 22)

(Three low bookshelves from **the luxurious interior design store chain Nordiska Galleriet** stood against one wall.)

Neutralization has been achieved by using superordinate terms, e.g. *NK* (p. 45) – *modni butik* (p. 40), paraphrase, e.g. *Sturegallerian* (p. 101) – *trgovački centar na Stureplanu* (p. 87), and omission as in the example of the clothing store *Grosshandlarn* (p. 27).

As expected, assimilation is a low-frequency strategy with only six occurrences (7.06%). Some of the items have been directly translated, e.g. *Brödrskapet Wolfpack* (p. 18) – *Vučje bratstvo* (p. 16), whereas other such as

Nationella insatsstyrkan (p. 44) have been replaced with a corresponding, yet colloquial, name – *specijalci* (p. 38).

6.1.3 Names of people

Even though this category initially included more than fifty culture-specific items, as it comprised a large number of names and surnames of fictional characters from the novel, as well as a smaller number of actual or historical people, we have decided to move our focus to the latter group. Since we have established that between 95% and 100% of names of fictional people have simply been retained in both translations, which indicates that there is no significant variation in how the translators have dealt with these items, we strongly believe that they should not be taken into account. Apart from that, it is rather difficult to determine which names are truly culture-specific or unknown to the target audience. Therefore, we will only present the data concerning names of actual or historical Swedes in this section.

Table 6. Techniques (left) and strategies (right) used to render names of people (SV-EN)

Technique (SV-EN)		
Complete retention	5	45.45%
Generalization by paraphrase	4	36.36%
Omission	1	9.09%
Combination	1	9.09%
Total	11	100.00%

Strategy (SV-EN)		
Exoticization	5	45.45%
Neutralization	5	45.45%
Education	1	9.09%
Total	11	100.00%

Table 6 presents the results with respect to the English translation. Although the number of CSIs analyzed in this category is relatively low (11 occurrences), the table indicates certain tendencies. The data show that as many names have been exoticized as have been neutralized. More than 45% of the names have been transferred into English without any changes, as in the case of the writer, journalist and body-builder *Ove Rytter* (p. 29) or *Tony Olsson* (p. 44), who murdered two police officers. Some of the items have been generalized, for instance, the name of the popular Swedish singer *Magnus Ugglå* (p. 24; p. 29), which we have come across twice, has been paraphrased as *the latest hit* (p. 23) and *some more music* (p. 27). By contrast, the name of the hip-hop musician

Petter (p. 104) has been omitted. Finally, a combination of complete retention and intratextual gloss has been employed in order to render the name of singer, model and TV-presenter *Hannah Graaf*:

SV: Jag vet vem han är. Före detta pojkvän till **Hannah Graaf**. (p. 20)

EN: I know who he is. Used to bang **that centerfold chick, Hannah Graaf**. (p. 18)

Conversely, only two strategies have been adopted in the Croatian translation (Table 7): exoticization (63.64%) and education (36.36%).

Table 7. Techniques (left) and strategies (right) used to render names of people (SV-HR)

Technique (SV-HR)		
Complete retention	6	54.55%
Adapted retention	1	9.09%
Combination	4	36.36%
Total	11	100.00%

Strategy (SV-HR)		
Exoticization	7	63.64%
Education	4	36.36%
Total	11	100.00%

In other words, no items have been generalized, omitted or substituted with a cultural equivalent. This implies that the Croatian translator thought they were characteristic of, and thus relevant for, Sweden's cultural and public life. The figures reveal a moderately large percentage of combinations used in the translation. For example, the family name of the deceased Swedish media mogul Jan Stenbeck has been preserved and described using general facts about the family's entrepreneurial background: *Stenbeckssfären* (p. 23) – *Stenbeckovima, vlasnicima Tele2, novina Metro i mnogih drugih velikih poduzeća* (p. 20). A further example concerns the well-liked *Magnus Ugglå* (p. 24) and hip-hopper *Petter* (p. 104), who have been retained in the translation, but simultaneously explicated as *popularni Magnus Ugglå* (p. 21) and *reper Petter* (p. 90), respectively.

