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**MULTILINGUALISM AND TRANSLATION
STRATEGIES IN THE FINNISH
TRANSLATION OF PATRICIA GRACE'S
*POTIKI***

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ABSTRACT

Laura Eloranta: Multilingualism and translation strategies in the Finnish translation of Patricia Grace's *Potiki*
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This thesis examines the relationship between multilingualism and translation strategies in Patricia Grace's novel *Potiki* (1987) and its Finnish translation *Potiki – pieni lintu* (1990) by Leena Tamminen. The purpose of the study is to analyze how Tamminen's translation relates to its multilingual source text and in what ways does multilingualism manifest itself in the translation. The study had two research questions. The first research question was to identify the local translation strategies the translator had used to translate the foreign language text sequences in the novel's Finnish translation. The second research question was concerned with the global translation strategy used by translator to produce the Finnish translation, that is, whether the translator's aim has been to produce a multilingual or monolingual translation.

The data used in the study consists of the foreign language text sequences in *Potiki* and the corresponding text sequences in the Finnish translation. The term foreign language text sequences refers to the Māori language sequences, or codeswitches, in the material. All codeswitches in both the source text and the translation were included in the analysis. As the first part of the analysis, the Māori codeswitches in the source text and the corresponding sequences in the translation were tabulated. These were then compared and categorized according to the local translation strategies used. I based my categorization on the categorization of translation strategies by Leppihalme (2007). Based on the analysis of local translation strategies, I also comment on the global translation strategy used by the translator in the translation, and whether the translation has sought to preserve or reduce the multilingual nature of the source text.

The analysis is based on Lawrence Venuti's (2018) concepts of domestication and foreignization, in addition to which I approach the text by considering its position as a postcolonial text. Multilingualism and language mixing are typical features of postcolonial literature, and they play a central role in the construction of cultural realities in postcolonial texts. When translating a multilingual text, the choices made by the translator determine how the linguistic and cultural realities of the source text are portrayed in the translation.

The results of the analysis show that the most common local translation strategy used by Tamminen was direct transfer, and the Finnish translation has overall been faithful to the multilingual nature of the source text. The majority of the foreign language sequences were retained in the translation, thus the global translation strategy has been to produce a multilingual translation. The local translation strategies used by the translator were direct transfer, typographic cushioning, intratextual translation and translating into target language. The least used local translation strategies were intratextual translation and translating into target language.

Keywords: multilingualism, translation strategy, codeswitch, postcolonial literature, domestication, foreignization

The originality of this thesis has been checked using the Turnitin OriginalityCheck service.

TIIVISTELMÄ

Laura Eloranta: Monikielisyys ja käännösstrategiat Patricia Gracen *Potiki*-romaanin suomennoksessa
Kandidaatintutkielma
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Tämä tutkielma tutkii monikielisyyteen liittyviä käännösstrategioita Patricia Gracen romaanissa *Potiki* (1987) ja sen Leena Tammisen kääntämässä suomennoksessa *Potiki – pieni lintu* (1990). Tutkimuksen tarkoituksena on selvittää, millainen Tammisen käännöksen suhde on sen monikieliseen lähdetekstiin ja millä tavoin monikielisyys ilmenee Tammisen käännöksessä. Keskeisenä tutkimuskysymyksenä tarkastelen, mitä paikallisia käännösstrategioita suomentaja on käyttänyt kääntäessään vieraskielisiä tekstisekvenssejä. Paikallisten käännösstrategioiden analyysin perusteella kommentoin myös kääntäjän käyttämää kokonaiskäännösstrategiaa eli sitä, onko käännöksessä pyritty säilyttämään vai häivyttämään lähdetekstin monikielisyyttä.

Tutkimusaineisto koostuu *Potiki*-romaanissa esiintyvistä vieraskielisistä tekstisekvensseistä sekä niiden käännöksistä romaanin suomennoksessa. Vieraskielisillä tekstisekvensseillä viitataan tutkimusaineistossa esiintyviin maorinkielisiin sekvensseihin eli koodinvaihtoihin. Aineistoon kuuluvat kaikki koodinvaihdot sekä lähdetekstissä että sen suomennoksessa. Analyysin ensimmäisessä vaiheessa kaikki lähdetekstin maorinkieliset koodinvaihdot ja niiden vastineet käännöksessä taulukoitiin vertailua varten. Tämän vertailun perusteella luokittelin käännöksessä käytetyt paikalliset käännösstrategiat. Pohjasin käyttämäni luokittelun Leppihalmeen (2007) käännösstrategialuokitteluun. Paikallisten käännösstrategioiden analyysin perusteella analysoin myös kääntäjän käännöksessä käyttämää kokonaiskäännösstrategiaa ja käännöksen suhdetta sen monikieliseen lähdetekstiin.

Analyysini pohjautuu Lawrence Venutin (2018) vieraannuttamisen ja kotouttamisen käsitteisiin, minkä lisäksi lähestyn aineistoa huomioiden sen aseman jälkikoloniaalisena tekstinä. Monikielisyys ja kielten sekoittuminen ovat tyypillisiä jälkikoloniaalisen kirjallisuuden piirteitä, ja niillä on keskeinen merkitys tekstin kulttuuristen realiteettien rakentajana. Kääntäjän tekemät valinnat ovat tärkeitä monikielisiä tekstejä käännettäessä, sillä nämä valinnat määrittävät, miten lähdetekstin kielelliset ja kulttuuriset realiteetit välittyvät käännöksessä.

Tutkimustulokset osoittavat, että Tammisen eniten käyttämä paikallinen käännösstrategia oli kääntämättä jättäminen, ja suomennos on kauttaaltaan toteutettu hyvin lähdetekstiuskollisesti. Suomennoksessa on säilytetty valtaosa lähdetekstin vieraskielisistä tekstisekvensseistä eli monikielisen tekstin tuottaminen on ollut keskeinen osa kääntäjän kokonaiskäännösstrategiaa. Suomentajan käyttämiä paikallisia käännösstrategioita ovat kääntämättä jättäminen, typografiset korostuskeinot, tekstinsisäinen kääntäminen ja kääntäminen kohdekielelle. Paikallisista käännösstrategioista vähiten käytettyjä olivat tekstinsisäinen kääntäminen ja kohdekielelle kääntäminen.

Avainsanat: monikielisyys, käännösstrategia, koodinvaihto, jälkikoloniaalinen kirjallisuus, kotouttaminen, vieraannuttaminen

Tämän julkaisun alkuperäisyys on tarkastettu Turnitin Originality Check -ohjelmalla.

