

From *Pröökinä* to *Lady* –
The Weakening of Language in the English Translation of
Väinö Linna's *Täällä Pohjantähden Alla*

Jenni Kytöharju
University of Tampere
School of Modern Languages
and Translation Studies
English Philology
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Translation of Väinö Linna's *Täällä Pohjantähden Alla*

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Tämä Pro gradu -tutkielma tarkastelee ihmisiin viittaavien ilmausten käännöksiä Väinö Linnan klassikkoteoksen *Täällä Pohjantähden alla* -trilogian ensimmäisen osan englanninnoksessa. Tavoitteena oli tutkia, ilmeneekö tässä käännöksessä myös käännösten universaaliksi piirteeksi ehdotettua kielen moniulotteisuuden vähenemistä ja missä määrin. Analysoitavat ilmaukset on kerätty *Täällä Pohjantähden alla* -trilogian ensimmäisestä osasta sekä sen käännöksestä englanniksi. Trilogian käännös ilmestyi vuosina 2001–2003, joten sitä ei tämän työn tekovaiheessa ole vielä ehditty tutkia yhtä laajasti. Tämä vaikutti päätökseeni valita juuri tämä trilogia tutkimukseni kohteeksi.

Käännöstieteessä on etsitty useita mahdollisia kääntämisen universaaleja piirteitä, jotka toistuvat käännöksestä ja kieliparista riippumatta käännetyissä teksteissä useammin kuin alkuperäisissä teksteissä, yhtenä näistä useilla eri nimillä tunnettu käännöksen laimentuminen: käännösten taipumus menettää osa murteellisuudestaan, puhekielisyydestään, jopa kiroilun voimakkuudesta. Koska Linnan tekstit ovat täynnä näitä elementtejä, tuntui luontevalta etsiä tätä universaalia Linnan kirjoista. Tutkittu aineisto on vain trilogian ensimmäisestä osasta, sillä toisessa osassa ilmaukset alkoivat hyvin nopeasti toistua samankaltaisina.

Tutkimuksen toinen tavoite oli tarkastella, onko ihmisten nimitysten käännöksissä eroa sen suhteen, käytetäänkö nimitystä suoraan nimitetyn kuullen vai puhutaanko tästä ns. selän takana tai kertojan äänellä, sillä alkuperäistekstissä suorat nimitykset olivat heikompia.

Tutkimuksen tulokset yllättivät osittain: heikentymistä oli käännöksessä tapahtunut huomattavasti, mutta eroja yllä mainittujen ilmausryhmien välillä ei ollut. Tämä saattaa johtua käännöksen yleisestä laimentumisesta siinä määrin, että merkittävää eroa ei päässyt syntymään.

Asiasanat: käännöksen heikentyminen, kääntämisen universaalit, *Täällä Pohjantähden alla* -trilogia, ihmiseen viittaaminen

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1. INTRODUCTION

Väinö Linna's works can be seen as an emblem of the Finnish national identity. He describes the rise of an independent Finland in 1917 and the decades leading to it, as well as the decades after the fact, and does so in a manner which to this day has not in this country found a match in its lifelikeness or capacity of awaking deep and strong feelings. His best known work, *Tuntematon sotilas* (*The Unknown Soldier*), is read in almost every school even now, more than fifty years after it was first published; the *Under the North Star* trilogy is scripted on screen and in theatres time and time again, and *The Unknown Soldier* has even been made into an opera in 1967 (Varpio 2006, 587). The first filmed version of *The Unknown Soldier* is one of the most popular films ever made in Finland (I1), and is shown on Finnish TV every year on the Finnish Independence Day, December 6. Linna's works form a cornerstone of Finnish literature in the 20th century and have been considered classics ever since they were written. There is scarcely a Finn who wouldn't recognise the opening words of the *Under the North Star* trilogy, "Alussa oli suo, kuokka – ja Jussi", or the final words of the *Unknown Soldier*, which even appeared in the 20 mark bill earlier: "Hyväntahtoinen aurinko katseli heitä. Se ei missään nimessä ollut heille vihainen. Kenties tunsi jonkinlaista myötätuntoakin heitä kohtaan. Aika velikultia.". This alone gives a good reason to study the translations of Linna's works. Having said this, I did not want to study the translation of *The Unknown Soldier*: after all its translation has been studied quite extensively already, and since no solid facts about the translator are known even today, there is more than enough reason to study the reasonably new translation of the *Under the North Star* trilogy.

There are innumerable factors that affect any translation process, and at any one time these factors will be different from any other time. This of course means that comparing the original text to the translated one is never quite as easy as one might think. Even so, several researchers have found some features that seem to be repeated in translations regardless of the language pair, the translator or the time of translation. These features can usually not be regarded as transference between any two languages, but they are rather seen as some kind of result of the translation process itself. There are and have been studies into whether these features could be called universals, or whether they are just the result of the fashions of a certain time period in translation or indeed the fashions of a certain geographical area like the Western world, or a certain country. Be that as it may, the search for similarities is important in any scientific field, because as Chesterman (2004, 34) notes, “[o]nly by looking for similarities between single cases, and then generalising from these, can a science progress to the ability to make predictions concerning future or unstudied cases”.

There is no one single way of classifying these so-called translation universals¹, even though several researchers have made suggestions concerning the matter. One of these features seems to be what could be called the weakening of language in translation, where the effect that the text is supposed to have on the reader somehow diminishes or weakens in the translation. This has been called standardisation (Toury 1995, quoted in Chesterman 2004, 40), quantitative impoverishment (Berman 1985, quoted in Chesterman 2004, 37) and many other names. What this means in practice is that the language of a translation is not as rich and varied as in the original, or loses some of its meaning. This can be considered to

¹ Translation universal as a term explained in 2.1

be due to a general tendency of translators to choose words and expressions that are closer to the standards of the target language than the original expressions were in the source language. This tendency can be observed in almost all types of translated text, but of course most easily in texts that in the source language were full of idioms, imitation of spoken language or dialects. This is part of the reason why I chose the work of Väinö Linna as the object of my study: his books are full of strong language² – not only swearing but strong understood also as having dialectal features and imitating spoken language and deviating from the standards of written language. Based on the earlier studies into the standardisation of language, I can assume that the translation would have lost some of the language's intensity and dialectal features.

