D-level paper

More than words
Different strategies to remedy culturally prompted translation difficulties
Abstract
This paper sets out to investigate how different kinds of adaption strategies can work in synergy to overcome culturally prompted translation difficulties. The strategies used were analysed in the translation of a text from a tourist guide containing references to local phenomena. It was found that the different strategies combine when overcoming the translation difficulties, but that not all of them turn out useful. It is suggested that source texts that are bound to a physical location as regards contents are likely to be culturally adaptable in translation mainly by means of addition, omission and generalization.

Keywords:
Adaption, adaptation, omission, addition, generalization, modulation, equivalence
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1 Introduction

Traditionally translate has merely meant expressing a discourse in another language than
the source language, but more recent definitions also consider the sense – what the text
wants to say rather than what it actually says (Snell-Hornby 1995: 39). Munday (2008:
19–20) states, however, that there has been an ongoing discussion for at least two
thousand years about whether the word-for-word or the sense-for-sense approach is
preferable. Ingo (2007: 17) explains how there have been trends in translation over the
years, ranging from exact and faithful ideals to free translation. A modern dictionary
definition of the term is to “express the sense of words or writing in another language”
(Soanes 2006: 974) thus focusing solely on the sense as the essential part of translation.

In other words, a translation carried out word-for-word can be regarded as
semantic – emphasizing the objective and the general aspects of words and avoiding the
subjective and the local (Yule 1996: 114). The free translation, however, could be
considered pragmatic rather than semantic. As Ingo (2007: 126) explains it, the essence
of pragmatics is that the translated text serves its purpose to function in the new language
and culture environment – no languages fully reflect each other, and neither do their
respective cultures. Bearing in mind that translation may need to be adapted in order to
serve its purpose before the new target readers, how can it be done?

1.1 Aim

This paper sets out to investigate the ways in which adaption strategies suggested by
Hönig & Kußmahl (1982: 53) can work in synergy to solve the problems arising from
source text references to culture-specific phenomena in a partial translation of a particular
tourist guide book.

1.2 Method and material

In order to comply with the aim of this paper, part of a tourist guide on Cambridge,
intended for a British target group, has been translated from English to Swedish. Passages
with culturally bound expressions have been identified and dealt with.

As for the translation itself, a number of aids were used, such as (mainly online)
dictionaries and consultations with friends who have special knowledge of certain content areas that require special terminology. Another useful tool has been switching between Wikipedia's English and Swedish websites on a certain issue, in order to identify potential translations, which could subsequently be double-checked against a more reliable source, such as Nationalencyklopedin.

This study is qualitative, and its analysis is based on the author's own translation, which of course means that the study is likely not to show the same results if carried out by someone else, since the language style used in translation is inevitably connected to the personal preferences of the translator. There may, consequently, be other possible solutions to each suggested one. The aim of this study, however, is not to prove that there is one single solution to all kinds of adaptations, but rather to investigate whether combined use of different theories fulfils the purpose of adaption. This means that the personal preferences of the translator do not oppose neither the validity nor the reliability of this study.

The material used for the translation is pages 6–31 in Cambridge – Days out, short breaks and long weekends edited by Angela Royston and published by Pitkin Publishing. It is a tourist guide consisting mainly of short texts about monuments and attractions in the city of Cambridge. The reason for choosing these very pages was merely a matter of reducing the text volume to translate, since the full book would be too time-consuming in relation to the extent of this study, and given the fact that an estimated third of the entire text was translated, it is likely to represent the stylistic level of the book as a whole.
2 Theoretical background

