Manipulating the next generation: translating culture for children

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Translators are interpreters of culture; they are the ones who make a source text and the culture that informs it available to a target readership, and they therefore have a certain amount of power over the readers. This is doubly the case when it comes to children's literature, as children do not always have the ability to recognise in what ways a text is being manipulated. Since adults write, edit, publish, translate, purchase, and teach literature for children, they are thus the ones who construct culture for them. The works adults choose to translate and how they do so can reveal what they think is appropriate or important for children, and why.

When texts have culture-specific features, translators, whether for adults or children, have to consider the target audience. One major issue here is whether the readers will recognize or should learn about these aspects of the source culture. This is, in essence, the question of domesticating versus foreignisation, or, put another way, whether to bring the reader to the text or the text to the reader. In my studies of children's literature, I have found that translators tend to domesticate or change more than they would for adult readers, and this creates a very different, perhaps even manipulative, reading experience for the target audience. Since children's literature and its translation can be said to be a power play between adults and children (Rose 1993, p.2), the question then is: 'In what way adults (ab)use their power?'.

The issue of dialect

Dialect is most simply defined as any non-standard variant of a language. Authors write in dialect or switch between registers when a particular setting or a style of language is essential to the story and/or to the portrayal of the characters, as in Mark Twain's *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, in which Twain employs various dialects presumably in order to make the story more authentic and true to the locale and its residents. Since the plot hinges upon slavery, the setting of the American South is important to the story, as is the time the story takes place, and the author may have decided that using dialect helped portray the reality of the place.

Dialect contrasts with standard language and thereby offers some information to the readers. Besides portraying a particular time, place, or character, it can also be employed to teach readers about that time or place or expose them to non-standard language, among other functions.
Writers of children's books typically must be more selective than writers of adult fiction when deciding to use dialect, as children who are not experienced readers, or who have not been exposed to a variety of dialects yet, may have trouble understanding the language if it is not either the standard they learn in

school, especially in terms of grammar or spelling, or the dialect they use at home and/or with friends. They thus could miss whatever it is that the author wanted to emphasise through the dialect usage. Having orthography show dialect or including words or phrases specific to a place, social class, period in time, or job may therefore distract or bewilder young readers. Also, adults – whether the authors themselves, editors, translators, the parents who buy the books, the teachers who assign them, or anyone else involved – may resent or disapprove of the presence of dialect, because they could feel that it encourages children to use non-standard language or that it otherwise disturbs their linguistic education and training. All this in turn may lead writers for children to use dialect sparingly, perhaps only in books for older children, and in any case less frequently than writers for adults would, and perhaps then they would include dialect in simplified or more obvious versions. This then can affect translation as well.

Translators for children, versus those for adults, may feel that they have more freedom and/or responsibility to restrict children's exposure to non-prestige dialects (this is quite different from Oittinen's ideas about how translators for children must speak to their own child images, see 'No Innocent Act: On the Ethics of Translating for Children', 2006). Since the standard is what is generally taught in schools and used at most places of employment, adults may feel that it is detrimental to children to see, hear, learn, or otherwise experience non-standard language. Standardising or deleting dialectal language could be seen as teaching children about what is proper and about the correctness of using the standard. On the other hand, retaining or even emphasising dialects could be a method of teaching children about linguistic and/or cultural variety, perhaps with the purposes of showing them how not to speak or not to be, although translators may have other educational reasons in mind, such as the importance of learning about other peoples and of being understanding and accepting of differences.

On the issue of minority and power, Venuti writes:

> *I understand "minority" to mean a cultural or political position that is subordinate, whether the social context that so defines it is local, national or global. This position is occupied by languages and literatures that lack prestige or authority, the non-standard and the non-canonical, what is not spoken or read much by a hegemonic group. Yet minorities also include the nations and social groups that are affiliated with these languages and literatures, the politically weak or underrepresented, the colonized and the disenfranchised, the exploited and the stigmatized.*
>
> (Venuti 1995, 135)

So how dialects are used reflects how minorities are viewed.