Table of Contents

1 INTRODUCTION	1
2 MULTILINGUAL TEXTS AND THEIR TRANSLATION	2
2.1 LITERARY MULTILINGUALISM	2
2.2 TRANSLATING MULTILINGUAL TEXTS.....	4
2.3 TRANSLATION STRATEGIES FOR FOREIGN LANGUAGE SEQUENCES	6
3 PRIMARY MATERIAL.....	8
3.1 <i>POTIKI</i>	8
3.2 <i>POTIKI – PIENI LINTU</i>	9
4 RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND METHODS	10
4.1 RESEARCH QUESTIONS	10
4.2 METHODS.....	10
5 ANALYSIS AND KEY RESULTS	11
5.1 ANALYSIS OF LOCAL TRANSLATION STRATEGIES IN <i>POTIKI</i> AND ITS FINNISH TRANSLATION	11
5.1.1 Direct transfer	14
5.1.2 Typographic cushioning.....	16
5.1.3 Intratextual translation	17
5.1.4 Translating into target language.....	19
5.2 ANALYSIS OF GLOBAL TRANSLATION STRATEGY.....	21
6 CONCLUSION.....	24
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	27
PRIMARY SOURCES.....	27
WORKS CITED	27

1 Introduction

Translation allows us to cross both linguistic and cultural borders. As Leppihalme (2000, 89) notes, texts that are created within a specific culture typically also reflect that culture. So a text does not only have a source language, but also a source culture, both of which need to be translated for the target audience. The translatability of a text then depends on the degree to which it is “embedded in its own specific culture”, and also on the temporal and geographic distance that separates the source text and the target text receivers (Snell-Hornby 1988, 41). A translator must thus navigate the cultural distance between the source and target cultures, acting, in Leppihalme’s (2000, 102) words, as a cultural transmitter.

In addition to linguistic and cultural distance, the presence of multilingualism within a text is another factor which requires consideration in the translation process. Multilingualism refers to the presence of two or more languages within a text, society, or individual (Grutman 2009, 182). According to Meylaerts (2010, 227), literary multilingualism may appear in texts in many different forms, such as in the use of different dialects or foreign languages. Texts may also incorporate multilingualism as single word segments or entire passages. This alternation between different dialects, varieties or languages within a text is known as written code-switching (Jonsson 2012, 212).

The concept of literary multilingualism is also closely related to the study of postcolonial literature, as the bilingual background of many postcolonial writers is often reflected in their literary output (Orsini & Srivastava 2013, 326). Postcolonial literature and its multilingualism also have implications for the translation of such texts. Postcolonial translation calls on us to acknowledge the implicit hierarchies that exist between cultures (Merrill 2013, 160) and attend to the asymmetrical relations of power that are a result of colonialism (Niranjana 1992, 2). Postcolonial translation also draws attention to the translator and how they might challenge disparities of power in their role as the producers of translations. Bassnett and Trivedi (1999, 2) argue that because translation “rarely, if ever, involves a relationship of equality between texts, authors or systems” we cannot consider it a neutral or innocent activity. Thus, as much as translation can challenge colonialism and asymmetrical relations of power, it can also perpetuate these systems, which highlights the responsibility translators have in their role as the producers of translations.

This thesis will perform a comparative analysis of the translation strategies used in the production of a multilingual literary text, Patricia Grace's novel *Potiki* (1986) and its Finnish translation, *Potiki – pieni lintu* (1990). The original novel is mostly written in New Zealand English, but untranslated Māori segments are also incorporated into the text, and as such *Potiki* is significant as an early example of multilingualism in Māori literature. The main purpose of the present study is to identify the local and global translation strategies used by Leena Tamminen to produce the Finnish translation of *Potiki*, and explore how these reflect the multilingual nature of the source text. Previous studies have examined the Portuguese (Sarabando 2021) and the German (Wohlfart 2009) translations of *Potiki* in regards to how Māori culture and the Māori segments within the text have been incorporated into these translations. However, no similar study has been conducted focusing on the Finnish translation of *Potiki*, and therefore it would be of interest to examine which translation strategies have been utilized in the Finnish translation of the novel.

First, I will discuss the role and significance of multilingualism in *Potiki*, and more widely in Māori and postcolonial literatures. Second, I will consider the challenges that multilingual texts pose specifically to translators and provide a theoretical overview of how multilingual texts have been approached in translation studies. Third, I will present central approaches to translating multilingual texts in terms of local translation strategies. Following this, I will introduce my primary materials and the methods used for the analysis. Then, I will compare the source text and the translation, and analyze the local and global translation strategies used to produce the Finnish translation of *Potiki*. In the conclusion, I will discuss the results of my analysis and review the results from previous studies which have examined translations of *Potiki* and use these to reflect on the results of the present study.

2 Multilingual texts and their translation

2.1 Literary multilingualism

Patricia Grace's novel *Potiki* (1986) is significant as an early example of multilingualism in Māori literature. The novel is largely written in New Zealand English, but the text also incorporates Māori codeswitches, most of which are left untranslated. Sarabando (2021, 115) notes that while such linguistic hybridity is common in recently published Māori fiction, it

was groundbreaking at the time of the novel's initial publication in 1986. Grace has consciously centered multilingualism in her work, and she has argued that minority writers should not have to alter their own cultures and languages in order to appeal to non-minority readers (Grace 1999, 71–72). The kind of multilingualism exhibited in *Potiki* is typical of contact, postcolonial and indigenous literatures, and it aligns Grace with other Pacific writers who have also used indigenous language alongside English in their writing (Tawake 2003, 46-7).

Multilingualism and language mixing are typical features of postcolonial literature, and they play a central role in the construction of cultural realities in postcolonial texts. In postcolonial texts, foreign language codeswitches serve as markers of cultural difference and force the reader to actively engage with the depicted culture beyond the text itself (Ashcroft, Griffiths & Tiffin 2002, 63-4). An authorial choice to incorporate untranslated foreign language sequences into a literary text, like Grace has done in *Potiki*, could be seen as a centering of a decidedly Māori perspective and an assertion of cultural difference in the face of the dominant culture. In *Potiki*, the untranslated Māori sequences thus highlight the cultural differences between indigenous New Zealanders and Pākehā, New Zealanders of European descent. Similarly, Haag and Cerce (2015, 260) argue that within the context of New Zealand, the inclusion of Māori language in literary texts functions as a political act that confronts the Pākehā reader and destabilizes cultural hegemony. In addition to marking cultural differences, multilingual literature can act to preserve and celebrate minority cultures. Grace herself has compared the cultural position of the Māori writer to the social role performed by traditional Māori artists, such as woodcarvers, who create cultural continuity by giving artistic form to the mythologies and histories of the Māori (Keown 2005, 155–8).

Beyond marking cultural differences, Franco (2012, 82) argues that one of the central purposes of a multilingual literary text is to paint “a more realistic portrait” of bilingual societies and communities. Thus, the multilingual nature of postcolonial literature represents the actual linguistic realities of postcolonial societies where language mixing and bilingualism are often the norm. What is more, multilingual texts, and multilingual postcolonial text in particular, call attention to the asymmetrical power relations between dominant and minority languages. In the context of New Zealand, Māori language writing rose out of the Māori Renaissance movement that was an effort to revitalize Māori culture,

language, and politics. In the years after the Second World War, the number of native Māori speakers fell considerably when Māori migrated to urban centers in large numbers and had to assimilate to the dominant white, English-speaking culture of New Zealand (Keown 2007, 162–3). Concern over these conditions led to the Māori Renaissance movement in the 1960s and 70s, which brought Māori writers like Patricia Grace and Witi Ihimaera to the forefront. Within such a context, multilingual texts which center minority languages enable minorities to make their voices heard in their own language, and can also be vehicles of identity construction (Nurmi 2016, 228). Furthermore, the use of multilingualism works as a linguistic act of resistance against the domination of the majority, while also legitimizing the status of the minority language (Jonsson 2005, 248).

2.2 Translating multilingual texts

Multilingual texts pose challenges to readers and translators alike. As Meylaerts (2010, 227) puts it, multilingual texts pose the question of how we can translate them so that the target audience understands not only the text itself but also the deeper, cultural meanings that are connected to the multilingual text.