Based on the way people are referred to³ at least in fictional texts, whether directly or indirectly, a lot can often be said about the general language of the rest of the text. In Linna's works these expressions often include swearing, dialectal language and other phenomena that are especially liable to be standardised in translation. This is for a great part due to the fact that in addition to his existing knowledge of the language, Linna did extensive research into the language spoken by the kinds of people he depicted in his work. Many of the lines spoken by his characters include either real quotes from actual people of the era, or at least are modelled on the speech of actual people he interviewed for his books (Varpio 2006, 416-440). Based on these facts, I decided to limit my study to the expressions referring to people. I conducted a survey (see Appendix 1) where I presented the pairs of Finnish and English expressions and asked respondents to choose which one seemed stronger. The strength of language was explained according to the outlines of this study, so there would be no misunderstandings in that matter. I analysed the

² My understanding of strong language explained in full in chapter 3.

³ Referring to people explained in chapter 2.2.

material based on the results from the questionnaire, supported by consulting dictionaries, both bilingual and monolingual in both languages.

My material consists of the first part of the trilogy *Täällä Pohjantähden Alla* (henceforth TPA1) and its translation *Under the North Star* (henceforth UNS1). I decided to limit my study to the first part of the trilogy, because the same expressions and translations were repeated in the second part and not much new material was found. Altogether 103 relevant expressions were found in the first part of the trilogy. I believe this to be a sufficient amount of data to give me reliable results of the whole trilogy, because as already stated, in the second part the expressions quickly began to be repeated, and a quick glance through the third part did not yield many interesting exceptions either. Also the translations remained similar to the ones in UNS1, which clearly indicates that the translator modelled the general style of the translation on the first part. Therefore the analysis of the second and third part would hardly give any significant new information for the study. The page numbers of the examples given in this study refer to the editions of TPA1 and UNS1 used, listed in the Bibliography.

My initial assumption is that the expressions, or at least a significant part of them, have lost some of their strength in translation. This is because several researchers (e.g. Toury 1995, in Chesterman 2004, 40; Berman 1985, in Chesterman 2004, 37) have suggested this as one of the translation universals (see chapter 2.1 below). Having said this, I must point out that if translation universals do indeed exist, the appearance of them in any translated text must not be taken as a sign of any kind of weakness in the translation, much less as incompetence of the translator. Thus the search for translation universals, or rather, of one of them, does not mean that my work would somehow try to evaluate the work of the translator Dr. Richard

Impola, or attempt to generalise from this case study to other works of translation, but rather my aim is to do a case study and to see whether this one proposed universal feature of translation is present in this one instance of translation. I believe that the results gained from the expressions studied here can be to some extent expanded to give approximate results concerning the whole trilogy, because the translation style and the strategies used by the translator can be presumed to have stayed the same throughout the trilogy. Wider studies about translation universals have been and are being done constantly, and I have no intention of trying to make any wide generalisations. I do hope, however, that my study will serve as a contribution to the field and the results will show that in this case the universal seems to be validated.

In the early 20th century the prevailing norm of translation was – and although to a lesser extent, is even today – domesticating, i.e. modifying the text to target language and culture rules so that the text could not always be traced to the source language and culture (Snell-Hornby 2006, 8). This is especially true in the translations from another language to English in America. I believe that this has affected Dr. Impola's work in that even though he has tried to stay true to the original text, he has still attempted to make the trilogy more easily accessible to the North American readership. This could partly explain the weakening of the language, because Linna's work includes a significant amount of swearing and other kinds of strong and dialectal language that would not be so easy for the American readership to accept. Leppihalme (2002, 84) says: "we need to recognise that the whole function (*skopos*) of the translation is necessarily different from the source text, because the book is aimed at American readers". This is, of course, largely true, but what I want to show with this thesis is what kind of differences can be read through the

translation of the expressions referring to people, and what these differences can tell us about the process of translating from Finnish into English.

I have used a questionnaire as the primary means of my analysis of the material. The questionnaire was replied to by 13 people, who were then asked to assess the pairs of expressions (Finnish original + English translation) according to whether they thought the Finnish or English expression was stronger, or whether the strength of the expressions was the same in both languages. This questionnaire and the results gained from the questionnaire can be found in Appendices 1 and 2, and the method of analysis will be further explained in chapter 3.2.

1.1 The translation of TPA1 to Swedish

The translation of TPA1 has been a recurring theme throughout my studies: I have also made a short survey of its translation to Swedish in association with my minor subject, Translation studies in Swedish. The results of that study differed significantly from the results of this study, and therefore I decided to glance at those results as well. The study on the translation to Swedish was conducted on a smaller scale, and the research questions and methods have been amended for the purposes of this study, but the two studies are still similar enough to make the comparison interesting.

TPA was translated into Swedish by Nils-Börje Stormbom, Linna's close personal friend, and the translation was done almost simultaneously with the writing of the original: as soon as Linna finished a chapter of the trilogy, he sent it to Stormbom for translation (Varpio 2006, 575). This made it possible for Stormbom to consult Linna where he deemed it necessary for the understanding of the text or what

the author originally meant with a passage. Stormbom had already translated Linna's previous works into Swedish, and throughout the writing and translation process, the two were in close contact exchanging letters, and the translator even frequently visited Linna in his home to discuss the translation. Stormbom also discussed the language several times with Editor Thomas Warburton, and intentionally and consciously scattered dialectal elements into the translation, just as Linna had done with the original text (Varpio 2006, 575). These facts added up as an undeniable advantage compared to almost any other translator faced with Linna's works. Some other translators of the TPA trilogy have also been in contact with Linna, but for no other translator was the connection as strong and personal as with Stormbom.