Translating dialect
Berthele divides translatorial strategies for dialects into two main types: a strategy of difference and one of deficit (2000, p.593). Clearly, the latter is more of a value judgment, as it suggests that a character is not intelligent, versus simply suggesting that s/he is different from other characters, and this reflects the translator's opinion of the characters and the type of language employed. For example, in his analysis of translations of Twain's *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* to German, Berthele finds that some consonantal losses in the translation are not similar to what one would actually hear in spoken German and that the style is not always consistent with texts written in German (p.594). Therefore, the language in German can seem off and exaggerated, making the black character's dialect seem stronger and more obvious than it is in English (this corroborates my own findings below).

Berthele's analysis found that how Jim's style of speech is translated to German implies a 'lack of linguistic competence' (p.600). Jim overuses the infinitive form rather than conjugating verbs and:

[i]n German literature this type of speech is widely used for the speech of idiots, savages or, of course, for L2-learners of the German language…The evidence from the German literary texts is unambiguous. Having Jim speak in infinitives portrays him either as foreign, uneducated or simple-minded. A Jim who speaks this way was an object of ridicule for both translators and readers in the first half of the twentieth century – both from a cognitive and linguistic point of view he is presented as deficient.

(Berthele 2000, p.600)

So, translations have much to reveal about how given cultures think about certain types of people. When a translator presents a minority character as 'deficient', in a way that said character was not depicted in the source text, this blatantly suggests a racist usage of power.

Dialect in *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*
Twain includes an 'Explanatory' at the beginning of *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* that refers to his use of dialect; this explanation is not in the Swedish translations. It reads as follows:

In this book, a number of dialects are used, to wit: the Missouri negro dialect; the extremest form of the backwoods South-Western dialect; the ordinary "Pike-County" dialect; and four modified versions of this last. The shadings have not been done in a hap-hazard fashion, or by guess-work; but pains-takingly, and with the trustworthy guidance and support of personal familiarity with these several forms of speech. I make this explanation for the reason that without it many readers would suppose that all these characters were trying to talk alike and not succeeding. (p.5)

The Norton critical edition of *Huckleberry Finn*, edited by Thomas Cooley, of Twain's novel mentions that he worked hard on the dialects, made notes on the dialects, and made 'hundreds of corrections of dialect in the manuscript' (1999, p.691). Fishkin quotes Twain as having written, 'I amend this dialect stuff by talking & talking & *talking* it till it sounds right' (1993, p.97), and she also says that his notebooks reveal the way he practised writing dialect (p.103). He took four years to write the book and this time includes lots of revisions including 'pervasive refinements of dialect and diction' (p.691). It was because of his efforts to make the dialects realistic that there are so many 'variant accidentals' between the manuscript and the published work. Twain kept making changes and critics, such as in the Norton edition edited by Cooley, say that he was so dedicated to that task that readers can 'recognize that the literary dialects employed by Clemens were based on genuine, recognizable patterns of speech. They were to some degree nonstandard and geographically or socially limited, and were frequently distinguished from one another by small or subtle differences' (1999, p.781) However, some of the dialects are more 'character-specific'(p.788)

Cooley suggests:

it is important to recognize the showmanship in the ambitious, seven-way dialectal differentiation and in the attention the author calls to it. Clemens composed Huckleberry Finn in the heyday of literary dialect in American literature, and no doubt he wanted to show what he too was capable of doing, especially with the "Pike Country" dialect that he helped create. (1999, pp.319-320)

In other words, Twain was genuine in his desire to correctly represent dialect, but he also was showing off to some extent. Fishkin comments that his colloquial style inspired other writers to truly portray the American style/American voices, so his work was ground-breaking, although it is worth considering how realistic a literary version of an oral dialect could be. 'Before Twain wrote *Huckleberry Finn*, no American author had entrusted his narrative to the voice of a simple, untutored vernacular speaker – or, for that matter, to a child' (p.13) He paved the way for authors to write in vernacular, even in a dialect used by the most excluded social groups.

The fact is that the translator must find a way of translating the language of the book. Perhaps what matters here is Huck's class, not race, and his class status suggests that his non-standard language usage could certainly be like that of poor black children. A question might then be that if Twain indeed appreciated and appropriated African-American speech patterns and oral traditions, what does this mean for translation? And what does this mean in particular for translators who are dealing with target cultures where there are few Africans?