The prevalent translation strategy, however, is once again exoticization, because the majority of the names have been transferred into Croatian in their authentic form, e.g. *Ove Rytter* (p. 29), *Christel Hansson* (p. 29) or *Tony Olsson* (p. 44). However, we have noted only one occurrence of adapted retention: *DJ Mendéz* (p. 95) – *DJ Mendez* (p. 82). Nevertheless, education appears as a

comparably high-frequency strategy as far as names of people in the Croatian translation are concerned.

6.1.4 Mass media

This category, which in the Swedish-English corpus contains six, and in the Swedish-Croatian corpus seven CSIs, includes names of newspapers, magazines and radio stations. First, we display the data related to the English translation (Table 8).

Table 8. Techniques (left) and strategies (right) used to render mass media (SV-EN)

Technique (SV-EN)		
Adapted retention	2	33.33%
Generalization by paraphrase	1	16.67%
Replacement with a target culture item	3	50.00%
Total	6	100.00%

Strategy (SV-EN)		
Exoticization	2	33.33%
Neutralization	1	16.67%
Assimilation	3	50.00%
Total	6	100.00%

On the one hand, the number of CSIs found in the material is far too small for us to be able to draw definite conclusions. On the other hand, we feel that the statistics seem sufficient to point out how individual items have been rendered.

In mass media, the dominant strategy is assimilation with three occurrences. This concerns the magazines *Slitz* (p. 26) and *Café* (p. 26) that have been replaced with names of American magazines such as *Maxim* (p. 24) and *GQ* (p. 24). The newspaper *Expressen* (p. 89) has been translated in two different, partly inconsistent, ways: at first, the name has been neutralized as *some rag* (p. 93), and then retained in italics (p. 93; p. 98), contributing to exoticization.

As far as the Croatian translation is concerned, neither exoticization nor assimilation have been noted (Table 9).

Table 9. Techniques (left) and strategies (right) used to render mass media (SV-HR)

Technique (SV-HR)		
Generalization by a superordinate term	2	28.57%
Generalization by paraphrase	2	28.57%
Combination	3	42.86%
Total	7	100.00%

Strategy (SV-HR)		
Neutralization	4	57.14%
Education	3	42.86%
Total	7	100.00%

As the table shows, four culture-specific items have been generalized either by superordinate terms, e.g. *Power Hit Radio* (p. 91) – *radio* (p. 78), or by paraphrase, as in the following example:

SV: Några **Slitz**, **Café**, motor- och båttidningar låg slängda i soffan. (p. 26)

HR: Na kauč je bilo bačeno **nekoliko časopisa s golim djevojkama** te onih o automobilima i brodovima. (p. 22)

(**Several magazines with naked girls**, as well as car and boat magazines, were thrown on the couch.)

This has led to neutralization being the most prominent strategy in the translation of names of mass media into Croatian, whereas three items have been retained and explained within the text, which points to a more “pedagogical” approach to translation, for example:

SV: Bara en kort artikel i **Expressen** första dagen efter och en notis i **Aftonbladet**. (p. 93)

HR: Jedino kratak članak u **dnevniku Expressen** prvog dana nakon bijega i kratka vijest u **suparničkom dnevniku Aftonbladet**. (p. 80)

(Only a short article in **the daily newspaper Expressen** the first day after he fled and a short news item in **the rival daily newspaper Aftonbladet**.)

6.1.5 Food and drinks

As the name of the category suggests, this category consists of names of food and drinks, which in both corpora amount to only five culture-specific items. In the English translation, neutralization prevails (Table 10).

Table 10. Techniques (left) and strategies (right) used to render food and drinks (SV-EN)

Technique (SV-EN)		
Generalization by a superordinate term	2	40.00%
Replacement with a target culture item	2	40.00%
Combination	1	20.00%
Total	5	100.00%

Strategy (SV-EN)		
Neutralization	3	60.00%
Assimilation	2	40.00%
Total	5	100.00%

Two examples of drinks have been replaced with their superordinate terms, e.g. *Ramlösa*, a brand of natural mineral water, crops up twice in the original, firstly as *Ramlösa med mindre bubblor* (p. 43), and secondly simply as *Ramlösa* (p. 61). Both times the brand has been translated as *seltzer* (p. 43; p. 63). Another brand name has been neutralized, as the translator opted to use a combination of complete retention and generalization by a superordinate term: *KalixlÖjrom* (p. 107), a product with the protected designation of origin, has been transferred into English as *Kalix roe* (p. 113). Because the name of the brand and its specific content have in some measure been generalized in translation, we have chosen to categorize this combination as contributing to neutralization. To which extent personal perceptions, experiences and preferences can influence such determination, however, remains a topic for further discussion.