In translation, the target text generally may need to be adapted in various ways. That it needs to be adapted due to morphological and syntactic differences between the languages involved should be fairly obvious, at least when the source and target languages are not structurally closely related to each other (Ingo 2007: 15), but there are also other areas in which adaption can be needed in order to convey the same message as the source text – given that the skopos – the purpose – of translation is the same as that of the original. An example would be culturally prompted phenomena such as food, religious and geographical terms as well as references to local celebrities, which do not translate directly into the target language as they do not exist in the target culture: “Tänker att Ingemar Stenmark plötsligt skulle säga: - Jag var dopad hela min karriär. Så omskakande är Mark McGwire’s erkännande i USA.” (Expressen 2013). It obviously cannot be taken for granted that Stenmark is commonly known in Britain, since he is a Swedish sports icon. However, his role in this context is not central, wherefore the reference can be replaced in order to fit in better with the target culture in translation. An adapted translation would thus be something like “Imagine that David Beckham would suddenly say: - I was doped my entire career. That's how shocking Mark McGwire's confession was in the USA.” In this way, the text has been adapted to the target culture using a reference to which the target readers can relate. Other strategies that can be used to overcome difficulties in cultural adaptations are, for instance, additions of explanatory information and omissions. The following sections briefly explain some possible strategies to deal with culturally prompted adaptions.

2.1 Addition

Newmark (1993: 96–102) discusses different categories of cultural adaption and gives examples of how references to some locally named physical objects can be translated by means of addition, i.e. by using the source language noun along with a generic addition. Once, the famous cook Jamie Oliver's TV-show took place in Scandinavia, where Oliver presented the dish salmon gravlax (Youstigi 2011). As he states himself after a couple of minutes, lax means salmon in Swedish (and grav means grave). Saying salmon gravlax is thus saying salmon grave salmon. However, gravlax is not a generic term for salmon, and
is obviously far from an established word in current English; it did not make it into the paperback edition of Oxford Dictionary of Current English 2006, but it is briefly explained in the online version as “a Scandinavian dish of dry-cured salmon marinated in herbs” (Oxford Dictionaries 2013a). Being unfamiliar, or at least potentially unfamiliar, to Englishmen due to its Scandinavian origin, the term might need an explanation even if this results in using the word salmon twice – but in different languages, like when we say salsa sauce (which actually means sauce sauce).

2.2 Cultural equivalent
Newmark (1993: 99–101) also shows how words can be replaced rather than translated, when the phenomena that they represent exist in similar forms in most countries: the Parliament (e.g. the United Kingdom, the Czech Republic) or Bundestag (Germany). In translation, the name of a parliament could thus simply be replaced by that of its target culture equivalent. However, Newmark adds that “when any important word is being used in a special or a delicate sense in a serious text, a serious translator (...) will add the SL [source language] word in brackets” (ibid.: 101), as in “Det blir ingen äkta svensk jul utan glögg” translated into “It's no proper Swedish Christmas without Swedish mulled wine (glögg)”. This additional information diverges from the additions explained in Section 2.1 as the key word itself is put out of focus being placed within brackets, whereas an explanatory addition rather adds the description keeping the key word in focus. In contrast, religious terms are normally transferred instead of translated when it comes to translations between two languages of different religions or religious orientations (ibid.: 102), meaning that they are not being replaceable by a cultural equivalent.

2.3 Adaptation of cultural connotations
While adaption is a term which includes all kinds of strategies used in order to adapt a text to the target language and culture, Vinay & Darbelnet (1995: 39–40) name its hyponym adaptation as one of four procedures of oblique translation, i.e. translations that cannot be carried out word-for-word. Whereas their other three strategies (transposition, modulation and equivalence) are targeted at overcoming lexical or structural differences
between the languages, *adaptation* is specifically targeted at cultural differences between the source and target cultures. It should be obvious that a reference to a cultural issue in a discourse cannot always work out in the translation: A simile in Swedish using the term Vasaloppet, e.g. “Han såg ut som om han hade åkt hela Vasaloppet utan skidvalla”, i.e. *he looked exhausted*, would have to be adapted in translation. It is not difficult to see that a direct translation does not work, since Vasaloppet is a Swedish cross-country ski marathon probably unknown to most non-Swedes. However, finding a similar reference in the target language culture – using Vinay & Darbelnet's strategy of *adaptation* – could make it work: “He looked as if he had run the entire Brighton Marathon wearing wellingtons”. In this way, even if essential parts of the sentence have been replaced, the connotations in source and target language are similar and the message is conveyed.