What happens in translation
I analysed seven sample passages of dialect in Twain's novel and I compared its fifteen translations to Swedish, a language whose culture contains few Africans or other minorities. Based on these seven sample passages, I found that standardisation is the primary translatorial strategy (60%). Orthography was used to represent the dialect 40% of the time and vocabulary 17.1%, while grammatical representations were only employed 6.67%, a number I found low considering how many dialects have a grammar that differs to some extent from the standard dialect. Englund Dimitrova, too, had found that 'in translating dialect, and more specifically dialect in direct speech, [there are] the observed tendencies towards the choice of more standard, conventional linguistic forms' (2004, 135). What is lost in a text when the dialect is standardised in translation can be a major part of the story, as it is in *Huck Finn*. Swedish readers may not understand the characters and the plot nearly as well as readers of the source text. The examples here tended either erase or exaggerate the dialect; there was no middle way (see Figure 1).
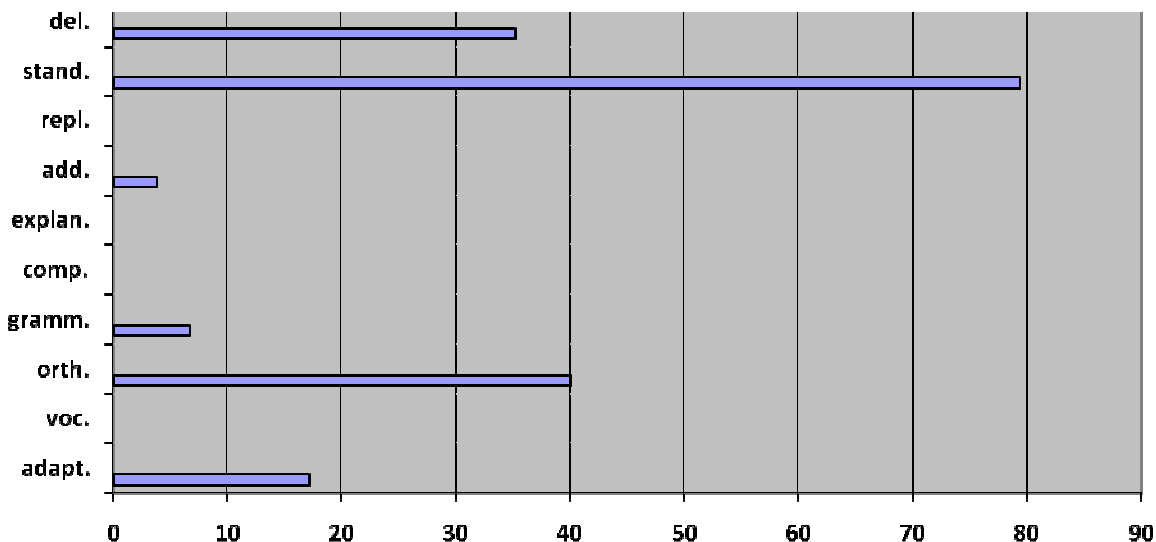

Figure 1: The strategies in order from most to least interventionist, in percentages.

It is rather unfortunate that the varieties of English Twain employed in *Huckleberry Finn* are not really noticeable in Swedish. Because of the storyline, Twain's book has to take place in the American South, so choosing a Swedish dialect would not have been a good option. It would probably have been odd for Swedish readers to read, say, the dialect from the northern region of Lapland while knowing that the characters were American. Also, a translator could probably not keep the exact same words in dialect that were in dialect in the original or have the same exact linguistic issues, but it would have been possible to use non-standard spelling or grammar wherever possible, and/or pronunciation-based spelling instead of standard spelling, and/or occasional words in dialect, and to attempt to have approximately the same number of 'errors' as in English. In this way, Swedish readers would at least recognise that the characters do not use standard language and also that they do not all speak in the same way, which is something Twain highlighted in his introductory explanation. In standardising the dialects in *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, the translators apparently focused on the words in the text and their meaning within the story, so the plot itself is clear enough to Swedish readers, but the ways the characters speak, which in turn reveal their location, educational background, social class, race, and other such details, have not come across in Swedish, and thus some of the atmosphere and sense of the novel is no longer there.