Furthermore, two CSIs have been assimilated, i.e. they have been substituted with target culture items. Notwithstanding assimilation as the resulting strategy, we can still notice a difference. The first item, *mellanöl* (p. 60), which in Sweden denotes beer containing 3.5 – 4.5% of alcohol by volume, has been replaced with *light beer* (p. 63), a comparatively corresponding item strongly rooted in American culture, and which boasts a reduced alcohol and calorie content or is considered *light* due to its color. The second item, *lättöl* (p. 22), has been replaced with *soda* (p. 19), which cannot be thought of as its close equivalent at all, since *soda* designates a soft, alcohol-free drink, but an item also entrenched in the target culture.

Regarding the Croatian translation, the tendencies go hand in hand with the distribution of strategies found in the English translation (Table 11).

Table 11. Techniques (left) and strategies (right) used to render food and drinks (SV-HR)

Technique (SV-HR)		
Generalization by a superordinate term	3	60.00%
Generalization by paraphrase	1	20.00%
Combination	1	20.00%
Total	5	100.00%

Strategy (SV-HR)		
Neutralization	4	80.00%
Education	1	20.00%
Total	5	100.00%

The majority of CSIs in this category have also been neutralized by employing superordinate terms, e.g. *mellanöl* (p. 60) – *pivo* (p. 53), *Ramlösa* (p. 61) – *mineralna* (p. 54), or paraphrase: *lättöl* (p. 22) – *pivo s niskim postotkom alkohola* (p. 19).

What is more, a combination of three techniques has found its place in this category. This combination provides the readers with useful information, and thus enriches the translation. Therefore, it has been classified as contributing to education. The brand *Kalixlöjrom*, which was previously commented upon in relation to the English translation, has been retained, paraphrased and explicated:

SV: Röstad brödbit med **Kalixlöjrom**, gräddfil och finhackad rödlök. (p. 107)

HR: Prženi kruh s **ikrom bijele ribe iz Kalixa na krajnjem sjeveru Švedske**, vrhnjem i sitno kosanim crvenim lukom. (p. 93)

(Fried bread with **white fish roe from Kalix in the far north of Sweden**, sour cream and finely chopped red onion.)

6.1.6 Other

The last category subsumes individual CSIs that do not belong to any of the previous five categories, and they are units of measurement, currencies, educational terms, as well as items stemming from Swedish literary history, Swedish culture and public life (Table 12).

Table 12. Techniques (left) and strategies (right) used to render other CSIs (SV-EN)

Technique (SV-EN)		
Complete retention	3	9.09%
Direct translation	1	3.03%
Generalization by a superordinate term	8	24.24%
Generalization by paraphrase	7	21.21%
Omission	1	3.03%
Replacement by a transcultural item	1	3.03%
Replacement by a target culture item	10	30.30%
Combination	2	6.06%
Total	33	100.00%

Strategy (SV-EN)		
Exoticization	5	15.15%
Neutralization	17	51.52%
Education	1	3.03%
Assimilation	10	30.30%
Total	33	100,00%

In the English translation, more than half of all CSIs in this category have been neutralized (51.52%). This has mostly been achieved through generalizations by superordinate terms, e.g. the name of the book *Fredrik och Charlotte* (p. 46), in which the author Cecilia Hagen describes how upper class Swedes live, has been translated as *etiquette books* (p. 47). The following example, where Stockholm County's tallest building *Kaknästornet* is a key element in the metaphorical expression, has been generalized by paraphrase:

SV: Självsäkert och stadigt, nästan glidande, i stilettklackar höga som halva **Kaknästornet**. (28)

EN: Self-assured and steady, almost gliding, in **sky-high** stilettos. (26)

Moreover, the pejorative designation *jöns* (p. 59), which symbolizes a simple and ordinary person, in contrast to well-mannered, classy Swedes, has been omitted. But, as already stated, a relatively unusual translation technique has also been applied here – only one CSI has been substituted with a transcultural item, namely *morslillaolleland* (p. 90) that has been translated as *Hansel and Gretel land* (p. 96).