The terms domestication and foreignization were introduced by Lawrence Venuti in 1995, and they have since been widely utilized in translation studies. By domestication Venuti (2018, 20) refers to “an ethnocentric reduction of the foreign text to target-language cultural values”. In other words, domesticating means adapting the cultural and linguistic norms and context of the source text to those of the target culture (Paloposki 2011, 40). Thus, domesticating translation moves the source text closer to the target text audience by diluting the text’s foreignness and making it more easily understandable. In regards to the translation of multilingual texts in particular, Klinger (2015, 2) states that the multilingualism of a source text is often erased or diluted by translators, which signifies the use of domesticating translation strategies. The opposite of domestication is foreignization, where the aim is to render the source text’s cultural and linguistic context as faithfully as possible (Venuti 2018, 20). Overall, Venuti sees foreignization as a strategy which highlights the linguistic and cultural differences of a foreign text instead of centering the target culture, while also fighting cultural imperialism.

The central question that a translator must address when translating any text is whether to translate the text in a domesticating or foreignizing way. This decision depends on the level of foreignness the translator wishes to convey in the text (Nurminen 2013, 126), and it is informed by the purpose of the text and by the translator's knowledge of the text's target audience. Based on these factors, translators have to decide what degree of domestication is necessary for the translation to be understandable and accessible to readers from a different cultural and linguistic background. Tymoczko (1999, 23) notes that the greater the cultural distance between the source culture and the target culture, the greater the tendency for translators to rely on domesticating translation strategies. This is not surprising as instances where the cultural and spatial distance between source and target culture is greater inevitably call for more cultural compensation on the translator's part than instances where the source and target culture are very similar to each other. However, a large cultural distance does not necessarily mean that the translator must rely on domesticating strategies. Here the translator's knowledge about the target audience comes to play as for some readers foreignness may in fact be a feature that they are drawn to (Leppihalme 2007, 372).

The translation of multilingual texts also raises questions about the ethics of translation in the context of asymmetrical power relations (Meylaerts 2006, 4). The global and local translation strategies used by the translator have a central role in determining how the linguistic and cultural realities of the text are conveyed in the translation. Especially with texts that depict minority and indigenous cultures, the translator must consider how the source culture is presented to the target audience. A domesticating approach may erase crucial cultural context from the translation, and end up ultimately silencing minority voices (Nurmi 2016, 232). On the other hand, a foreignizing approach without enough contextualization to help the reader understand the text can result in a translation where the foreign language sequences become devices of mere exoticization (Haag & Cerce 2015, 260–1). Such a translation might ultimately only serve to exoticize the source culture and the people who belong to it further (Eriksson & Haapamäki 2011, 50). This is why it is important for translators to be aware of the implicit hierarchies which operate between cultures, because only by acknowledging those disparities can we begin to challenge them (Merrill 2013, 160).

The issue of spatial and cultural distance between the source text and the translation's target audience provide challenges to the translator also in terms of realia. Realia refer to culture-specific material items, as well as culture-bound concepts and beliefs related to religion,

institutions, taboos, and values (Leppihalme 2011, 126). Leppihalme (2011, 127) states that “realia tie the text to its local and temporal surroundings”, providing it with specificity and local color. Translation dilutes some of this local color, as a degree of domestication is inevitable when translating from one language and culture to another. Realia are especially problematic in this regard as they present a problem outside of language, on the extralinguistic level, because they refer to concepts in the real world outside of language (Leppihalme 2000, 93). When a concept exists in a given source culture but not in a given target culture, this creates a cultural and linguistic gap which the translator needs to address.

2.3 Translation strategies for foreign language sequences

The consideration of translation strategies highlights the translator’s position as a decisionmaker in the translation process (Leppihalme 2011, 365), thus it is worthwhile to approach and analyze literary translations from the perspective of translation strategies. Global translation strategies concern the overarching approach the translator has taken with the translation (Leppihalme 2011, 366). Local translation strategies are subordinate to the translator’s global translation strategy, and they are used to implement the global strategy within the text and to solve local translation issues on the lexical, syntactic, and stylistic levels.

In translating a multilingual literary text, such as *Potiki*, the translator will have to make important decisions concerning translation strategies on both the global and the local level. On the global level, the translator will have to decide whether to produce a multilingual or a monolingual translation. This decision is informed by the linguistic and cultural distance between the source text and its target audience. On the local level, the translator might also choose to either highlight instances of multilingualism or to remove them from the translation. As previously mentioned, local strategies are informed by the translator’s global strategy. Local translation strategies might for example include leaving untranslated foreign language words in the text, adding explanations to clarify the meaning of untranslated foreign language words or translating foreign language words into the target language (Leppihalme 2007, 368–70). Local translation strategies, such as the use of intratextual translations or the addition of peritexts, may also be used by the author of the source text (Nurminen 2013, 127). This makes it necessary for the translator to decide whether to replicate the author’s local solutions in the translation or modify them in some way.

The local translation strategies relevant for this study were narrowed down to direct transfer, typographic cushioning, intratextual translation, and translating into target language. The categories used in this study were based on a translation strategy categorization by Leppihalme (2007). These four categories were selected for the analysis as they fit the patterns identified in the use of local translation strategies in the Finnish translation of *Potiki*.

Direct transfer refers to leaving foreign language words or sequences untranslated in the target text (Leppihalme 2007, 368). Direct transfer leaves the multilingual nature of the text explicit as the foreign language sequences are retained on the page unchanged. Furthermore, direct transfers are unmarked by typographic means and thus typographically indistinguishable from the rest of the text. Direct transfer is a foreignizing strategy as it does not reduce complex cultural terms to simplified target-culture centered explanations (Nurminen 2013, 128).

Typographic cushioning is a translation strategy that does not remove multilingualism from the text, but instead draws attention to the foreign language by marking it and setting it apart from the rest of the text by typographic means (Eriksson & Haapamäki 2011, 46). Like direct transfer, typographic cushioning makes multilingualism in the text explicit. As typographic cushioning highlights the foreignness of the text segment, it can be used to emphasize the cultural and linguistic distance between the source and target cultures, and is therefore considered to be a foreignizing strategy (Nurmi 2016, 246). Eriksson and Haapamäki (2011, 47) identify italics, quotation marks and upper-case letters as weak typographic markers of multilingual passages.

Intratextual translation refers to including a foreign language sequence in text but accompanying that sequence with a translation or a paraphrase in the primary language of the text (Nurmi 2016, 233). Intratextual translations may precede or succeed the foreign language sequence, or occur separately from it later on in the text. Intratextual translations enable even a monolingual reader to understand the meaning of foreign language sequences without losing the text's multilingual nature (Meylaerts 2010, 227). Peritexts, such as glossaries or footnotes, also fall into the category of intratextual translation (Nurmi 2016, 233).

Translating into target language refers to translating foreign language sequences into the primary language of the text, thus removing multilingualism from the text (Leppihalme 2007, 368). Translating into target language brings the translation closer to its target audience, and as such it is a domesticating, target-culture-oriented translation strategy. Translating into target language erases the specificity of the source text's linguistic and cultural realities in favor of a monolingual text that is more easily understandable to the target audience.