### 2.4 Generalization

Replacing terms and expressions is not the only way to culturally adapt translations, however. Höning & Kußmaul (1982: 53) show examples of adaptations in a translation from English to German in which Eton College is mentioned, which would not mean the same to a German as it would to an Englishman, since Eton is an English private school. They present two different solutions: Apart from suggesting a solution similar to Newmark's (1993: 96–102) addition, explained in Section 2.1, where an explanation of what Eton is is added to the original name, Höning & Kußmaul (1982: 53) also present an alternative strategy, which can be referred to as *generalization*. The course of action is to use a hypernym instead of using the original reference which may be unknown to the reader. In this very example, Höning & Kußmaul (ibid.) use *private school* [but in German] as a *hypernym* for *Eton* so that the reference is understood whether the target reader knows of Eton or not. As proven in this example, Ingo (2007: 287–288) suggests that some expressions are so bound to the source culture, that a direct translation is inadvisable, whereas a generalization is recommendable. A translation of “Hon klättrade över gärdesgården och sprang gråtande till skogs” would be something like “She climbed over the fence and ran crying into the forest” in which *fence* would be a generalization of *gärdesgård*, which is a specific type of fence.
2.5 Omission
Ingo (2007: 286–287) discusses omission as a strategy when it comes to compression of texts. It simply means omitting information that is not relevant for the plot in order to save space, such as “Tre personer skadades vid en kraftig kollision med en lastbil som kommit in på fel körbana” becoming “Three people injured in collision” in omissive translation. It is further advised (ibid.) that caution be taken, so that later inconsistencies do not arise due to the omission. He also points out (2007: 42–43) that omissions can be applied as a strategy for pragmatic reasons, that make the text focus on what is interesting to the target reader.

2.6 Modulation
As stated in Section 2.3, modulation is used to overcome structural obstacles by changing the semantics and point of view of the source language (Vinay & Darbelnet 1995: 246). They (1995: 36) categorize modulations in obligatory, meaning something that is forced by language structure as in “Hon födde fyra söner” compared to “She gave birth to four sons” and optional, meaning that translators can choose to apply the strategy whenever they consider a literal translation awkward for any reason, as in “Han fick aldrig chansen” compared to “He was never given the chance”.

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3 Analysis

In the following sections, the results are displayed and discussed along with the possibilities or impossibilities of other solutions.

3.1 Addition

In this section, a selection of translation examples in which the addition strategy has been used, is discussed. Firstly, let us have a look at a translation of a proper name.

Example (1)

Rubens' tender painting, The Adoration of the Magi (Royston 2009: 9)  
Rubens vackra målning The Adoration of the Magi (De tre vise männens tillbedjan)

Although it is the name of a painting, The Adoration of the Magi is fully translatable. In this passage, a translation of the name has been added within brackets, simply because magi and adoration are presumably not commonly understood words for Swedes even if they speak English, as opposed to their translation which presumably has clear references to Swedish religion or traditions, and could therefore create a cognitive representation of the notion. We naturally assume that Englishmen understand the meaning of it, but a question to take in consideration is if it needs to be translated whatsoever. The source text somehow implies that the reader might have heard of the painting or is at least somewhat familiar with the artist. Giving some kind of recognition, something for Swedish readers to refer to, might create interest. Unless explained, the reader would be informed that there is a beautiful painting called something incomprehensible, representing something unknown made by someone maybe never even heard of – which makes the information fairly counterproductive in a guide book. Giving it a name in the target language creates some kind of reason to see it, or at least an expectation.

In the next example it is demonstrated how a person's name can be adapted by addition, namely that of the poet John Milton.
Example (2)
there's the added pleasure here of (…) a mulberry tree said to have been planted the year Milton was born – 1608. (Royston 2009: 12)

It is more likely that Englishmen get acquainted with John Milton in school than Swedes, in the same way as not too many Englishmen would know about August Strindberg, Selma Lagerlöf or Gustaf Fröding, which most Swedes have heard of. One of the areas in which adaption is needed is when the source text refers to a locally or culturally bound phenomenon, which may well be the case here. Obviously, in this case, we cannot use Vinay & Darbelnet's (1995: 39–40) adaptation and change the person into another one better known to Swedes, as it would not only change the message, but also be completely untrue. Omission of Milton is not an option either, since the entire sense of the mulberry tree would be lost. Therefore an explanatory addition is preferred, in accordance with Newmark's theory on additions (1993: 96–102), even if his theory mentions objects rather than people (see 2.1 for details).