However, nearly a third of CSIs have been assimilated (30.30%). Target culture items have replaced these items, for example, *högstadiet*, a former term for the seventh to ninth grade in Swedish schools that is still informally in use has been substituted with a typical American equivalent:

SV: En sjuksyster i **högstadiet** sa en gång att han var varje blodgivarcentrals dröm. (p. 35)

EN: A nurse in **junior high** once said he was every blood bank's dream. (p. 35).

Another example would be *ett öre* (p. 86), a centesimal subdivision of the Swedish *krona*, which has been replaced with an American *cent* (p. 90). With only five occurrences, exoticization (15.15%) as well as education with only one occurrence (3.03%) seem to be low-frequency translation strategies.

When it comes to the Croatian translation, Table 13 also reveals that the strategy implemented throughout the target text is neutralization, whereas the number of occurrences of all other strategies is significantly smaller compared to the English translation of the novel.

Table 13. Techniques (left) and strategies (right) used to render other CSIs (SV-HR)

Technique (SV-HR)		
Direct translation	2	7.41%
Generalization by a superordinate term	6	22.22%
Generalization by paraphrase	8	29.63%
Omission	1	3.70%
Replacement with a source culture item	1	3.70%
Replacement with a target culture item	4	14.81%
Replacement with a transcultural item	2	7.41%
Combination	3	11.11%
Total	27	100.00%

Strategy (SV-HR)		
Exoticization	4	14.81%
Neutralization	17	62.96%
Education	2	7.41%
Assimilation	4	14.81%
Total	27	100.00%

More than half of all CSIs in this category have been neutralized, not only through generalizations by superordinate terms, paraphrase or omission, as one would expect, but also through replacements with transcultural items, e.g.:

SV: Självständigt och stadigt, nästan glidande, i stilettklackar höga som halva **Kaknästornet**. (p. 28)

HR: Sigurna u sebe i stabilna, klizila je u potpeticama visokim kao pola **Eiffelovog tornja**. (p. 24)

(Self-confident and stable, she walked with effortless grace in heels as tall as half of **the Eiffel Tower**.)

The Croatian translator has replaced *Kaknästornet* with one of the most famous monuments in the world, the Eiffel Tower, which, in our opinion, can be seen as a transcultural item because its symbolic function transcended the boundaries of France and French culture a long time ago.

Additionally, as many CSIs have been exoticized as have been assimilated, which does not seem to be a common occurrence (14.81%). In this respect, replacement with a source culture item stands out as a technique that solely appears in the translation into Croatian, contributing to exoticization: *ett öre* (p. 86) – *kruna* (p. 74). On the other hand, some administrative features such as *Box* (p. 76) and *personnummer* (p. 94) have

been replaced by *PP* (p. 67) and *osobni identifikacijski broj* (p. 81) as the target language equivalents.

Two instances of education can also be noted: while we have already clarified the way in which the translator has dealt with *en miljon kronor*, another combination of adapted retention and intratextual gloss is worth mentioning, because it underscores the ambition to explain CSIs, engage the readership more directly, and enlighten them about Swedish culture. In the following example, JW's aspiration to climb the social ladder comes to the fore:

SV: Han läste **Fredrik & Charlotte**, lärde sig jargongen, etiketten, reglerna och de oskrivna koderna. (p. 46)

HR: Pročitao je **knjige „Fredrik i Charlotte“ o povijesti švedskog višeg staleža**, naučio je žargon, bonton te pisana i nepisana pravila. (p. 40)

(He read **the Fredrik and Charlotte books on the history of the Swedish upper class**, learned the jargon and proper etiquette, as well as the spoken and the unspoken rules.)

6.2 Overall results

The overall results with regard to the English translation are shown in Table 14.