Next, I specifically compared three passages (see Table 1). Sample 1 has Huck's style of narration, and this has been standardised in 73.3% of the translations. Huck's anti-education father, as reflected in Sample 3, has had his language standardised frequently, too, though not as much (53.3%). Finally, the language of Jim, the main black character in the novel, has been standardised only 6.67% of the time. The Swedish translations have something in common with the German translations, which Berthele has described as making Jim seem deficient (he does not seem foreign, just 'unable to speak *any* language properly' [2000, p.608, emphasis original]), though Berthele points out that later translations to German tend to standardise Jim's language (604), which may reflect a cultural shift in how minorities are portrayed and/or reveal a sense of guilt. As Twain took pains to explain, all of the main characters speak a non-standard dialect in the novel; therefore, that the white characters tend to speak standard Swedish while the black character does not certainly implies more than a degree of racism. Here, translators may be abusing their power by inflicting their own opinions (or those of their editors or publishers) on Swedish child readers. Children may read these works and get the impression that minorities are cognitively deficient. If all the dialects had been standardised, one could believe that translators were afraid of teaching children that some characters or types of people were inferior and/or offending readers. In this case, translators would have been using their power in a very different way than they do when they standardise the speech of white characters and emphasis the non-standard speech of black characters.

Sample	Standardisation (%)	Speaker
1	73.3%	Huck (white)
3	53.3%	Huck's uneducated father (white)
5	6.67%	Jim (black)

Table 1: A comparison of standardisation in three passages.

In sum, then, these translations very clearly change the text and manipulate child readers by showing minority characters as deficient.

The issue of allusions
An allusion is a reference, often indirect, to something that has been created or used before. It is "pre-formed linguistic material" (Leppihalme 1997, p.3), a stylistic device that, if recognised by the audience, can quickly create a setting or feeling or send a message. It can be a single word, a phrase, a characterisation, a scene, or even more. Allusions proper, which Leppihalme divides into proper-name allusions and key-phrase allusions, are the main kind of allusions that will be discussed here, as that is what was found in my sample of texts. Such allusions can be references to famous, or semi-famous, people, books, films, products, concepts, situations/events, or styles, but they can even be inside jokes that only mean something to the author and perhaps a few others.

Lefevere writes that '[f]our types of allusions are likely to occur with some regularity in literature written in English: biblical, classical, cultural, and literary' (1992, p.22). A writer may not always consciously decide to employ allusions. Since allusions frequently refer to common items, such as well-known movies, the use of allusions might be subconscious or accidental. However, if an author has purposely chosen to use allusions, there are many potential reasons for this. Lefevere suggests that '[w]riters often allude to other works of the literature they are part of (or to works from other literatures) to make readers aware of similarities and differences between what they are reading and what is alluded to' (p.25) Leppihalme mentions the following possibilities: 'a desire to call attention to one's learning or wide reading', 'to enrich the work by bringing in new meanings and associations', 'an attempt to characterise people, or suggest thoughts or unconscious impressions and attitudes in characters', or 'to increase the significance of one's work by generalising or suggesting universality' (p.7). Further, thematic allusions can create 'a heightening of emotion, a desire to imply that there is something about a situation or character in the alluding context that is more important than the reader would otherwise assume, and which may be of thematic importance for the interpretation of the text as a whole' (p.37).

In Lemony Snicket's *Series of Unfortunate Events* there are dozens of allusions. Daniel Handler (Lemony Snicket is his pen name) wrote the following to me in regard to his intentions in using so many allusions in the Snicket books:

> *The Baudelaires [the main characters] exist in a world circumscribed by books - all of the world's power and secrets are contained in the pages of books the children find in various libraries. It made sense to me that the people in this world would thus reference works of literature and culture. If this encourages more people to read Les Fleurs du Mal, so much the better.*
> (personal correspondence, 17 November 2007)

In other words, he felt that the context of the series required or was well-served by the use of allusions. In this situation, it may not matter whether the readers necessarily understand the allusions. The presence of allusions alone may create the atmosphere that the author feels is necessary for the work.