After having been introduced to John Milton, the reader will come across another name, belonging to a gentleman, Adam Sedgwick, whose existence and work may be more unknown to a Swede than those of John Milton – but along with a name probably far more familiar than both of them, namely Charles Darwin.

Example (3)
In the mid-19th century Charles Darwin was a pupil of Adam Sedgwick. (Royston 2009: 13).
I mitten av 1800-talet studerade evolutionslärans fader Charles Darwin under den berömde geologen Adam Sedgwick.

Charles Darwin is probably just as well-known as Adam Sedgwick is unknown to most Swedes, so a natural strategy for dealing with Sedgwick's name in the translation is by explanatory additions, just as in the case of Milton in Example (2), being a culturally bound phenomenon (Newmark 1993: 96–102). Therefore, Sedgwick is explained to the target reader by his field of science – geology. There is, however, a conspicuous side
effect here: if Darwin studied geology, omitting his deeds, for which he is better known, could actually imply that he was, or became, a geologist just like Sedgwick – and possibly even that this Darwin would only be the namesake of the Charles Darwin. Consequently, since Sedgwick is explained by addition, it changes the notion of Darwin, and Darwin – no matter how well known he is – has to be explained in order to avoid misunderstandings.

There are, however, not only names that can be adapted by addition. The following example shows a peculiar situation where there is not a name – or even a concept – to which the addition is related.

**Example (4)**

There are many specialist bookshops in Cambridge, and if you've been after a particular volume for ages, the chances are that you'll find it here. (Royston 2009: 13).

Det finns många specialiserade bokhandlar i Cambridge, och om du länge varit på jakt efter ett särskilt verk är chansen stor att du hittar det här – men givetvis på engelska.

Example (4) shows a very different kind of adaption compared to Examples (1), (2) and (3), since there is no reference to a cultural phenomenon to translate; that is, there is no word or expression to explain, omit or replace. The source text implies that Cambridge is the place where you will find the oddest things. One might take for granted, by common sense, that books sold in England would be in English, but then it would make no sense for a Swede to go look for their wanted oddities, as these are more likely to be in Swedish. There will probably not be a Swedish book shop in Cambridge, and in order to be able to keep this entire passage of the source text, an addition that creates logic has to be used.

### 3.2 Cultural equivalents

No examples of translation difficulties that could be solved by cultural equivalents were found. It is likely that it depends on the type of discourse material – a tourist guide on Cambridge should rarely contain information about local phenomena that could equally well be replaced by a foreign reference. The discourse is non-fictional and contains facts with an almost inexistent level of metaphors and similes, which makes this strategy
unable, since metaphors and similes represent something rather than explain it which creates a possibility to use different alternatives, whereas a true name, place or cultural phenomenon cannot.

3.3 Adaptation of cultural connotations

The following example shows how changing the references to cultural connotations of the target culture can be used in order to overcome a translation problem. To start with, an example of a particular person is discussed.

Example (5)

Grantchester, once home to poet Rupert Brooke and now the more notorious Lord Archer (Royston 2009: 15). Grantchester som en gång var hem åt poeten Rupert Brooke och numera åt den framgångsrike författaren Jeffrey Archer.

In this example notorious has been replaced by successful writer as a cultural adaptation. Baron Jeffrey Archer, a British MP and successful author, was sentenced to prison for perjury in 2001 (BBC News 2013). This is probably why he is considered notorious in the UK, but we cannot expect Swedish tourists to know this. If the story ended here – if Archer were only a former MP – the information on his whereabouts would be completely uninteresting and meaningless to a Swede, and the only other ways to handle this reference in the translation would be either by omission of the whole notion, i.e. not mentioning Archer at all, or by adding footnotes which would only contribute to an even larger mass of text, making it look more like a dissertation than a tourist guide. Luckily for the translator, though, Archer is also a successful author, and several of his books have been translated into Swedish as well. Thus, it is reasonable to assume that at least some Swedes know of him, but in order to cover up for those who do not, it is reasonable to add his authorship in the translation as well. The nuance of the source text is thus not conveyed along with the message, having turned Archer's negative reputation into something positive in a somewhat polemical translation, which deliberately – although inevitably – diverges from the original. However, this has been done since Swedes may have a positive reference to the same person as Brits would – at least in this source text – consider a criminal. Thus, there are two versions of the same man; the successful author,
presumably known to Swedes, and the offender known as such to Brits. Obviously this is a mere coincidence – if Archer were only a convicted MP, Swedes would need an explanatory addition like “Lord Archer – den menedsdömde riksdagsledamoten” or something, which would probably still not create any interest in knowing where he lives nowadays.