Table 14. Techniques used in the English translation

Technique (SV-EN)		
Complete retention	90	41.28%
Adapted retention	15	6.88%
Direct translation	9	4.13%
Generalization by a superordinate term	23	10.55%
Generalization by paraphrase	23	10.55%
Omission	11	5.05%
Replacement with a transcultural item	1	0.46%
Replacement with a target culture item	19	8.72%
Combination	27	12.39%
Total	218	100.00%

The table suggests that complete retention is the most frequently adopted translation technique, with as many as 90 occurrences (41.28%). The second most widely used technique is no translation technique in itself, but rather a combination of two or more techniques with 27 occurrences (12.39%). As many CSIs (23; 10.55%) have been generalized by superordinate terms as paraphrased, and 19 occurrences of replacement with target culture items have been noted (8.72%). While 15 CSIs have been retained in their adapted forms (6.88%), 11 CSIs have been omitted (5.05%). Moreover, only nine CSIs have been directly translated into English (4.13%). Finally, there is one last technique that comes about only once in the translation: replacement with transcultural elements (0.46%).

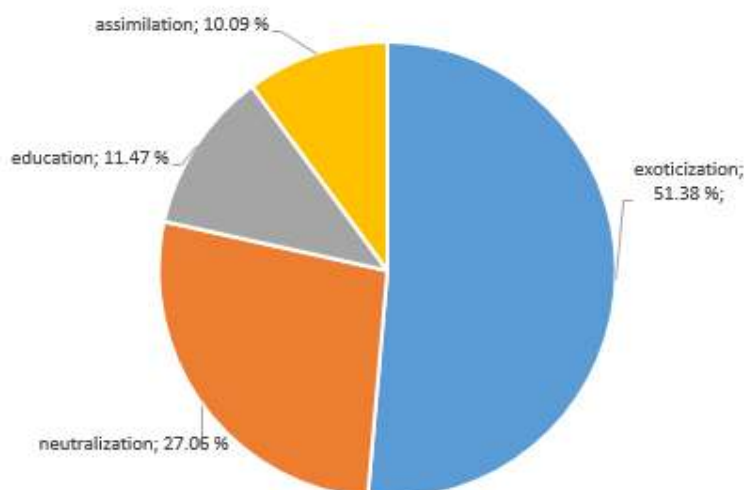


Figure 2. The distribution of translation strategies (SV-EN)

In accordance with the data mentioned above, these translation techniques have contributed to one of the four global strategies (Figure 2). The overriding global translation strategy is exoticization with 51.38%. To a certain extent, the translation has also been neutralized (27.06%), followed by education (11.47%) and assimilation (10.09%) as relatively low-frequency translation strategies.

As far as the Croatian translation is concerned, the research results paint a somewhat different general picture (Table 15).

Table 15. Techniques used in the Croatian translation

Technique (SV-HR)		
Complete retention	63	28.38%
Adapted retention	27	12.16%
Direct translation	10	4.50%
Generalization by a superordinate term	23	10.36%
Generalization by paraphrase	18	8.11%
Omission	5	2.25%
Replacement with a transcultural item	2	0.90%
Replacement with a target culture item	7	3.15%
Replacement with a source culture item	1	0.45%
Combination	66	29.73%
Total	222	100.00%

Contrary to the English translation, combination is the most employed translation technique in the Croatian translation, with 66 occurrences (29.73%), followed by complete (63; 28.38%) and adapted retention (27; 12.16%), which are largely responsible for the way in which the strategies are distributed. Similar to replacement with a transcultural item, which comes about very rarely (2; 0.90%), only one example of replacement with a source culture item (0.45%) has been recorded. While 10 CSIs have been directly translated (4.50%), 23 of them have been substituted with superordinate terms (10.36%) and 18 have been paraphrased (8.11%). As distinct from the English translation, only five CSIs have been omitted (2.25%). Finally, the CSIs replaced by target culture items amount to only 3.15% (7 occurrences).

Even though the analysis indicates that the translation has predominantly been exoticized (44.59%), we should place special emphasis on the second most frequently adopted global translation strategy, education, which was used in as many as 29.28% of the cases (Figure 3). That education is employed so often in the Croatian translation is a result of the frequent use of combined translation techniques, which enables the potential readers to enter a completely new culture and learn about it. As many as 21.62% of the CSIs have been neutralized, making neutralization the third most used strategy in the translation. Lastly, assimilation amounts to as little as 4.50%, which confirms that this strategy generally seems to be infrequent.