3 Primary material

3.1 *Potiki*

Potiki is a novel written by Patricia Grace, one of New Zealand's most prominent authors. Grace first emerged as a writer in the 1970s during a period known as the Māori renaissance, when a new tradition of Māori creative literature in English was born (Keown 2007, 139), and she was the first Māori woman to publish a book-length work of fiction (McCarthy 2021). *Potiki*, her second novel, was first published in 1986 by Penguin Books New Zealand, and it has since been translated into at least Dutch, Finnish, French, German, Portuguese, and Spanish (Wohlfart 2009, 265). The novel won the New Zealand Book Award for Fiction in 1987. The edition of the novel analyzed in the present study was the 2020 edition by Penguin.

Potiki is the story of a small Māori community who live on their ancestral land off the coast of New Zealand, and their fight against the developers who attempt to buy their land by force in order to turn the area into a tourist destination. The Māori community is impoverished but they remain connected to the land, their ancestors, and their traditional way of life. The white developers represent the threat of encroaching Pākehā capitalism against which the community bands together. While the novel functions as a story about the struggle between the indigenous Māori and the greedy Pākehā, it ties its events into the oral traditions and myths of the community by showing how deeply connected the past and the present are. The novel has multiple narrators that come together to tell the stories of those within the community. At the center of *Potiki* is Tokowaru-i-te-Marama, a child who is born with foresight far beyond his years. He embodies this connection between the past and the present, and helps his community navigate the existential threat they face.

Potiki consists of a prologue and 29 chapters which are divided into three parts, totaling 182 pages. The novel is written in New Zealand English and Māori. Within *Potiki*, Grace has opted not to use some common methods of typographically cushioning foreign language segments such as italicizing them, and thus setting them apart as foreign (Nurminen 2013, 184). Additionally, there are no footnotes or a glossary included in the book to provide explanations for the Māori words, speech and concepts present within the text, which was a conscious decision on Grace's part (Graham-McLay 2020). Haag and Cerce (2015, 259–60) argue that such choices can be seen as an effort to claim cultural difference by rendering parts of the text inaccessible to those outside Māori culture.

3.2 *Potiki – pieni lintu*

The Finnish translation of the novel, *Potiki – pieni lintu*, was published in 1990 by Kääntöpiiri and translated by Leena Tamminen. The translation is written in Finnish while also retaining Māori segments present in the source text. Unlike in the source text, typographic means are used to highlight foreign language segments and to set them apart from the rest of the text. The Finnish translation does not include footnotes or a glossary that the reader could rely upon for translations of the untranslated Māori words and passages that are included in the translated text. This could be an effort to honor Grace's choice not to include a glossary with the original novel.

However, the Finnish translation does include a 2-page foreword written by Finnish sociologist Martti Grönfors, which gives a brief history of New Zealand from its colonization by European settlers in the nineteenth century up to the mid-twentieth century when the Māori protest movement emerged. Grönfors describes the relationship between the European settlers and the Māori, and the economic and legal discrimination that the Māori faced. Grönfors also briefly explains a few cultural concepts that are relevant to the Māori, such as *maoritanga*, *mana* and *aroha*. *Maoritanga* refers to the Māori way of life that considers the community, family and ancestors to be the center of everyday life. *Mana* refers to the honor and spiritual power that the Māori believe all humans and many elements in nature possess. *Aroha* is defined as the love that the Māori feel towards each other and their land. In his foreword, Grönfors ties these three concepts to the events of *Potiki*, where the ancestral land of a Māori community is threatened, forcing them to unite in a fight to preserve their culture,

their home, and their history. The inclusion of this foreword gives the Finnish reader who is likely unfamiliar with the Māori an introduction to their history and their way of life.

4 Research questions and methods

4.1 Research questions

The purpose of this study was to examine the local and global translations strategies used to produce a translation of *Potiki*, a multilingual literary text. The research questions I set out to answer were:

- Which local translation strategies has the translator used to translate Māori words and text sequences within the text?
- What is the global translation strategy the translator has used to produce the text?
Does the translation aim to retain the multilingual nature of the source text or has the translator reduced the amount of multilingualism in favor of domestication?

4.2 Methods

The method of analysis used in this study was qualitative text comparison. This method of analysis was chosen as it is data driven, making it possible to approach the data with no a priori hypothesis (Eskola & Suoranta 2001, 18–19). Qualitative research methods in translation studies make contributions to knowledge in exploring questions of how and why, hypothesis generation (as opposed to hypothesis testing), and testing the viability of a theoretical framework (Saldanha & O'Brien 2013, 209). Furthermore, qualitative research focuses on exploring and describing phenomena instead of quantifying it. The aim of descriptive research in translation studies is not to evaluate the choices made by the translator, but to describe the choices made and how they function within the text (Leppihalme 2007, 367–8). Thus, the aim of this study is to describe and identify the translation strategies used by the translator and compare them to the source text to identify wider patterns in the relationship between the two texts. While the present study also contains quantitative information about the codeswitches within the two texts, this quantitative information serves only to describe the data. Like Saldanha and O'Brien (2013, 209) note,

quantitative methods can be used as a part of a qualitative study to investigate a specific aspect of data but the generalizability of any statistical results is limited to only that aspect.

I collected the data for the analysis by tabulating all instances of Māori text sequences in the source text and the corresponding segments in the translation word for word. I included both single word Māori segments and longer passages in the analysis, except for proper nouns, such as the names of gods or characters, which were excluded from the analysis. Following this, I compared the corresponding text sequences from the source text and the translation in order to identify the local translation strategies used to produce the translation. Finally, I used this analysis to form an idea of the translator's global translation strategy.

5 Analysis and key results

5.1 Analysis of local translation strategies in *Potiki* and its Finnish translation

The comparison between the texts resulted in 364 instances of codeswitching in the source text and 336 in the translation. The difference between the number of codeswitches in the source text and the translation was due to the omission of Māori sequences from the Finnish translation.

Altogether, there are 331 single word codeswitches in the source text, 27 of which have been removed, which leaves 304 single word codeswitches in the translation. Single word codeswitches then make up 91% of all codeswitches in the source text, while the 33 longer codeswitches account for the remaining 9%. In the translation, the 304 single word codeswitches make up 90% of all codeswitches, while the 32 longer codeswitches account for the remaining 10%. The longest individual Māori codeswitch in both the source text and the translation was a 72-word long paragraph.