Children clearly have not built up the same level of linguistic understanding and semiotic associations that adults have, and therefore authors of books for children might be wary of including allusions requiring such information, not least because children may end up feeling stupid if there is too much they do not understand in a work (note the similarity here to the issue of dialects). There are gradations

of competence and authors and translators may not always accurately judge the level of knowledge readers have or can get. In relation to what child readers might know, Handler writes:

> *Understanding an allusion is not a matter of whether or not you are an adult - it is simply whether or not you are familiar with the particular cultural item. In my experience, if a child reading the books encounters what she thinks might be an allusion she will investigate further, whereas many adults will either recognize it or pretend to recognize it. There are many, many such references in A Series Of Unfortunate Events, some buried so deeply that even I cannot remember where they are, to reward careful rereaders, just as the Baudelaires find more and more information the more they investigate.*

<div align="right">(personal correspondence, 27 November 2007)</div>

While Handler may be slightly off here, since obviously it does matter whether the reader is an adult or a child, because adults are more familiar with (most) cultural items than children are (except child-specific ones), his comment reflects his view of the function/s of allusions in a text and it also relates to the power of the readers, translators, teachers, and other adults over the child readers.

Translating allusions
The use of allusions can be seen as a sort of translation itself, in that a writer is taking known units and using them in a new way, so the translation of allusions is almost a double translation. In order to translate allusions, obviously, translators need to recognise them. Though they are, by their job description, supposedly bilingual, translators may not be completely bicultural, which means that they may miss allusions that are deeply entrenched in the source culture or a specific subculture. In children's literature, there may be allusions that only children, or those steeped in children's culture, would recognise, and adult readers (including me) and translators could miss them. Even if they do notice that an allusion is being used, they may not understand all the connotations connected to that particular allusion. Furthermore, translators might not understand or be privy to an author's specific reasons for using a given allusion. So a serious problem, then, is how to train or help translators to recognise and understand allusions. Very few translators will ever be able to have access to all levels of a culture and all the connotations of each possible reference. Leppihalme suggests that factors that make allusions more visible to translators include familiarity, proper name, metaphorical statements, length, stylistic contrasts, while the opposite features – lack of familiarity, lack of proper name, common vocabulary, brevity, ellipsis, modifications – make it hard for translators to recognise them (1997, p.185), so perhaps these are areas that translators could pay special attention to (and that could be focused on in translator training programmes, too).

An additional challenge is that an allusion has both literal and metaphorical senses (i.e. the reference itself and all the connotations that go along with it or that the author intended to have the reader experience); therefore, a translator ought also to attempt to retain both these levels of meaning. However, something that is, or once was, a well-known reference in the source culture (such as the Bible, or the songs or poems parodied in *Alice*) may not necessarily be a reference in the target culture, or at least not one that the general public would easily recognise. And even if it is, it may not have the same connotations, depending on what texts or other items from the source culture have been made available in the target culture.

Allusions in *A Series of Unfortunate Events*
Lemony Snicket's *A Series of Unfortunate Events* is a group of thirteen novels about the three Baudelaire children, Violet, Klaus, and Sunny, and their unhappy adventures. Allusions are to be found

throughout these books, starting with the names of the characters. The children's last name refers to the French author Charles Baudelaire, though Snicket may have simply chosen this name because he admires Baudelaire's work or just liked the sound of the name than for any deeper reason, such as wanting to consciously connect the children's background or the events in their lives to anything similar in Baudelaire's. I think there was more to it than that, however, as in the second book in the series, there is a snake called 'Mamba du Mal', which refers, as Handler himself pointed out above, to Baudelaire's volume of poems *Les Fleurs du Mal*, or *The Flowers of Evil*, and evil is a theme throughout this series.