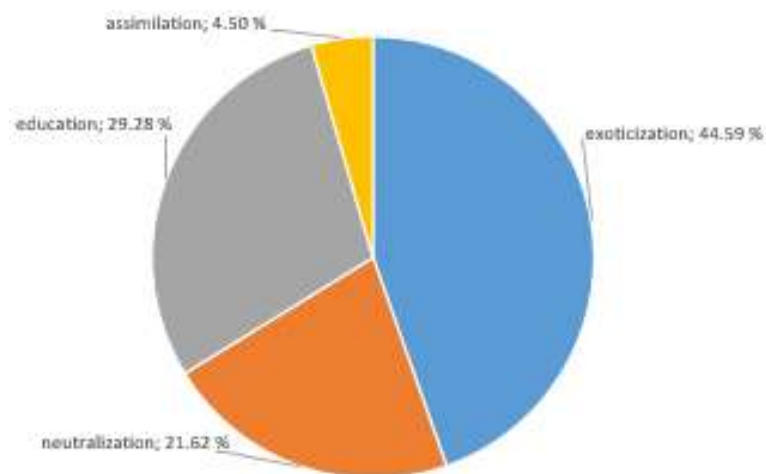


Figure 3. The distribution of translation strategies (SV-HR)

7. Discussion

The main findings of this study should be brought to light with respect to the formulated research questions and hypotheses (see Section 4). In this section, we present the answers to these questions and comment upon the hypotheses.

The first question concerns culture-specific items found in the novel and its translations into English and Croatian. As mentioned previously, the culture-specific items were grouped into the following six categories: *geographical names; institutions, companies, organizations and other business activities; names of people; mass media; food and drinks; and other*. The total numbers, however, vary: while the Swedish-English corpus encompasses 218 culture-specific items, the Swedish-Croatian corpus includes 222 culture-specific items.

The second and the third questions can be answered simultaneously. The rendering of culture-specific items in the two translations differs from category to category. Although the proposed taxonomy involves ten translation techniques, only nine of them were found in the English translation, as no items were replaced with other source-culture items. On the other hand, all of them were applied in the Croatian translation of the novel. What is more, the most frequently used translation technique in the English translation is *complete retention* (91 occurrences, 41.28%), while

combinations, comprising two or more translation techniques, prevail in the Croatian translation (66 occurrences, 29.73%).

The fourth and final research question deserves to be discussed in several paragraphs. The employed translation techniques contributed to one of the four global translation strategies (*exoticization, neutralization, education and assimilation*).

Geographical names and names of institutions, companies, organizations and business activities were largely exoticized in both translations. The main difference between the English and Croatian translations of culture-specific items grouped into these categories is noticeable in the distribution of *education*. According to the obtained quantitative data, the Croatian translation is much more informative than the English translation of the novel.

Similar trends can be identified in the case of *names of people*: while the Croatian translation was highly exoticized, an equal number of names were either neutralized or exoticized in the English translation.

Culture-specific items in smaller categories such as *mass media or food and drinks* were rendered differently. The majority of the names of newspapers and radio stations were assimilated in the English translation, while neutralization was the dominant strategy in the translation into Croatian. On the other hand, names of food and drinks were mostly neutralized in both the English and Croatian translations.

Overall, both translations were highly exoticized (EN: 51.38%, HR: 44.59%), but they differ in how informative and instructive they are for the respective target audiences. The second most common global strategy applied in the Croatian translation is education (29.28%), followed by neutralization (21.62%), while the data on the English translation suggest an opposite tendency, as neutralization (27.06%) precedes education (11.47%). Although infrequently adopted in both translations, assimilation is more than twice as common in the English translation (EN: 10.09%, HR: 4.50%).