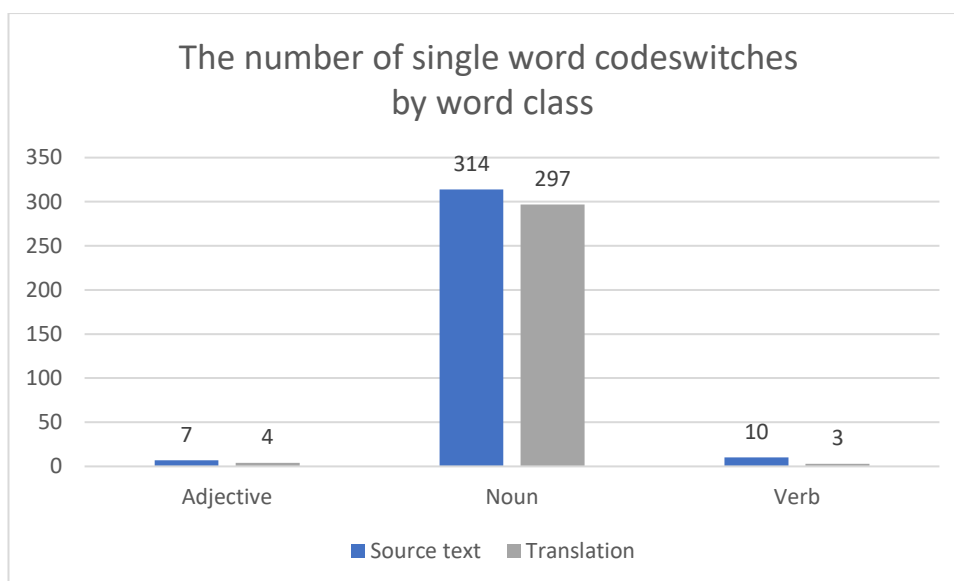


Figure 1. The number of single word codeswitches by word class

As Figure 1. shows, the majority of the single word codeswitches in both texts are nouns: 314 in the source text (95%) and 297 in the translation (98%). In addition to nouns, in the source text there are 7 codeswitches which are adjectives (2%) and 4 in the translation (1%). Finally, the source text contains 10 codeswitches which are verbs (3%), and the corresponding number in the translation is 3 (1%). Many of these nouns are realia, i.e. culture-bound items, that are specific to the source culture and which do not exist in the target culture. These include terms such as those related to nature and cultural practices. *Kotukutuku*, a type of tree, and *kahawai*, a type of coastal fish, are examples of such realia in the source text (Te Aka Māori Dictionary [TAMD] s.v. *kotukutuku*; TAMD s.v. *kahawai*). In addition to nature terms, *Potiki* includes many terms that are related to practices and items which have cultural significance to the Māori. For example, the word *tekoteko* refers to the carved figures on the gable of a Māori meeting house which represent tribal ancestors (TAMD s.v. *tekoteko*), and *marae* is the open area in front of a Māori meeting house where formal greetings and discussions take place and around which the community's life is centered (TAMD s.v. *marae*).

There are two examples where the word class of a single word codeswitch differs between the source text and the translation. In the source text, the word *tangi* functions as a noun, meaning 'funeral' (TAMD s.v. *tangi*). However, the word can also be used as a verb, meaning 'to cry, mourn, weep'. In the translation, the Māori segment has been removed and translated into Finnish as a verb meaning to mourn:

- (1) ‘People who live here, relatives and friends who have been at the tangi of our child who was killed here Tuesday night.’ (165)
”Ihmisiä, jotka asuvat täällä, sukulaisia ja ystäviä, jotka tulivat suremaan lastamme, jonka kuolema aiheutettiin...” (184)

The second example of the translator changing the word class of a codeswitch occurs with the word *poroporoaki*. Similarly to *tangi*, *poroporoaki* is another word which has several meanings, and can be used both as a verb and a noun. As a verb it means ‘to take leave of, farewell’ (TAMD s.v *poroporoaki*). As a noun it means ‘eulogy, leave taking’. In both texts the word *poroporoaki* is accompanied by an intratextual translation. In the source text, *poroporoaki* is used as a verb; the novel’s characters gather to *poroporoaki*, to farewell. However, in the Finnish translation *poroporoaki* functions as a noun and it is declined in the partitive case:

- (2) Before we could begin work we stood about the gutted house to poroporoaki – farewelling all that it had housed [...]. (137)
Ennen kuin voimme ryhtyä töihin meidän täytyi seistä tuhkaksi palaneen talon ympärillä *poroporoakia* kuulemassa – hyvästellä kaikki, mitä taloon oli kuulunut [...]. (153)

Out of all the instances of codeswitching in the source text, none are marked typographically, i.e. by italicization, uppercase letters or quotation marks. This approach means that the Māori sequences do not stand out apart from the English text on the page, but coexist within the text in a way that does not place one above the other. To Grace, not marking the multilingualism in *Potiki* by typographic means was a statement about the status of the Māori language in New Zealand. Grace did not want to include typographic markers in the text because “italics are there for foreign languages”, and she “didn’t want Māori to be treated as a foreign language in its country” (Graham-McLay 2020). While the Māori sequences in the source text may often be inaccessible to readers who do not understand the language, their purpose is to represent a culture through its own language and on its own terms. To the non-Māori reader, the Māori sequences reveal the distance between themselves and the Māori culture. However, Grace has occasionally included intratextual translations in the source text, such as seen in Example 2 with the word *poroporoaki*. These intratextual translations aid the reader in understanding the source text, yet the reader is still often left to work out the meaning of a Māori sequence from context alone.

In the following sections I will further analyze the use of local translation strategies in Tamminen's translation of *Potiki*. The local translation strategies used by the translator were direct transfer, typographic cushioning, intratextual translation, and translating into target language.

5.1.1 Direct transfer

Direct transfer was the most common local strategy employed by Tamminen, as it occurs 262 times in the translation. Direct transfer refers to leaving foreign language words or sequences untranslated in the target text (Leppihalme 2007, 368), and it is a way to explicitly retain the multilingual nature of the source text. Nurminen (2013, 128) argues that one reason for an author not explaining the meaning of a word might be due to the complexity of those meanings in relation to the source culture. In such a case it would be difficult to provide a sufficient explanation within the text. Following Nurminen's argument, it might be that in choosing to use the direct transfer strategy Tamminen has wanted to maintain the cultural integrity of the source text. This kind of foreignizing strategy may be preferable as it does not reduce complex cultural terms to simplified target-culture centered explanations, Nurminen (2013, 128) notes.

The fact that the majority of the Māori codeswitches from the source text have been left untranslated in the translation seems to indicate a preference for retaining the cultural and linguistic realities of the source text. However, while the majority of the Māori codeswitches have been left untranslated, the translator has modified them in accordance with the Finnish language. This means that the untranslated Māori sequences are conjugated according to Finnish grammar rules by using the appropriate inflected forms. Thus, both nouns and adjectives are inflected for number, case and possession when necessary. In the example below, the possessive suffix *-mme*, indicating 1st person plural, and the *sta*-suffix of the Finnish relative case have been added to the Māori noun *whanau* in the Finnish translation:

- (3) ‘ Eight people died in one month when you were born. Eight of our own whanau [...]’ (120)
“Kahdeksan ihmistä kuoli kuukauden aikana silloin kun sinä synnyit. Kahdeksan meidän omasta whanaustamme [...]” (136)

It could be argued that the practice of conjugating Māori words according to Finnish grammar adds a domesticating effect to the translation. However, not applying Finnish grammar conventions to the Māori words would make for a stilted translation where the unconjugated Māori words would interrupt the flow of the text. Thus, adapting the Māori words to the conventions of Finnish grammar is necessary for the readability of the translation.