There is at least one website dedicated to analysing allusions in Snicket's work. Handler said, 'I haven't spent much time on such sites, but they appear to be building a community of interested readers, which seems overall a positive thing. I see nothing wrong with making it easier for young people to approach Baudelaire' (personal correspondence, December 10, 2007). Again, this suggests that one of his goals is to educate his readers. One such site suggests that Violet is named after the servant who killed herself from the stress of the Lindbergh baby kidnapping and that the names of the two younger siblings were inspired by the following situation: 'Wealthy businessman Claus von Bulow was found guilty of injecting his wife, Sunny, with a deadly insulin cocktail. His verdict was later overturned. The story later became a film: *Reversal of Fortune*' (http://www.quidditch.com/lemony snicket.htm). While Klaus certainly does not kill his sister Sunny in this series, the three siblings do indeed suffer a reversal of fortune; just pages into the first book, they lose their loving parents and their family's mansion in a fire and are sent by the banker Mr. Poe – one of whose sons is named Edgar, the other is Albert (not quite Allen) – to live with the horrible, greedy Count Olaf. Incidentally, the original Poe was orphaned at a young age, too, and one of his poems is referenced later in the series.

These books are recommended for children between the ages of 9 and 12, and it is questionable how many of those children would be familiar with, for example, Robert Frost (book ten), Giuseppe Verdi (book twelve), *The Cabinet of Doctor Caligari* (book nine), Giorgio Armani (book six), *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* (book thirteen), Genghis Khan (book five), the monster Scylla in Homer's *Odyssey* (book seven), Passover (book two), *The Love Song of J. Alfred Prufrock* by T. S. Eliot (book five), the Duke Ellington (book eleven), or any of the other numerous, primarily literary, allusions that appear in the thirteen books.

The few biblical allusions, such as how the snake gives the characters an apple in the thirteenth book, may be easier to recognise, although it is questionable whether many children today in English-speaking cultures are as steeped in the Bible as they have been in the past. This, then, relates back to the issues of functions and of adults' power over children, as it could be that Snicket included such allusions to entertain himself and/or any adult readers of the works, thus leaving out the children and making these books not truly children's books, or to prove his own cleverness, or to encourage readers to be actively involved in the making of meaning in these texts. Another possibility is that instead (or in addition), Snicket wanted to use these books to try to teach children something (such as the concept of Hobson's choice in book eleven, or religious knowledge, although the three main characters seem agnostic, if not completely atheistic), but I think this is less likely because of the way in which the books generally seem to work against the typical format, language, and goals of children's literature. Since traditionally, many children's books have been used for pedagogical purposes, I suspect that Snicket wanted to avoid the moralistic, preachy tone that some children's books employ, even though he does teach many new words in this series, if not always correctly. The author may also have relied on his knowledge of literature and culture for ideas, and could be unaware of how these influences

crept into the work. Whatever the exact reasoning behind all the allusions, it suggests that these children's books are not just, or perhaps not even primarily, written for or addressed to children.

How the translator translates the allusions depends on whether s/he has recognised them, what s/he thinks their role is in the text, and what s/he believes is appropriate for and/or accessible to children, among other factors. Sunny Baudelaire has apparently been renamed *Prunille* in French, for example, which suggests that the translator did not recognise the potential reference to the von Bulow case or did not find it worth preserving or felt that despite the reference, French children would need access to a French name, not an English one. However, as Orr says, '[i]f allusion as shorthand frequently overlaps with proper nouns, it does not designate ties to individual ownership' (2003, p.139) In nearly all cases of names, the Swedish translator has retained the original, whether or not Swedish readers would recognise the reference. Proper names are in fact the primary kind of allusions included in these works, which means that there may be quite a number of associations English-speaking readers got that Swedish-speaking readers did not. To be fair, though, it is unlikely that many young children, whether in English- speaking or Swedish-speaking countries, would be familiar with, for example, Beau Brummel, the philosophy of Nietzsche, *The Corridors of Power* by C.P. Snow, or characters and scenes from Shakespeare's plays.