Another minor adaption was the omission of Lord and the addition of Jeffrey. This is merely because not many in Sweden are likely to know that he is noble, since his first name appears on every book but without his noble title. If the surname alone were kept, there could be a risk of misunderstandings, as Archer is a name shared by several authors (Adlibris 2013).

3.4 Generalization

In this section it is demonstrated how a generalization can be used in order to convey the message of the source text avoiding direct translations of narrowly defined concepts that do not exist in the target culture.

Example (6)

It's not quite as easy as it sounds, especially when you can see all those non-punters leaning over the nearest bridge hoping to see you make a big splash. (Royston 2009: 18).

Det är inte riktigt lika enkelt som det låter, i synnerhet inte när du ser alla landkrabbor luta sig över närmsta broräcke i förhoppning om att få se dig plumsa.

The word punt, referring to a narrow, flat-bottomed boat (Oxford Dictionaries 2013b), appears numerous times in the source text. There is no Swedish translation, nor would a Swede know, without explanation, what a punt is. The source text is an illustrated book, and there are pictures of punts which explain what words maybe cannot, or do not need to. That is, there is a possibility of inventing a word – icke-puntare – which would be well understood in its context, then without any adaption whatsoever. Isolating the text from the photographs, however, requires some kind of adaption. An explanatory addition would be stilted and disrupt the flow, and an omission of the word, non-punters, is obviously not possible. Consequently, the only suitable way is generalization: a person not at sea could be called a landlubber, and this word was translatable and usable without
modifying the conveyed message.

Now, let us leave the puns, and step onto the riverbank, in order to see how a local geographical reference can be generalized into a one-word explanation of its nature.

Example (7)
Cross Clare Bridge and turn left through the gardens to follow the Backs past Queen's College (Royston 2009: 26)
Gå över Clare Bridge och sväng vänster genom trädgårdarna för att följa flodbanken förbi Queen's College.

The Backs are “the grounds of Cambridge colleges which back on to the River Cam” (Oxford Dictionaries 2013c), obviously having been named due to their very backing on to the river. The Backs is thus the name of a geographic area, but simultaneously explanatory in the source language. To a non-native, however, it might not be an open-and-shut argument that the Backs refers to the rear side yards of the colleges. Since it is a matter of giving directions, omission is out of the question – for how can one follow directions without being given them? Being a specific location in Cambridge and not a symbol, its name cannot be replaced by a cultural equivalent or altered by adaptation either. That leaves us with two options: addition and generalization. An addition could work stylistically – “för att följa the Backs, collegens bakgårdar, förbi Queen's College” – but it might appear disturbing or confusing, since it would lift off focus from the direction given and highlight the Backs as the essential part of it all. Thus, a generalization into flodbanken, is by far the best solution.

3.5 Omission
In translation, some information in a source text might seem confusing rather than explaining, as the target group changes. This section shows how omitting elements of the source text can create clarity for the readers of the target text, starting with two names.

Example (8)
Kettle's Yard (...) is the strange name for the group of cottages and gallery extension that houses (...) an extraordinary private collection (...) (Royston 2009: 10).
Kettle's Yard (...) är namnet på en samling stugor och en utbyggnad av galleriet som inhyser (...) en enastående privat samling (...).
Example (9)
If you want something quieter, make for (…) the strangely named Champion of the Thames in King Street (Royston 2009: 14)

Om du söker något lugnare, gå till (…) Champion of the Thames på King Street.