Notably, all but one of the longer codeswitches in *Potiki* have been retained in Tamminen's translation. Out of these 32 longer codeswitches, 27 have been left untranslated in the translation with no typographic cushioning or accompanying intratextual translation. In the translation, the majority of these 27 untranslated longer codeswitches occur in spoken dialogue between characters, with only five of them occurring outside dialogue. Interestingly, while not all spoken one word codeswitches have been preserved in the translation, all 22 of the longer spoken codeswitches have been retained and left untranslated. Furthermore, out of all the 96 spoken codeswitches in the source text, only eight have been removed in the translation. Overall it thus seems that the translation has aimed to retain the majority of the spoken multilingualism of the source text. The characters speak to each other in a way that combines English and Māori, and this is also replicated in the translation:

- (4) 'Kei te pai,' Rina said to them. 'You go back to work, we need you there. Leave tomorrow to us.' (127)
"Kei te pai", Rina sanoi heille. "Menkää takaisin töihin, teitä tarvitaan siellä. Jättäkää huominen meidän huoleksemme." (142)

The Māori codeswitch in Example 4 is left untranslated, and the codeswitching between Māori and English seems to be a natural part of the character's speech. Tamminen has also closely replicated these patterns in the character's speech in the translation. This is aligned with the rest of the translation, where a similar pattern can be seen. Overall, this pattern could represent a broader approach that is concerned with preserving the bilingual nature of the character's language and with replicating the multilingual reality of Grace's novel in the translation.

The longest of untranslated codeswitches in the source text and the translation is the 72-word Māori sequence at the end of the novel, the meaning of which is thus completely inaccessible to the reader who does not understand Māori. The translator's decision to leave this sequence untranslated mirrors Grace's approach in the source text where the ending sequence is

similarly not supplied with an English translation. This decision seems significant on both the author and the translator's part. For Grace, this approach may be a way of claiming cultural difference by rendering this critical part of the text inaccessible to those outside Māori culture. For Tamminen, leaving this sequence untranslated seems like a decision to respect the author's original intention of excluding the non-Māori reader from the novel's conclusion.

5.1.2 Typographic cushioning

Typographic cushioning is one of the local strategies utilized in the Finnish translation of *Potiki*, despite the fact that the source text does not contain any typographic markings. The strategy occurs in the translation 56 times, and is the second most used local strategy after direct transfer. There is overlap between the typographic cushioning and intratextual translation categories, as 10 codeswitches in the translation combine typographic cushioning and intratextual translation.

In Tamminen's translation, italicization is used to typographically cushion Māori sequences within the text. Thus, this italicization highlights the foreignness of the Māori codeswitches by separating them from the rest of text. Typographic cushioning is employed only when a Māori word appears in the text for the first time, however, not all Māori words are italicized on their first appearance. Based on this it seems that Tamminen has wanted to use this strategy specifically to introduce new Māori words and to draw attention to their first appearance. Subsequent occurrences of the same word would then appear in the translation without italicization. For example, the word *wharenuī* appears 27 times in both the source text and the translation. In the Finnish translation, its first appearance, seen in Example 5, is italicized after which none of its subsequent appearances are marked typographically.

- (5) On either side of us are the other Tamihana families and at the far end, near to the hills, is the little *wharenuī* where Hemi's sister Mary goes every day [...]. (9)
Molemmin puolin meitä ovat muut Tamihanojen perheet, ja toisessa päässä, kukkuloiden luona, on pieni *wharenuī*, minne Hemin sisar menee joka päivä [...]. (11)

In other instances, while the first appearance of a Māori codeswitch was italicized, subsequent occurrences of the word could be accompanied with an intratextual translation or be translated into Finnish. These intratextual translations or translations into Finnish might

sometimes occur within the same passage, but they could also occur much later in the translation. For example, the Māori word *urupa* appears for the first time on page 62 in the translation and is italicized. Following this, it occurs five times with no typographic cushioning or intratextual translations until it is translated into Finnish on page 124.

Similarly to the direct transfer strategy, the italicized Māori sequences are also conjugated according to Finnish grammar rules in the translation. However, while the Māori sequences are italicized, the Finnish inflectional suffixes that have been added to them are not italicized. This separates the Māori and the Finnish from one another despite them co-existing within the same word, and once again highlights the foreignness of the Māori sequences in comparison to the rest of the Finnish translation. In Example 6, the noun *whanaungatanga* is italicized in the translation but the *-sta*-suffix of the Finnish elative case is not italicized.

- (6) The stories were of people and *whanaungatanga*, of the plaiting that gives strength to the basket [...]. (169–70)
Tarinat kertoivat ihmisistä ja *whanaungatangasta*, punonnasta joka tekee korista vahvan [...]. (188)

5.1.3 Intratextual translation

Intratextual translation is a local translation strategy which occurs in the translation in 28 instances. As noted in the previous section, there is overlap between the typographic cushioning and intratextual translation strategies as 10 Māori sequences in the translation are both italicized and accompanied by an intratextual translation.

The source text contains 18 examples of intratextual translations, and Tamminen has included corresponding intratextual translations in the Finnish translation.

- (7) We stood in silence about the dinghy, our feet being polled further and further into the mud of our own *turangawaewae*, our own standing place. (125)
Me seisoimme ääneti veneen ympärillä ja jalkamme painuivat yhä syvemmälle oman *turangawaewaemme*, oman jalansijamme, liejuun. (140)

In addition to retaining intratextual translations that correspond to those in the source text, Tamminen has also added additional intratextual translations to 10 Māori codeswitches in the translation. All instances where Tamminen has chosen to add an intratextual translation where none was present in the source text are also marked typographically with italicization.

Some of these intratextual translations precede the Māori sequence and some of them follow it, as seen in Examples 8 and 9.

- (8) Sometimes I would work in the gardens with them, or go to get seafood, or help in the wharekai. (11)
Toisinaan minä tein heidän kanssaan puutarhatöitä tai kävin pyytämässä meren eläviä tai autoin kylätalon ruokalassa, *wharekaissa*. (13)
- (9) ‘Here’s me,’ Mary said to the tipuna as she went in. (15)
”Minä tässä”, Mary sanoi *tipunalle*, esi-isille, sisään astuessaan. (18)

Furthermore, the intratextual translations need not occur immediately before or after the Māori sequence, nor are they necessarily always immediately recognizable as intratextual translations. In Example 10, the same message is provided in both Māori and English in the source text and in Māori and Finnish in the translation, but the reader who does not understand Māori may not immediately recognize this as a direct translation.

- (10) Then Granny Tamihana said, ‘Manaakitita te manuhiri’, and we became aware of people, the friends who had come when the land had flooded. And there were police and newspaper people and members of the fire brigade. ‘Look after the visitors.’ (135)
Sitten Tamihanan mummi sanoi: ”Manaakitia te manuhiri”, ja me huomasimme ihmiset, ystävät jotka olivat tulleet tulvan aikana. Ja paikalla oli poliiseja ja lehtimiehiä ja palokuntalaisia. ”Huolehtikaa vieraista.” (151)

On several occasions in the translation, an intratextual translation does not appear the first time a Māori word is introduced but much later in the text. Such is the case with *porangi*, which is translated to Finnish on its first two appearances in the translation:

- (11) They may also add that he was a bit porangi too [...]. (3)
He saattavat myös lisätä että hän oli hiukan hullu [...]. (3)
- (12) Except that he may have been a little porangi [...]. (3)
Paitsi että hän oli hiukan hullu [...]. (3)

However, on its subsequent appearances *porangi* is first given an intratextual translation, after which the Māori word occurs untranslated. Tamminen’s choices here are likely influenced by Grace’s choices in the source text.