When these facts about the Swedish translation of the TPA trilogy are considered, it is no surprise that the language has kept much more of its strength than could otherwise be assumed. This would seem to imply that the translation has preserved most of the strength of the language of the original, and that is exactly what had happened in the Swedish translation. Of the 100 expressions referring to people, only 22 had weakened, and another 22 had strengthened in translation, a phenomenon not nearly as much visible in the UNS1. A total of 54 expressions had also remained as strong as in the original, and the remaining two expressions were transformed into plain swearing.

At this point it may be worthwhile to note that as the study of the Swedish translation was done a few years before this study, the definitions used had to be redefined to some extent. Most of the expressions studied and the basic principle of the study are essentially the same, but some refining of the methods and research questions was done, and this affected the amount of expressions studied. The

Swedish study included the translations of 100 expressions whereas this study included 103.

In the analysis of the material in chapter 4, I will show some of the most interesting comparisons between the Swedish and the English translations. However, as this study concentrates on the English, I will not pursue the Swedish matter further at this point.

1.2 The structure of the thesis

In Chapter 2 I will explain a few of the most important terms for this thesis, and compare them with earlier studies. Chapter 2 also includes a review of the possible reasons behind the strengthening or weakening of language in translation and presents two aspects of the items weakened most in the text: simply swearing and dialectal language used in the original text. In Chapter 3 I present the methods and research questions of this study. Chapter 4 includes the analysis of the material, along with examples of pairs of expressions for each category (strengthened, weakened, and equal strength), as well as the analysis of the groups of speaking to or about the person. Finally, chapter 5 presents the conclusions and ideas for future research.

2. CENTRAL TERMS

In my work I will use some terms and concepts that are established in scientific discourse, as well as others that I have coined or modified myself for the purposes of this thesis. In this chapter I will briefly explain the most important ones of the existing terms and outline what I mean with the ones I have modified for the purposes of this study, so that later in my thesis I will be able to use the terms consistently without causing any uncertainties about their intended meaning.

2.1 Translation universal

Baker (in Mauranen 2004, 65) explains how she understands the term *translation universal*: “universal features of translation, that is features which typically occur in translated texts rather than original utterances and which are not the result of interference from specific linguistic systems”. Eskola (2004, 86) formulates the idea even more clearly, even though she speaks of laws rather than universals: “Universal laws . . . are not necessarily absolute laws, but strong statistical tendencies that can be observed widely (showing what translators on the average tend to do and what they do not tend to do)”. I think these definitions capture well the basic idea of what is usually meant with translation universals: they are seen as phenomena that have a tendency to appear in translated texts more often than in original texts in any given language, rather than absolute facts or features that have to appear in each and every translation around the world. The features are simply found more often in translated texts than in originals. The universality of a certain feature can thus be seen as the tendency of any language to behave in a certain way when texts are being translated

into that language. Toury (2004, 26) formulates the thought: “If 1 and 2, and 3, and . . . ∞ , then there is great likelihood that X (or else: small likelihood that no-X)”, which can be modified here as follows: “if a text is translated, then the greater the likelihood that the language will lose some of the power of expression that it had in the original text”.

These proposed translation universals have been extensively studied, and there are several features that have been suggested as universals. These include e.g. the lengthening of translations compared to original texts, the standardisation of language in translation, loss of dialects and colloquialism (that can also be seen as a part of the standardisation process of the translated language), and many other features that have seemed to be repeated in the language of translations. In this study I will concentrate on the standardisation of language, seen as including the loss of dialects and colloquialisms, because dialects and colloquialisms can also be considered as "non-standard" language, which in translation has a tendency to become more like the standard of the target language.

Besides appearing often in translation, another important requirement for a translation universal is that the feature is not dependent on the language or culture pair in question. This requires research in as many language pairs as possible and in both directions in each language pair, to make sure that the possible universal is not in fact mere interference from one specific language to the other. In my thesis it will not be possible to comment on that requirement, since I am only studying one instance of one language pair and one direction (Finnish to English). Chesterman (2004, 43) sees the term *universal* in a strict sense, and notes that even if we studied as many texts and language pairs as we can, it would still be humanly impossible to study every single translation ever made. This he presents as a reason for speaking of

generalisations rather than universals, but admits that “any level of generalisation can increase understanding” in the case of a phenomenon as widespread and diverse as translation (ibid. p. 43). I nevertheless thought it makes more sense to use the term *universal*, since it is the most commonly used term when discussing the general tendencies in translation, and most scholars admit the fact that most of the study in the field has been linked to that term. Also, even scholars who want to differ in their use of the term (e.g. Toury 2004, 17) usually acknowledge the similarity in meaning of their terms and the term *universal*. Although the term is usually seen as dealing with whole texts, I will here use it when referring to the parts of the text that I am studying, i.e. the expressions that refer to people. After the analysis of these expressions, some generalisations can be made concerning the TPA-UNS translation. Even though the study out of necessity only covers a narrow piece of the field of language in translation, its results can still give support to other comparable studies, and possibly lead to wider studies of literature. This, however, is a far wider target than what this study aims at.

2.2 Referring to people

Reference or referring to people is not a standard term or concept, but rather my own description of what the focus of my study is. I will use the phrase all through my work, and so as to make sure there is no possibility for misunderstanding what is being discussed, I will define the concept here. When using the term I mean expressions that are used in the text when referring to another person either directly spoken to or behind their back.