To a native speaker of English, *Kettle's Yard* might sound strange, and *Champion of the Thames* will sound strange being in Cambridge, far from the Thames. To a Swede, however, these names would probably not sound any stranger than *River Cam, Mathematical Bridge, Rose Crescent* or any of the other names of places in Cambridge. That is, calling *Kettle's Yard* a strange name also implies that other names are not strange. However, to a non-native speaker of English, all the names may well be equally strange. As for *Champion of the Thames*, the argument is the same, with the additional note that the River Thames actually has its own name in Swedish, namely *Themsen*, due to which it is even more improbable that *Champion of the Thames* would sound strange as there are no clear connections between the name of this pub and the river flowing through London. Thus, “strange” and “the strangely named” are simply omitted. One might also think of adding information in order to explain why it might sound strange to a native, but it would merely look like a *thick translation* full of footnotes and explanations (Appiah, 1993), which would not be suitable in this kind of text.

So far, we have looked at the differences in perception of names depending on the reader's knowledge of local or national culture, but a completely different example is to follow.

Example (10)
The poet Lord Byron's statue is in the Wren Library (Royston 2009: 31).

Poeten Lord Byrons staty står i biblioteket.

If translated directly into Swedish, *the Wren Library* would be *Wrenbiblioteket*. Naming the library by Wren premodifies it, possibly implying that there are more than one library. And that is the case – there is another library as well, the College Library, which is, though, restricted to be used only by college members (Trinity College 2013). Stating the name of the Wren Library could give rise to interest in the other library as well – or imply
that there is something interesting to be seen in there as well. Thus, since there is only
one library accessible to the public, it might be considered confounding to name it, and
thereby giving the possibility of interpreting it as if there are more libraries that can be
visited. This passage could also have been solved by an explanatory addition
(Wrenbiblioteket, som det allmänna biblioteket kallas) but would then lift the focus off
the statue – which is the main attraction.

From the Wren Library, let us take a short southward walk to the Botanic Garden,
in order to look at omissions directly related to differences in metric systems:

Example (11)
It's just 1.5 km (under a mile) along Trumpington Street to the 16-hectare (40-acre) Botanic Garden
(...) (Royston 2009: 25)

As can be seen in Example (11), the reference to miles has been omitted, as kilometres
are already the normal units of measurement in Sweden. The reference to acres has been
omitted as well, as hectares are also part of the metric system which acres are not – in
other words, Swedes need no comparison to a system which they do not use.

Let us stay on our southbound course towards Dorset – which is quite a bit further
away than the short walk we took to the Botanic Garden. This example shows how
omission can be used as a strategy in order to overcome references to geographical sites.

Example (12)
St Edward's Church (...) is dedicated to (...) St Edward's Church (...) tillägnades (...) kung
King Edward, murdered in 978 (...) at Corfe Castle by his stepmother. (Royston 2009: 21)

The location, Corfe Castle, has been omitted in Example (12), since it can be
assumed that Swedes are not familiar with it. Readers – Swedish or English – who have
not heard of Corfe Castle until read in this city guide on Cambridge, might get the idea
that Corfe Castle is situated in Cambridge, rather than in Dorset where it is (Corfe Castle
2013). Obviously it cannot be replaced by a cultural equivalent since the referent is a
physical place that cannot be changed, and an explanatory addition would extend the
already abundant information which might be more than a Swede would be interested in knowing.

Seemingly, Corfe Castle could have been translated using an explanatory addition as well: “Corfe Castle i Dorset” or “Corfe Castle på sydkusten”, but these translations give information which might be either confusing – as a Swedish tourist may not have heard of Dorset either – or otiose, since the reference to Corfe Castle is still a reference to a building probably unknown to most Swedes, something like naming Nyköpings slott in a tourist guide on Stockholm intended for Englishmen.

3.6 Combined strategies

This section discusses a complex example where a combination of strategies has been used in order to solve the difficulties.

Example (13)

Most of us have watched and listened to the Festival of Nine Lessons and Carols broadcast each Christmas from King's College Chapel. (Royston 2009: 9).