I looked at the thirteen books in Snicket's *Series* and identified 144 allusions, some of which repeat throughout a given book and at least six – all proper names – are repeated throughout the entire series. Technically, I found more than 144, but if there were several included in one phrase or on one page, I put them together, unless I realised that the strategies used differed, which usually was not so. Interestingly, the use of allusions seems to be much more frequent in the later part of the series. 44 of the 138 distinct allusions (I subtracted the six names that repeat through all the books) are in the first seven books, which means that approximately 70% of the allusions appear in books eight through thirteen, the second half of the series. Book thirteen has the most allusions, with 29, or 23%, of the allusions in the series. It is possible that Handler believed that his readership would get older over the course of his writing (that is, if devoted readers started the series when it first came out in 1999 and read through the end of it in 2006, they would be seven years older) and would therefore have more knowledge and would be able to recognise more allusions and/or know how to go about getting information on them.

The two main headings I gave the allusions were 'literary' and 'cultural'. I labelled 86 of the 144 allusions 'literary', because they refer to authors or texts, and that is nearly 60% of the total. 63 allusions, or 43.8%, are 'cultural'. I labelled seven allusions 'Jewish', and some of these were also 'cultural'. Only four allusions received the sub-heading of 'historical', but several more could also have gotten it, depending on how I defined the term. Three also received the sub-heading of 'culinary', one of which also was 'Jewish', and another of which I was not completely sure of ('jook' in book 1 could be a reference to a Korean dish or a way of saying 'look'). Two allusions were political, and both were references to current politics in the United States, as will be discussed below. I also counted how many allusions were to names of actual people (not characters in books, or objects with names that were then used as proper names in this series), and that came to 85, or 59% of the allusions. Frequently, the names were just dropped and did not have an essential impact on the text, or enough information was given so that readers would know that the name referred to, for example, a poet, so I suppose that Snicket used these names as a way of paying homage to writers he admired or had been influenced by or just as a simple way of coming up with names for characters.

What happens in translation

Direct retention as a strategy was used 112 times (77.8%) (see Figure 2), and was therefore the primary strategy Holmberg, employed, such as for an allusion to the character Bernard Rieux from Albert Camus's *La Peste,* or *The Plague*, in book 8, and to Emperor Nero in book 5. It is important to note that in regard to direct retention, many of these cases include allusions that I suspected most English-speaking child readers would not notice, or not think of any connotations in relation to, and since the Swedish-speaking child readers would not either, therefore the allusion and its associations (or lack thereof, to be more exact) were directly retained. Holmberg, has told me that he works on tight deadlines, so it could be that this was the simplest strategy for him, since he did not have the time to come up with or create Swedish versions of these allusions. On the other hand, he may truly have chosen this strategy as the one that was best for these texts, or for allusions in general.

There were thirteen cases of literal translation. In book 6, there is a couple named Jerome and Esmé Squalor, which is likely a reference to J.D. (Jerome David) Salinger's story *For Esmé – With Love and Squalor*, but in Swedish their names were translated to Jerome and Esmé *Solkig* ("dirty" or "soiled"). This figure also includes two situations for which direct retention was not available as a strategy because the work being alluded to has not been translated to the target language or culture. An example of this is the poem by Philip Larkin in book 13. In that case, it is a non-existent or dead allusion in the target text, and has therefore become plain text. There may be more times that this happened and I am simply not aware of it.