Usually proper names or calling people with their occupational title would be included when talking about referring to people, but since these usually do not suffer from weakening in translation, and as their translations rarely add any meaning to the analysis of the translation of a text, I have not included them in my study. This of course can be disputed when talking about e.g. children's literature or fantasy literature where in many cases the personal and place names have a visible meaning and add to the interpretation of the situation, person, or the story as a whole. This, however, is not true in Linna's work: even though the names always add something to the interpretation of the text and its characters, the personal names Linna used are historically accurate and quite commonly used names, whereas the place names (save a few fictional but quite possible ones) are factual. Most often the names are also left in Finnish in the translation. Bigger cities such as Tampere and Helsinki as well as some smaller ones can be found in the text, even though the main scene, Pentinkulma, is a fictional name, probably mostly due to the fact that many of Linna's readers already knew that he was basically writing about his hometown Urjala (Varpio 2006, 420). Also personal names, though sometimes descriptive of the person, are in translation left as they were, as there would be no need to translate standard Finnish names into English ones, being that the trilogy is set in Finland.

The expressions that refer to people can consist of one or more words, depending on the situation. Usually the actual referring part consists of only one word, but there may be other words surrounding it that may change, strengthen or weaken the meaning of the whole expression. These surrounding words can be adjectives, swearwords or other words that somehow describe or define the main word, which is usually either a noun or a noun made out of a swearword. Examples of this can be seen in the following expressions:

1. Poika oli *omalaatuinen koltainen*, omapäinen ja odottamaton luonteeltaan.
p. 21
He was a *headstrong boy*, with a freaky sense of humor--- p. 24
2. Tappas edes ukkonen senkin *helvetin kenopään*. p. 23
I wish lightning would strike that *snooty bitch*. pp. 26-27
3. Kun kerran pääsis näyttään taivaan merkkiä *niille perkeleille*. p. 24
Aiee, by God... if I could only read the stars for *those bastards* just one time.
p. 29

In the first example, the word *koltainen* is the main word of the expression, and it is usually used in quite a negative way to describe a young, inexperienced boy. It is here accompanied by the word *omalaatuinen*, which according to Hurme et al. (1984) could be translated as peculiar, strange, curious or odd. There is no significant amount of dialectal or otherwise strong words here, but still the translation has left something out since the words *koltainen* and *boy* can hardly be said to carry across the same meanings. Even the addition of the somewhat stronger and semantically different *headstrong* can not convey the total meaning of the original phrase. Thus in this case the expression can be said to have lost some of its meaning and strength. In the next example, *kenopää* is the main word in the Finnish and *bitch* in the English. These are modified by the words *helvetin* and *snooty* respectively, and these modifying words add weight, strength and meaning to the main words. My third example here is one where the main word in the Finnish original is made of a swearword, and the English *bastard* is likewise a derogatory expression. The purpose of giving these examples here is not yet to analyse the translations but to give a clear idea of what in this study is meant by referring to people.

The elements selected for close examination can easily be divided into direct and indirect references according to whether the person being talked about is spoken

to directly or not⁴. I noticed in my material that in the original text the direct references are often much weaker than indirect references. This may be because of the fact that the trilogy is set in a time when the people in the country lived very poor, and despised the landowners and the rich people of the cities. The main characters in the trilogy are mostly poor; they do not own the land they work on, but work for the landowners. For the most part, they do not especially like their landlords, but if they show this disliking, they may be thrown out of their homes, so they have to try to be polite when talking directly to their social superiors, which of course could add to the already existing hatred and the strength of language when not speaking directly. Historically this was the situation in many towns and rural areas in Finland at the time the trilogy is situated in, and Linna has captured the difficulties of an average person very well. The language issue was also flaming at the time: the Finnish people wanted to be able to use their native language instead of Swedish which had long been the dominating language among the rich and powerful people. All this led to a situation where an enormous pressure built up and was boiling below the surface (Varpio 2006, 421-422). When considering the language used in the trilogy, this can be seen in the fact that the direct references to people are often formal and polite, but the indirect references, the ‘behind your back’ speech can be very bitter and hateful. The indirect references are found in two kinds of situations. The first is that the person spoken about has more authority than the person speaking, as in the next examples:

4. Ei helvetti naitettu ainakan *tota Hollon kenopäättä* meille. p. 24
That stuck-up Hollo sure as hell didn’t marry anyone of our kind... p. 29

⁴ Even though the trilogy is, of course, a written text, I refer to people ‘saying’ things or ‘speaking’ because that is the effect the writer is trying to create and it is easier to use these terms than trying to get around it somehow.

5. Kehtas *saatanan vitjamuna* tulla sanoon että mun hevoseni ei pärjää talon hevosille. p. 23
That piss-ass had the nerve to come and tell me my horse couldn't keep up with his... p. 26

The other possibility is that the person speaking sees him or herself as being higher in the social hierarchy than the person spoken about, as in the following:

6. Vihaavatko he *ryssiä*? p.63
Do they hate the *Russians*? p.98

7. Kankaanpään Elias-poika, *oikea pirultariivattu suurkelmin alku*, niin kuin sanottiin, teki myös parhaansa. p. 95
The Kankaanpää's son Elias, *a real imp of the devil's brood*, as they called him, did his worst to harass Timofei. p. 151

It is usually these expressions, loaded with emotional charging, which suffer the most weakening in a translation and thus are the main focus of my study.

2.3 Speaking to or about someone

There are two main categories of calling somebody something: one is saying it to their face (speaking *to* them), and the other is saying it behind their back or, keeping in mind that it is a book we are studying, having the narrator use the words (speaking *about* them). These categories have been included in my study in order to see whether there are any visible differences in how they have been translated. Speaking directly to someone is often in TPA considered the more formal situation than a comparable situation where the person spoken about is not present, or the words are not directed at them. I have divided the expressions that refer to people into these two categories based on whether the words are meant for the person to hear, even though there are some instances where the words are not directly directed at the character in question. In these cases, however, the person spoken about is still clearly

meant to hear the words, which for the purposes of this study makes it more like direct reference than indirect.