- (13) ‘She’s a maddie. A maddie-porangi. Aunty Mary’s such a maddie-porangi.’ (28)
”Se on hullu”, hän sanoi. ”Hullu-porangi. Mary-täti on varsinainen hullu-porangi.” (32)
- (14) ‘She’s a porangi. O I told you, I said...’ (29)
”Mary on porangi. Voi, minähän sanoin, minähän sanoin...” (33)

As can be seen in Example 13, Grace has provided an intratextual translation of *porangi* in the source text, and Tamminen's translation has replicated this in Finnish. Furthermore, in Example 14 Tamminen has used the direct transfer strategy by opting to leave the word untranslated. Several factors may have influenced this choice in comparison to Examples 11 and 12, where the Māori word was translated into Finnish. In the latter examples, the intratextual translation has eliminated the need to remove the Māori word, while in Examples 11 and 12 the text does not provide any such explanations to support the reader. Furthermore, Examples 15 and 16 contain spoken dialogue, while Examples 13 and 14 do not, and as discussed before, it seems that Tamminen has been concerned with preserving spoken multilingualism in her translation. Overall, based on these examples it seems that Tamminen's use of local translation strategies has aimed to help the Finnish reader to understand the meaning of the Māori codeswitches, while also attempting to closely replicate the multilingual reality of the source text.

5.1.4 Translating into target language

In her translation, Tamminen has chosen to remove certain Māori codeswitches by translating them into Finnish. This local strategy occurs in the translation 28 times. This strategy has primarily been applied to single word codeswitches and all but one longer codeswitches are preserved in the translation.

First, certain Māori realia have been translated when there they have a clear equivalent in Finnish. Examples 11 and 12 contain flora and fauna which are native to New Zealand, and Tamminen has translated the terms where there is an equivalent term in Finnish. In Example 16, the Finnish word for palm, *palmu*, is actually a hypernym of *nikau*, which is a type of palm native to New Zealand. The use of hypernyms or hyponyms is common in translation when there is no clear equivalent term in the target language (Leppihalme 2007, 369). Using a hyponym makes the meaning in the translation less specific in comparison to the source text, whereas using a hyponym makes the translation more specific.

- (15) [...] we could get paua and kina when the tide was low. (106)
 [...] millä säällä tahansa saimme laskuveden aikaan abaloneja ja merisiilejä. (119)
- (16) There were karaka trees, pohutukawa, ngaio, nikau and kakaho [...]. (95)
 Siellä oli karakapuita, pohutukawapuita, ngaioa, palmua ja kakahoa [...]. (106)

The Māori words Tamminen has translated into Finnish also include culture-bound concepts such as *hongī*, *waiata tangi*, and *whanaungatanga*. *Hongī* is a verb which refers to the Māori tradition of pressing noses together in greeting (TAMD s.v. *hongī*). In such a case where there is no direct cultural equivalent in the target culture and context is not enough to work out its meaning, a translation is necessary for the meaning of the word to be accessible to the reader. Another Māori verb, *tangi*, which occurs in the same sentence as *hongī* has also been translated into the target language:

- (17) We stood and moved to greet the people, to hongī, to embrace, to tangi for this particular loss [...]. (23)
Me nousimme ja siirryimme tervehtimään ihmisiä, hankaamaan neniä vastakkain, syleilemään, suremaan juuri tätä menetystä [...]. (27)

Interestingly, translating into target language seems to be the preferred translation strategy especially with Māori verbs. Out of the 10 Māori verbs which occur in the source text, 8 have been removed in the translation or changed into nouns. This strategy has allowed the translator to avoid having to adapt the Māori verbs into Finnish and having to conjugate them accordingly. This is aligned with previous research which has showed that verbs are often turned into nouns within codeswitches (Myers-Scotton 1997, 174), as nouns pose fewer issues than verbs on the level of syntax. Even in the source text, codeswitches made up of verbs are considerably fewer than those made out of nouns, as verbs make up 3% of all single word codeswitches while the corresponding percentage for nouns is 95%. In the translation, the percentage of verbs has been reduced even further to 1%, while nouns account for 98% out of all single word codeswitches.

In several instances where Tamminen has used the translating into target language strategy, the Māori word in question occurs in the source text multiple times in one passage. In these cases Tamminen has first preserved a Māori word but then translated it into Finnish the second time it appears in the same passage so that that translation works in the manner of an intratextual translation despite not being an addition to the text. In Examples 18 and 19 we can see that this translation strategy is used to support the reader's understanding:

- (18) [...] did a boisterous haka to wake the people up. It was a haka to wake them but it was also an expression of love and a shout of joy. (163)
[...] järjestimme riehakkaan *hakan* jotta he heräisivät. Tanssin tarkoitus oli herättää heidät mutta samalla se oli rakkauden osoitus ja ilonhuuto. (181)
- (19) A taniwha. That's what they'd been given, a taniwha, who somehow gave strength... and joy to all of them. (63)

Taniwha. Sellaisen he olivat saaneet, velhon, joka jotenkin antoi voimaa... ja iloa heille kaikille. (71)

Based on this it seems that while the translator has been concerned with making the meaning of these Māori sequences available to the Finnish reader, Tamminen has also at the same time made an effort not to erase the multilingualism of the source text.

5.2 Analysis of global translation strategy

The final part of my analysis was to produce an overall picture of the global strategy the translator had used to create the translation. I was concerned with how the multilingual nature of the source text had been affected by the translation, and whether the translator's approach here had been foreignizing or domesticating. However, it has to be noted that the aim of this type of research is not to make claims about whether the translator has consciously used a specific global translation strategy during the translation process (Ekberg 2020, 33), but only to describe the strategies which are present on the level of the text.

Based on the analysis of local strategies it is evident that direct transfer is Tamminen's preferred strategy with 262 instances, and it accounts for over 70% of the 364 Māori codeswitches from the source text. Alongside with direct transfer, the use of the typographic cushioning strategy has led to the translation retaining much of the Māori language present in the source text. The fact that these two strategies together account for 318 out of all the 364 Māori codeswitches in the source text demonstrates that Tamminen's global strategy has been to retain as much of the Māori material in the translation as possible. Intratextual translation and translating into target language were utilized less frequently, 28 and 28 times respectively. There were no instances in the translation where Tamminen would have compensated the removal of Māori codeswitches by adding a Māori codeswitch which did not exist in the source text.

Overall, Tamminen's global translation strategy has been to produce a multilingual translation of *Potiki*. In practice, this means that the translator has translated the Māori text sequences in a foreignizing way, retaining realia like Māori cultural concepts and Māori names for flora and fauna in the translation. This applies to both one word text segments and longer passages, with the longest untranslated Māori sequence being the 72-word long passage at the end of the novel. The translation has also clearly been concerned with

preserving the bilingual reality presented in *Potiki*, as Tamminen has only removed eight out of the 96 codeswitches which occur during spoken dialogue in the source text. This emphasis on preserving spoken codeswitches highlights the Māori identity of the characters, and how they differ from Pākehā even on the level speech. The translation portrays their multilingual reality explicitly as the Māori language is an integral part of the characters' speech.

Though intratextual translation and translating into target language which are domesticating translation strategies are also present in the text, Tamminen has otherwise made few concessions to the target audience. When domesticating translation strategies, like intratextual translation, have been used, their goal seems to have been to aid the Finnish reader in understanding the text. As there is a greater cultural and linguistic distance between the Māori in New Zealand and the readers of the translation in Finland than there is between Māori readers and Pākehā readers in New Zealand, it would not be surprising if domesticating strategies had a strong presence in the translation. However, the translation does not appear to prioritize closing this cultural distance by relying on a domesticating approach, and Tamminen's use of domesticating strategies mostly follows Grace's use of those strategies in the source text. The source text contains 18 intratextual translations, and all of these have been retained in the translation. Only 10 further intratextual translations were added by Tamminen which demonstrates that eliminating foreignness from the translation with domesticating translation strategies has not been a priority.