Going back to the formulated hypotheses, the following four conclusions can be drawn:

1. Both the target culture and the target language influence how culture-specific items are rendered in translation. (*hypothesis confirmed*)
2. How culture-specific items are rendered in translation depends on their type. (*hypothesis confirmed*)
3. With respect to culture-specific items, the English translation is predominantly exoticized (*hypothesis not confirmed*)
4. The Croatian translation is more educational than the English translation of the novel. (*hypothesis confirmed*)

That both the target culture and the target language influence how culture-specific items are rendered in translation has clearly been confirmed. With respect to the cultural asymmetry that such items may cause, we can establish that the American translator utilizes short explanations, but refrains from inserting long, detailed, precise descriptions, footnotes or comments that perhaps might distract the readers. Aside from the translation tradition that translators do not wish to break, we can examine how prestigious and influential American culture appears to be in comparison with, for example, Swedish culture. Then it is hardly surprising that many Swedish items have simply been neutralized. As for the Croatian translator, the situation is somewhat different, as a great deal of CSIs have been explained and supplemented with relevant information in a very simple, yet “pedagogical” way. When it comes to how the cultural asymmetry affects the Swedish-Croatian language pair, we can state that the culture gap is much less visible since neither Swedish nor Croatian culture seems to enjoy a particularly high or low status.

No two categories have been treated in one and the same way. A wide range of translation techniques and translation strategies employed within, for example, the category *other*, support this hypothesis. In the categories containing geographical names and names of institutions, companies, organizations and other business activities, on the other hand, it has been of paramount importance to either retain or explicate such items, since they may serve as the basis for not only the construction or development of the plot, but also plot twists and intrigues. By contrast, we may argue that names of food and drinks or mass media do not occupy an equally notable

place in a crime novel, which is also a potential reason why the items in these two categories have mostly been neutralized. An interesting tendency can be seen in the treatment of names of actual or historical Swedes, where, as opposed to the names of fictional characters which are usually retained in their original form, other techniques and strategies are adopted.

However, the hypothesis that the translation into English is strongly target-culture oriented, i.e. largely assimilated, has not been confirmed. We have developed this hypothesis based on Grundler's (2012) qualitative research on culture-specific items, which shows that the English translation of *Män som hatar kvinnor* has been assimilated. Nonetheless, we should still take note of the fact that Grundler's study does not include any quantification that could back such binary distribution of strategies. Our collected data suggest that the English translation of *Snabba Cash* has been exoticized with 51.38%, which further substantiates Adrián Takáč's (2015) qualitative-quantitative research .

In the end, the fourth hypothesis should be mentioned. It has been confirmed that the Croatian translation is more educational than the English translation of the novel. Partly formulated with reference to Grundler's discussion about what the American and Croatian translators make of footnotes, i.e. extratextual gloss, this hypothesis has built upon the assumption that the Croatian translator adds facts about CSIs more often than the American translator does. The quantitative analysis corroborates both assumptions: with regard to CSIs, education is a more pronounced strategy in the Croatian translation, 29.28%, whereas it only amounts to 11.47% in the English translation. The data have also shown that extratextual gloss is only employed in the translation into Croatian, which once again speaks for the efforts of the Croatian translator to bring Swedish culture closer to anyone reading the novel in Croatian translation.

8. Conclusion

To summarize, no definite conclusions can be drawn, as the design of the corpora limits the ability to generalize.

However, the findings have revealed that *exoticization* is unquestionably the most common global translation strategy in both translations. Based on that, we can conclude that both the American and the Croatian translators have oriented their translations towards the source culture, so that more readers would be interested in the foreign culture. In this way, the potential readers would gain access to the lifestyle patterns, values that characterize Swedish society, as well as the created artifacts. This goes only partly hand in hand with previous research, especially if we look at our hypotheses, but it has undeniably been confirmed that *education* is a very strong global translation strategy in the Croatian translation. As expected, this demonstrates what a crucial role the language and culture pairs in question play in the choice of translation strategies, principally if we take the cultural (a)symmetry into account. Moreover, the present research has shown that translators tend to treat various categories of culture-specific items differently, depending on their function in the source text. Geographical names, names of mass media or food and drinks, for example, are very rarely translated in the same way.

Nevertheless, these findings point to different tendencies regarding the treatment of culture-specific items in translation. In future, it could be interesting to compare several novels within the same genre and writing style in order to investigate whether these findings might form a recurrent pattern. In addition, the results of both the qualitative and quantitative analyses could potentially be complemented with textual data extracted from interviews with translators. Possible interfering factors and agents such as translators' experience and level of education, the influence of publishing companies, proofreaders and revisers, as well as the availability of reference translations in other languages, might also put these findings into a wider perspective. Addressing this and other similar challenging, but insufficiently investigated, research areas promises to contribute to the further development of translation studies as a discipline.

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