The reason for having these categories in the first place is that in the original Finnish text, the instances of speaking to someone are often weaker than the ones where the person is spoken about. This can be explained by the characters in the trilogy, and their relationships to each other: it is quite clear that a common tenant farmer could not exactly love his landlord, but if the worker does not, at least in public, show respect and courtesy, his family might well be thrown out from the house they live in. This, along with the socio-historical situation at the time which is described in the trilogy, with the crofters beginning to rise against their masters, demanding human rights and a right to the land they have been taking care of and living on, explains quite a lot about the attitudes that appear in the “behind their backs” speech. Vähämäki (editor’s Introduction to UNS1, p. xi) describes the social situation of the time:

The larger society is experiencing an overall secularization and the advent and spread of socialist thought and labor activism. At the same time, the Russian Czar is attempting to reign in the Finns in a consolidated Pan-Slavic empire. Anxiety, unrest and suspicion, often for different reasons, permeate all social classes.

Vähämäki also calls Pentinkulma, the fictional village in the centre of attention, together with its people “a kind of Micro-Finland” (ibid.). These quotes capture something of the essential atmosphere behind the trilogy; the society being formed little by little, the tenant farmers not knowing who to trust, and therefore turning ever more inward, and the landlords, feeling the tenants’ unrest, begin to worry about their land and possessions.

These attitudes would of course be shown in the way people speak to each other and about each other, especially the ways in which the people in different

classes speak about the people in the other classes, and true to his reputation as a master of descriptive language, Linna has captured this atmosphere of fear and unrest in his books. Therefore there could be expected to exist a difference between the way people speak directly to each other and the way they speak about the same person when they are not present, and if such a difference exists, the translations could be expected to differ as well. Assuming such a difference exists, it could be expected to be in a way that the indirect references to people, being assumed to be stronger in the original, would have weakened more than direct references, which would have stayed relatively similar to the original in strength. This assumption is based on the general tendency of texts to be weakened in translation, and the fact that the stronger the original text, the more strength there is to be lost. These groups will be analysed in detail in Chapter 4.4.

The majority of the expressions studied are of the type of speaking about someone. This, however, makes it even more interesting to see whether there are any significant differences in the way they have been translated. Observations will be made on whether Dr. Impola has made a difference, either knowingly or unconsciously, in the way that the characters speak to each other as Linna did, whether he has actually weakened the expressions of speaking about someone, or if he has strengthened the ones where the persons are spoken directly to, which are assumed to be weaker in the original text. Some of the situations where a character is spoken about are situations where the character spoken about is present, and thus the situation has been counted as being one of speaking to a person, because even though the words are not actually directed to them, they are definitely meant for them to hear.

Some of the examples are not from actual spoken lines, but are told by the narrator's voice. These are counted as well, because even they are always shown a

from a certain character's point of view. The fact that they are heard with the narrator's voice does not make a difference, because there is no clear single narrator but rather the point of view is always that of one or more of the characters present in the scene. These cases are counted as speaking about someone, since within the story, the words are not meant to be heard by the person spoken about. An example of this kind of an instance could be the following:

8. "Lyökää perkele, ei se muusta parane." Mutta *nuoren pojankoltiaisen* sanat saattoi jättää huomioon ottamatta. (TPA1, p. 26)
"Hit him, goddamn, nothing else will do any good." But *the boy's* spirited words could be ignored. (UNS1, p. 32)

Here the expression is not in actual address, but the view is that of the other characters present in the situation. Most of the expressions that occur in the narration are counted as speaking about someone, because there is no direct address to anyone.

Out of the 103 expressions that were gathered from TPA1, 33 were clearly instances of speaking to someone and 69 speaking about someone. There was one instance where the expression speaking directly to someone had changed in the translation into an expression of speaking about someone:

9. Kylläs *perkeleen vitjamuna* sen vielä edestäs löydät. Mutta maantielle et mua muuton saa kun raatona. p. 143
That goddamn brass-balls is going to find out yet. The only way they'll put me on the road is as a corpse. p. 230

Whereas in TPA1, the words are clearly directed at the person referred to, in the translation the person referred to does not hear the words and this has to be seen as speaking about someone. No clear-cut reason could be found for this instance, but it is still interesting and worth a second look later on in the study.

2.4 The strength of expressions

Even though we might use the expression ‘strong language’ in everyday speech, it is quite a difficult concept to define exactly. In this thesis I will not use the expression in the strictly everyday sense, but have widened the meaning for the purposes of this study. There are several factors in play when assessing the strength of an expression and the strength may vary from situation to situation, depending on the context. In this study I will consider an expression made stronger by the amount of dialect, swearing and other expletives, and the basic meaning of the words used in it. I decided to use the terms strengthening and weakening rather than ones that have already been widely used, because none of the earlier descriptions seemed to take into account exactly the features that this study does.

In my material, the main words of expressions that refer to people are sometimes made up for the occasion and then used quite often later in the book. Because of Linna’s inventiveness with language, there are plenty of words that, when in context, make sense, but nobody has ever heard before, or at least thought of using in the sense that Linna uses them. This can of course present a challenge in deciding how strong they are, but I hope my survey will help me here. The fact that the word or expression is not familiar to the reader can also suggest a higher degree of dialectality, which for the purposes of this study, makes the expression stronger. Most often with unfamiliar expressions, this was indeed the case. If all or most of the informants agreed as to the strength of an expression, the expressions were classified according to the opinions of the majority. I also consulted a number of dictionaries to see what if any they say about the usage or appropriateness of the expressions. For instance one of the often used swearwords in TPA1, *saatana*, is given the explanation “as a coarse swearword” (*karkeana kirosanana*) (NSS sense 2a; Haarala

1994)⁵. If a word was not mentioned in any of the dictionaries or I could not find any native speakers who would recognise it, I had to trust the people replying my questionnaire. This is however a minor problem, since most of the words can at least nowadays be found in a number of dictionaries. The bigger problem is found when a word or expression is used in a non-standard meaning whose explanation or definition cannot be found anywhere. This is where the questionnaire comes in very useful, as the near-native level speakers of both languages can usually quite easily evaluate the strength of the expression.