The similarity between the novel and its Finnish translation in terms of translation strategies is interesting considering the difference in target audiences between the two texts. Grace has purposefully excluded readers who do not speak Māori from many of the novel's pivotal moments, like the ending of the novel which occurs exclusively in Māori. This foreignizing practice is a way of asserting Māori cultural difference from Pākehā, and centering Māori experience in the novel. Thus, the target audience of the source text is a reader who not only understands the Māori language but also the Māori culture. While Pākehā readers in New Zealand will likely have at least some experience with the Māori language and culture, the Finnish reader does not have even that advantage. The Finnish reader is therefore not very likely to understand many of the cultural references in the novel, and Tamminen's foreignizing approach only adds to this. While the Finnish edition includes a 2-page preface written by Martti Grönfors, which provides historical and cultural context about the Māori and their way of life, this is hardly enough context into the cultural and linguistic realities of

the Māori in New Zealand. Furthermore, as the Finnish edition does not include any other peritexts such as a glossary, the Finnish readers will need to seek out information from sources outside the novel itself if they want to deepen their understanding of the novel's meanings. This would have been particularly challenging at the initial publication of the Finnish translation in 1990 before wide-spread internet access. Thus, while the decision to not include a glossary in the Finnish edition may have been made to follow Grace's strategy in the source text, it has consequences for the understandability of the translation. The question of glossaries in postcolonial literature is complicated. On one hand, glossaries can be used to show that foreign language codeswitches belong in literature while also giving the reader the necessary context to understand them (Serpell 2017). On the other hand, glossaries draw attention to the foreignness of the foreign language, and the inclusion of glossaries could even be felt to perpetuate the exoticization of the other. Grace's decision to not include a glossary or other peritexts in the source text is an act of political confrontation, as she considered the inclusion of a glossary to be a domesticating measure that would have made the Māori language sequences subordinate to English (Graham-McLay 2020). In the context of New Zealand this move decenters Pākehā readers, but the effect is not quite the same in the Finnish translation.

As we can see, there are also dangers to the use of foreignizing approaches in translation. Haag and Cerce (2015, 259–60) argue the deeper meanings of a source text may become lost in translation if the translator does not consider how to contextualize these for the target audience. If the target audience is, for example, not aware of the political context that is necessary to understand the significance of Māori resistance in the face of Pākehā domination, an important dimension of *Potiki* will remain inaccessible to them. This is particularly significant considering the 72-word Māori passage at the end of the novel which was left untranslated in the source text. Keown (2007, 166) translated the last sentences of this passage into English as: 'Therefore, (elder) women, (elder) men, friends. Children, grandchildren—greetings. Greetings, greetings to you all. It's your turn.' Keown points out that the last sentence of the novel, *ka huri*, literally means 'it turns' and is a phrase which is used in Māori oratory to "indicate that one speaker has finished and another one is to begin". Thus, at the end of novel Grace is extending an invitation to the reader who understands Māori to take up the narrative and continue it. Such an invitation has great significance at the end of a novel like *Potiki*, which depicts and centers Māori resistance. While it has been Grace's intention to specifically address the Māori reader and exclude the Pākehā reader by

leaving this passage untranslated in the source text, Tamminen's foreignizing approach means that Finnish reader is not privy to the call to action at the end of the novel either. Providing a Finnish translation alongside the final Māori passage here would have framed and contextualized the novel as a part of the movement for Māori rights in New Zealand that was active at the time of the novel's publication and is still ongoing to this day. Now this context remains inaccessible for the Finnish reader, and with this something of the power of the story as a tale of Māori resistance is lost.

6 Conclusion

The aim of this study was to examine the relationship between a multilingual source text and its translation from the viewpoint of translation strategies. The first research question I set out to answer was to identify the local translation strategies the translator had used to translate Māori words and text sequences within the source text. The second research question was concerned with the global translation strategy the translator had used to produce the translation – whether the translator had aimed to retain the multilingual nature of the source text or had the multilingualism been reduced in favor of domestication. This analysis of both local and global translation strategies made it possible to form an overall picture of the relationship between the translation and its multilingual source text.

The analysis of local translation strategies showed that Tamminen's translation had retained the majority of the Māori codeswitches from the source untranslated with only 28 out of the original 364 codeswitches being removed in the translation. There were no instances in the translation where Tamminen would have compensated the removal of Māori codeswitches by adding a Māori codeswitch which did not exist in the source text. Direct transfer was the most common strategy used with 262 instances in the translation. Typographic cushioning was the second most common local strategy at 56 instances in the translation. There were 18 instances of intratextual translation in the source text, which had all been replicated by Tamminen in the translation. In addition to these, Tamminen had added 10 intratextual translations to the translation, resulting in 28 intratextual translations across the translation. Out of all the instances of typographic cushioning and intratextual translation, 10 combined both of these local translation strategies.

The analysis of local translation strategies shows that Tamminen's approach to the translation has been to retain the majority of the source text's multilingualism. Thus, the translator has produced a multilingual translation, and the translation solutions used by Tamminen do not differ considerably from those made by Grace in the source text. Despite the great cultural and linguistic distance between the source text and its Finnish target audience, the translation has preserved the foreignness of the source text on both textual and cultural levels. On a textual level this can be seen in the fact that Tamminen has kept most of the Māori codeswitches in the translation. Furthermore, most of these codeswitches appear in the translation without any additional intratextual translations or explanations, and the Finnish reader who does not understand Māori cannot access their meaning beyond the context provided on the page. On a cultural level Tamminen's foreignizing approach can be seen in the fact that the translation is grounded in Māori culture, and that it does not make attempts to overtly explain Māori customs and traditions to the target audience.

As a descriptive and qualitative study, the present study did not aim to verify a hypothesis but to instead identify patterns in the use of translation strategies and describe the relationship between the two texts. Furthermore, as a case study the purpose of this study was to offer perspectives into how multilingualism is expressed in these two specific texts and its results cannot be generalized beyond them. However, this study adds to the existing research on literary multilingualism and offers a point of comparison to previous studies in the area. For example, the Portuguese translation of *Potiki* relies heavily on the use of paratext in the form of notes by the translator that are included within the text, alongside a glossary at the end of the novel (Sarabando 2021, 135). The translator's notes not only provide direct translations of words, phrases or sentences, but also give more detailed explanations of the concepts behind the Māori words in addition to clarifying aspects of New Zealand culture. Sarabando (2021, 135) thus argues that beyond simply translating words from Māori, the glossary and the notes offer contextualization to the Portuguese readers of the novel. This can arguably be called a domesticating approach to the translation of *Potiki*, which illustrates that there are many ways in which different translators might approach the same text.

Ultimately, translators are not just considering individual lexical items when they solve translation problems. The act of translation calls for translators to look beyond the text itself to identify solutions which can serve target-culture norms, the target audience and other aspects of the translation situation (Leppihalme 2011, 128). Translators have a great

responsibility in their role as navigators between the source text and the translation, in which they can bring to light the implicit hierarchies which exist between languages and cultures.

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