Adaptation, including adapting spelling or word usage to Swedish, was used 4 times, or 3.05%. An example here is Captain Widdershins in book 1, who becomes *Kapten Motsols* (Captain Anti-Clockwise) in Swedish.
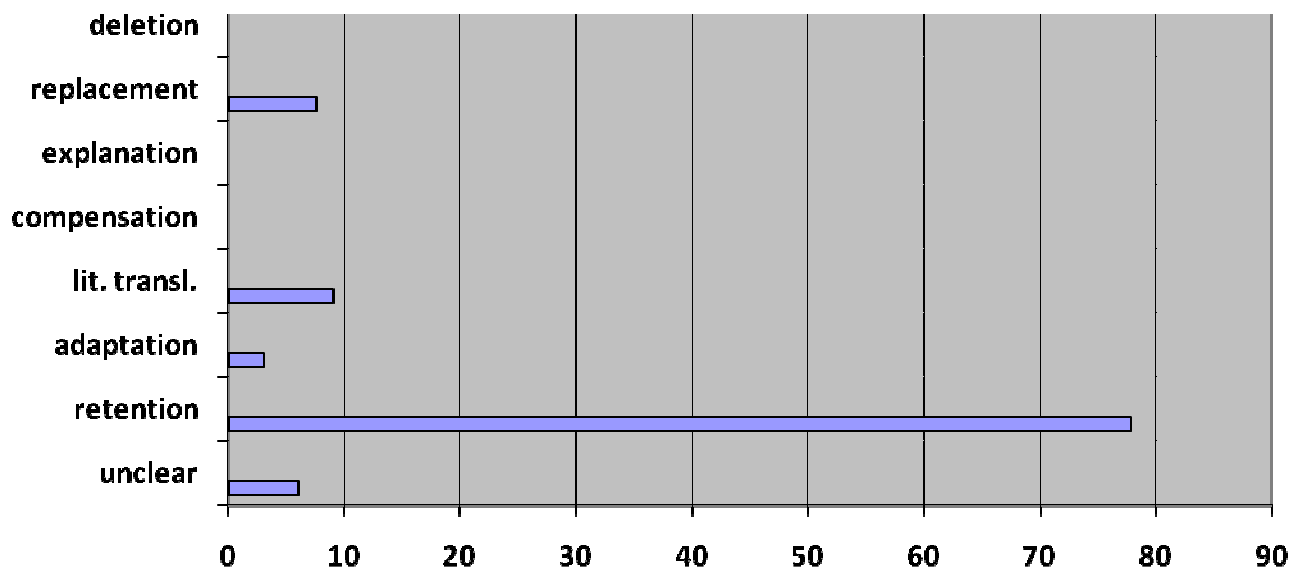

Figure 2: The strategies in order from most to least interventionist, in percentages.

But replacement is perhaps the most interesting of the possible strategies. Replacement was used 11 times, or 7.63%. Three, possibly four, of those times, the allusion was replaced with a non-allusion. Another three times, an English or American item was replaced with a Swedish one, such as in book two, where the reference to Agatha Christie's book *The Murder of Roger Ackroyd* is replaced with a

reference to the Swedish vodka brand Absolut, which some people may feel is not appropriate for children. In another example, the Swedish region of Uppland replaces the American state of Minnesota. And in the third example, the American author Nathaniel Hawthorne is replaced with the Nobel-prize winning Swedish author Selma Lagerlöf. In these three instances, the translator apparently assumed that Swedish readers would not, or should not, recognize non-Swedish allusions, even though he specifically retained many other allusions, most of which were more challenging.

But perhaps the most disturbing replacement is when a Jewish allusion is replaced with a Christian item (in book 3, a bat mitzvah became a confirmation). When told about this particular translation, Handler said, 'If one understands everything one reads, what is the point? If Swedes are confused about Judaism, from where would they be expected to learn it, if Jewish references are erased?' (personal correspondence, 10 December 2007) While Sweden does not have a large Jewish population, there are indeed some Jews there and even if there had not been, literature is an excellent way to expose people to 'the other'. This may reflect certain politically correct current ideas in Europe, which are often anti-Semitic.

All this is to say that the translator of the Snicket series judged that certain aspects of these books were too difficult or perhaps not appropriate for Swedish readers, and that these aspects included several American and Jewish references.

Conclusion
In this paper, I have looked at two very cultural aspects of books, that is dialects and allusions, and how they are used and translated in children's literature. My findings have led me to the surprising, and disappointing, conclusion that translators for children manipulate texts so that the target audience has a significantly different reading experience than the source audience. Rose writes that 'the history of children's fiction should be written, not in terms of its themes or the content of its stories, but in terms of the relationship to language which different children's writers establish for the child' (1993, p.78). I would argue that when it comes to translation, it is not in fact only language that is important but the content as well, and the ways in which the translator uses it to create new texts.

In Twain's novel, child readers learn that minorities are deficient and unable to speak properly. In the Snicket series, the replacement of American and Jewish allusions with Swedish and Christian ones teaches readers that all people are like them, and it smoothes out cultural differences. The subtle manipulation here reveals cultural biases and has a potentially large and disturbing impact on the next generation.

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