2.5 The weakening of expressions in translation

Toury (2004, 40) lists some potential universals gathered from several researchers' works, among them the law of standardisation (Toury 1995), dialect normalisation (Englund Dimitrova 1997), the explicitation hypothesis (e.g. Blum-Kulka 1986, Klaudy 1996), and Laviosa-Braithwaite's (1996) simplification in terms of lexical variety, lower lexical density, and more use of high-frequency items. These can all be added under my umbrella term of the weakening of expressions in translation. What is common to all the different terms used about the phenomenon is that they include the loss of some amount of variation of language in either dialectal or otherwise non-standard uses of the language in question. It would seem to logically follow that a text with numerous occasions of non-standard usages of language would have more strength to be lost in translation than a text with more standard language.

⁵ Compare for example to another common Finnish expletive, *saamari* (which does not appear in TPA1), which is described in Haarala (1994) as "ark. lievähkö kirosana" and in NSS as "lievähkö kiro- ja voimasana".

Quite often in TPA, the expressions are made stronger by a swearword attached to the expression. This can be seen as typical to a text that depicts Finnish life, and one could thus imagine that there is a good reason why the author has used such language. Usually the translator's job would be to carry the message to the target language as accurately as possible, and this includes the original strength and dialectal features of the language. As many researchers have noted (e.g. Katan 1999, 14), the translator should function as a cultural mediator between people who could not otherwise understand each other. According to Nida's coding-model (Katan 1999, 14) the translator should first decode the message of the original into ideas, and then encode it again in the target language. If the translator in his or her work makes decisions that somehow weaken the message of the original text, one can only wonder how much of the original text or its message is conveyed to the reader. These things are however not always that easy when translating to a culture that knows little about the source culture.

The strongest or most culture-bound expressions in any text are often very difficult to translate into another language and its culture, because the target language reader may not be familiar with the source language customs, implications or cultural rules. This often causes the translator to choose an expression that is closer to the standards of the target language, or to leave out the strongest swearwords and expletives. After all, if the public does not like the translation, it is all too often the translator that gets the blame, no matter what the original was like and how faithfully the translator has done his or her job. It is here that we can note Nida's notion of dynamic equivalence. In Nida's own words (1999, 129):

In such a translation one is not so concerned with matching the receptor-language message with the source-language message, but with the dynamic relationship, that the relationship between receptor and message should be

substantially the same as that which existed between the original receptors and the message.

This quite naturally often leads to a situation where the translator changes the meaning of single words or expressions, but does this only in order to make it easier for the target language reader to understand and accept the text and the ideas it carries. This of course does not suggest anything about how good the translation is, nor is it up to me to perform any such evaluation. Many translators would actually say that it is impossible to evaluate any translation over another, but the fact still remains that translations are and always have been evaluated at least according to the standards and fashions of the time they are read in. I on the other hand have no such intention and the purpose of this thesis is merely to find out whether or not weakening has taken place in Dr. Impola's translation (UNS) and whether any pattern can be found in which items were weakened and which had not.

2.6 The strengthening of expressions in translation

The strengthening of expressions in translation can generally be seen as a much smaller-scale phenomenon than weakening. For example Berman's criticised list of the "deforming tendencies of literary translation" (Chesterman 2004, 37) does not include a single feature that could be counted as strengthening, whereas the weakening features are many (ibid.):

- Ennoblement (more elegant style)
- Qualitative impoverishment (flatter style)
- Quantitative impoverishment (loss of lexical variation)
- Destruction of linguistic patternings (more homogeneous)
- Destruction of vernacular networks or their exoticization (dialect loss or highlighting)

However, strengthening has been observed as well, even though it has been seen as a smaller-scale phenomenon than weakening. This seems to verify the universality of the weakening of language, since if weakening indeed is universal, it would seem only logical that its opposite phenomenon, strengthening, is not found in translations as often. The same reason applies for the fewer studies on the subject: the matter of weakening has been seen as a problem, since it seems to occur so often, whereas strengthening is quite often only seen as a deliberate effort to balance the weakening tendency.

I believe that more studies should be made on the strengthening of expressions in translation, in order to find out whether it occurs in any notable scale. If we are indeed in search for translation universals, i.e. the phenomena that tend to occur in translation of texts more often than in non-translated texts, some research should be made on the opposites of the usual tendencies, if for no other reason, then to confirm that the suggested universals indeed are universals and not only one side of a single, larger phenomenon. As an example, it can not be stated that the weakening of language in translation is (or is suspected to be) a translation universal, if no efforts are made towards finding out whether language in some cases actually is strengthened in translation. However, this would be the subject of another study altogether.

2.7 Items weakened in the translation of expressions

referring to people

In this section I will discuss different possible reasons for the weakening of the language in translation, with special regard to the most obvious features of strong language as understood in this study. The first part of the section will discuss why swearing can be weakened in translation, and the second part will concentrate on the dialectal and otherwise non-standard language used in TPA.