Varje julafont radiosänds gudstjänsten Nine Lessons and Carols från kyrkan vid King's College

The passage rendered in example (13) required several adaptions. First, there was an omission of the reference to most of us having watched and listened to the broadcasting referred to; since this takes place in the United Kingdom, it seems reasonable to assume that the Swedish target reader, who would presumably be included among 'us', will not have heard of it – let alone watched it or listened to it. The omission, in turn, leads to a modulation (Vinay & Darbelnet 1995: 246; see also Section 2.6) – more precisely a change in perspective from 'us', the audience, to the broadcasting of the service itself; since reference to the audience has been omitted, the broadcasting of the service is the only thing left to focus on.

Vinay & Darbelnet (1995: 36) categorize modulations in obligatory and optional, however this particular modulation is difficult to classify since (i) the modulation is obligatory as the grammatical subject has been omitted, but (ii) the omission of the grammatical subject is optional if we disregard from the adaption
to the target culture.
This obviously means that the modulation has become obligatory not due to language structure but to language culture. The modulation is not obligatory in the sense of Vinay & Darbelnet (ibid.), but inevitable since there is no Swedish reference to the 'us' used.

The omissions have been carried out in order to adapt the text to the target reader, as Ingo suggests (2007: 42–43), however, not in order to make it meaningful in culture or traditions, as he exemplifies, but sorting out information which would actually be untrue if translated directly.

Next, *Nine Lessons and Carols* is a service not celebrated in Sweden, which means that the name of it has to be adapted in order to be meaningful to the target reader. As seen in section 2.2, Newmark (1993: 102) suggests that religious language (in this case Anglosaxon in source culture and Protestant in target culture) should simply be transferred without changes. Being a proper name and thus not replaceable, it needed to be explained by addition, as suggested by Newmark (1993: 96–102; see also Section 2.1) and Höning & Kußmaul (1982: 53), consequently the word *gudstjänsten* has been added in the target text.

Finally, the name King's College Chapel has been replaced by a descriptive cultural equivalent (Newmark 1993: 99–101) in the target text: *kyrkan vid King's College*. The word *chapel* is certainly part of the proper name, but still, the definition of *chapel* is either 'a part of a church' or 'an independent place of worship smaller than a church' (Soanes 2006: 142), neither of which is accurate in this context. Despite its somewhat misleading name, King's College Chapel is a church, not a chapel. As the author appeals to the general knowledge of the reader (“Most of us have seen”), it is probably taken for granted that an English reader knows of the church and the fact that it is, actually, not a chapel. A Swede might not know this, however, wherefore an explanation may be needed. Not knowing could thus imply that there is a chapel instead of a church. Consequently, the reference to the church in question has been changed to *kyrkan vid King's College*, where the misleading name has been replaced with a descriptive equivalent.
4 Conclusions

The aim of this paper was to investigate the ways in which adaption strategies can work in synergy to solve translation problems prompted by culture-specific phenomena.

As shown in the analysis, there are different applicable translation strategies that can be used in order to overcome culturally prompted obstacles. The different strategies applied seem to work as complements to one another, with the exception of the cultural equivalent strategy, which has not turned out useful at all. Thus, if the translation is limited to a factual tourist guide on a particular city located in the source culture area, with no references to foreign cultures, it is likely to assume that the cultural equivalent strategy is of less use than the strategies of omission, addition and generalization to the translator. The probable reasons for this are presumably that references to real people and places cannot be replaced by people or places from or in the target culture area, since it would completely change the intended message of the source text. Disregarding the cultural equivalent strategy, it is thus suggested that a combination of adaption strategies is the best solution, since different strategies have proven to be the only reasonable options depending on the situations.

It may seem evident, as shown in Section 3.3, that coincidence can be taken advantage of if a reference is known to target culture readers for other reasons than it is known to source culture readers. This is, however, not a strategy on which we can rely – since this particular coincidence might be regarded as mere chance.

As for further investigation, an analysis of hypernyms and hyponyms within the generalization strategy could be useful, since it can be believed that a generalization is nothing but using hypernyms. As presented in Example 7, Section 3.4, it was shown that a plain definition of the nature of a proper name could work as a generalization, without being a hypernym.
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