2.7.1 Swearing

There are cultural differences in the use of strong words and expressions, which make it almost impossible for the translator to find expressions that correspond to the original ones in meaning, function and strength. The reception simply will not be the same if the translator keeps all the strength of the original when translating to a culture with far less strong language in literature. Hughes (1991, 189) notes that “Swearing in public is now encountered in press columns --- far more commonly than half a century ago”, but acknowledges that it still is not publicly acceptable. As recently as in the twenty-first century, American President George W. Bush has received negative publicity for using the word *asshole* publicly (Battistella 2005, 71), and American schools still ban books for “material considered to use offensive language” (Battistella 2005, 73). This could originate in the American double standards of language, action and behaviour. There is a strange duality in the use of language in America: on one hand, the profane and obscene words and expressions

are repeated in films and on television all the time, but on the other hand, they are almost as often removed. In other words, the words are used to create a shock effect, and that is exactly what they accomplish in doing. In TPA, Linna uses a lot of strong language, but it is not done in order to shock people: he could be seen as simply documenting the reality of the kinds of people he writes about (Varpio 2006, 581). This could partially explain why Dr. Impola chose to play down the extreme language in the novel. It does not, however, reveal how much weakening has actually happened. The weakening of the language could be due to the simple fact that the American readership – even with a Finnish background – is not used to hearing such language, or at least, not used to accepting it in serious literature. In Finland, the use of strong (and not only in the sense of swearing) language is commonly accepted if not as the norm, then at least as a fact that people do so. The “division of usage into the decent bourgeois standard and the less acceptable lower varieties” (Hughes 1991, 2) is not all that great in Finland, at least not as great as can even today be seen in American culture. Even though people may try in a so-called polite society to mind their language, it is not all that uncommon for anybody to utter the occasional “perkele” when something goes wrong. Thus the norm of spoken language is almost never the same as the norm of official written language, and because Linna depicts realistic and life-like characters, it is only to be expected that his characters should not speak the standard language. In America, fictional spoken language as seen in books, movies and TV is actually not that far from the norms of written language. Of course this is every now and then disproved by the occasional writer or two, but the tradition is nevertheless strong. As Battistella (2005, 68) notes:

today, network television dramas receive attention for their linguistic frankness: writers and network standards departments contest scripts, citizens groups organize protests, and entrepreneurs even market ‘profanity filters’ for televisions and DVDs.

Keeping in mind that the Finns have always considered it a question of honour to rather speak one's mind than to remain politely quiet, pretending is often seen as far worse behaviour than saying something that may or may not insult the hearer, if that is what one thinks. In Northern American culture, on the other hand, the situation can be seen as quite the opposite: white lies or silence are often seen as much more polite than blurting out what one thinks (ibid.). This difference in cultures is clearly visible when comparing TPA and UNS.

While in Finland the users of even the strongest expressions have not been sued in court, in America they still were until quite recently (Hughes 1991, 200). This strengthens the idea of the double standards at play in American society: on the one hand there is the Freedom of Speech Act and belief in individual liberty; on the other there have been strict rules of censorship in films and on television, which are partly still kept alive (ibid.). Linna wrote in a time when the trend of writing as "realistic" novels as possible was quite strong, meaning that the writer should tell the story of a person or persons, describing even the worst sides of people as accurately and at length as possible. This trend arose partly as a protest against foreign literature that tended to dress up the way people really lived and acted. Maybe the fear of insulting or offending words has spread anew from the excessive amount of lawsuits in America and the politicising of certain other strong terms or concepts. This could explain why today, in an age of free speech, the so-called old values are still so much in the picture, that there are several words which cannot be written down in a novel. This again could have led to a situation where the writer (or as in this case, translator) has to be overly careful in what he or she writes down, and thus prepares the ground for too much weakening of the language in translation.

2.7.2 Non-standard dialects in translation

Non-standard dialects in literature often present a challenge for the translator: how is it possible to convey all, or at least some, of the attitudes and implications to the reader of the translation, when dialects are so culture- and language-bound? Dialects are by their very nature bound to the language they are a part of, and as such, the writer of a fictional work can convey various attitudes, preconceptions, and expectations to the reader by using a certain dialect in their work. Even though some of the similar values and attitudes may be associated with a dialect in the target language, it is still quite questionable whether the translator can use that dialect in translation: it would certainly bring the text closer to the reader of the translation, but it can also create the erroneous illusion that the text was originally written about the country whose dialects are used. This, of course, would diminish the effect of the written work in total, since the original culture usually plays a big part in the total effect of the work.

Then, if it is next to impossible to find a close counterpart for any given dialect in another language, what is the translator to do when faced with a book full of different dialects? This is a question that is discussed further in other studies, but no single or simple answer has yet been found. Some translators have approached the matter by using dialects of the target language with similar associations to those carried by the source language, but this is rarely possible, and even if it is, often the end result is too domesticating to suit the purposes of the rest of the translation, or even quite strange. Others have opted for standard target language or language resembling the standard spoken language, but this inevitably leads to the weakening of the language in the translation. So, the problem remains: how to translate

accurately, not in a too domesticating way, but still maintaining the strength of the language of the original? By today, there is no single answer to this, and each translator must deal with the question as they best see fit, which often results in a weakened translation.

2.8 Reasons for the strengthening of language in translation

This chapter will discuss factors that may have a strengthening effect on the translation. As previously noted, this side of the phenomenon has been somewhat less studied than weakening, which would seem to imply that it is not as often seen in translation; at least it has not been generally discussed as a possible translation universal. Therefore not much can be said on the general level about the strengthening of language in translation; the subject is more easily approached through the examples in the analysis of the material in Chapter 4.2.

The strengthening of language can often be seen more as a conscious choice made by the translator: if the translator is aware of the general weakening tendency of expressions in translation, they may try to compensate it by strengthening parts of the translation that seem weaker in the original text. To prove this would of course necessitate extensive studies on texts which have indeed been strengthened in translation, their translators, and in-depth interviews with the translators. Studies could possibly also be done during translation in order to find out more about the translators' conscious and perhaps even unconscious decisions and the global and local translation strategies they have used. However, it is at the moment almost impossible to state any absolute truths about the items strengthened in translation, and the shortcoming of this explanation is the assumption that the translator must

know about the weakening tendency, and to strive to avoid it, which is not easily proven for texts already translated.

Another possible explanation for items strengthened in translation is that the effort of simply not weakening the translation may cause the translation to actually gain some additional strength. This could happen quite simply: striving for an equally strong expression is far from simple, and over-compensation could happen while aiming at similar strength. As with the first explanation, also here the translator first needs to be aware of the tendency of texts to be weakened in translation, and to consciously strive towards maintaining the strength of the text, which makes it quite difficult to prove.

Of course there is a third possibility as well: that the translator simply is not aware of the weakening tendency, and his/her translation strategy simply results in strengthened expressions. This explanation is not as feasible as the previous two, since as many researchers (e.g. Toury 1995, quoted in Chesterman 2004, 40; Berman 1985, quoted in Chesterman 2004, 37, and Eskola 2004, 86) have noted, if no conscious decision has been made as to the translation strategies, translated texts are more likely to lose than gain strength. As the first two possible explanations for the strengthening of items in translation require conscious decisions by the translator and the acute awareness of the tendency of texts to be weakened in translation, they are quite difficult to prove correct or incorrect in any single text or a larger body of translated texts.

3. METHODS AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS

In the first section of this chapter I will present my main research questions and discuss my initial hypotheses concerning them, and discuss the reasons for studying the subject. The second section will present the research methods applied in detail, and note the reasons for selecting the methods.

3.1 Research questions

The main research questions in this study are stated here:

1. Can the generally proposed translation universal of standardisation (or weakening) of language be seen to have affected the expressions referring to people in Dr. Impola's translation of TPA?
2. If so, has it affected the direct and indirect references to people in a different way, i.e. can one group be said to have lost or gained significantly more strength than the other?

My initial hypothesis is that a significant part of the expressions have lost some of their strength in translation. This assumption is based on two things: the fact that several researchers have noted the tendency of this happening in translation, especially in works that are in a large degree culture-bound as Linna's are, and the fact that Finnish literature and culture is not very well known in English-speaking environments. The latter fact may have affected the translation because as Leppihalme (1997, 4) notes, the cultural gap when translating from English to Finnish is not that big anymore because of the day-to-day exposure we have to English-speaking cultures, and so Finns understand English and American cultural

allusions better than they used to. When translating the other way, Finnish to English, however, the gap is wider. This is because Finland is quite a small country, and if we once in a while happen to be noticed abroad, it has not been enough for Americans to understand our culture and history as well as we understand – or think we do – theirs. The effect this would presumably have on the translation of Finnish literature into English is that the translator would have to either foreignise the text and trust the reader to know or find out what the text is saying, or domesticate it by explaining phenomena that in the source culture are well-known and familiar (Ilomäki 2000, 163). Domesticating would also include the weakening of language, since it is another way of taking the text closer to the reader and lessening the cultural gap between the source language writer and the target language reader. As Katan (1999) notes, different cultures and languages often have different ways of dealing with the same situation. For instance, it is far more widely acceptable to use even the strongest swearwords in Finnish than in English (Battistella 2005, 70), and this is one of the main reasons why I assumed from the first that the English translation of the expressions that refer to other people in TPA would have lost some of their strength: the whole trilogy is written from the point of view of simple Finnish country people around the change of the 19th to the 20th century, and in order to paint a realistic picture of the people, Linna had to use a lot of strong language, swearing as well as dialects and other non-standard features. However, the trilogy was translated for an American audience, people who may not be accustomed to such amounts of deviation from the language standards, and who could be expected to react to the strength of the language had it been translated as strongly as it was in the original. This apparently did have an effect on Dr. Impola's translation of the trilogy, whether

he was aware of it or not, since in the case of references to people the language had indeed lost some of its strength as will be shown later in the thesis.

In American and English translations, there has been a tendency to translate by either a measure of extreme domestication or pointedly foreignising the text (Venuti 1995). According to Venuti, this has functioned as a way of showing the superiority of English or American culture and the strangeness or otherness of other cultures. Even though Dr. Impola has not left out or changed large parts of the text, when looking at the local strategies used in this translation, Venuti's suggestion can still be seen as working in the background. Impola seems to have translated the trilogy with a clearly American audience in mind, and this shows especially in the strongest passages of text, where extreme language is used in the original but not in the translation. The following example from my data shows this:

10. Ny *saatanan lonttoposki* koitetaan... Tältä tontilta ei häädetä kerjäläistäkään ettäs tiet. p. 201
Now let's try it... *You skull-face*... Even beggars aren't evicted from this lot, you know. p. 323

Here the Finnish *saatanan* is quite a strong swearword, whereas the English *you* is far from being strong language by any standards. This could be balanced out had the translator chosen a stronger main word, but as such *skull-face* does not carry the same or even similar strength as the Finnish expression. Even though here the basic meaning of the main word can be seen as quite similar as both *lonttoposki* and *skull-face* imply a person who is so thin his cheeks are sunken, the modifier has lost most of its strength in the translation and thus the whole expression can be counted as weakened.

3.2 Methods

The analysis of the data from TPA1 and UNS1 was conducted on the basis of a questionnaire where the respondents were asked whether they thought the original Finnish or the translated English expression was stronger⁶. The results were then compiled and can be seen as a whole in Appendix 2. A number of dictionaries in both languages were consulted where possible in order to establish the basic meaning of certain words and in some cases even their deviance from standard written language. Based on these results, the final analysis was then conducted and is reported in chapter 5 of this work.

After gathering the material from both TPA1 and UNS1 I made a preliminary analysis with the help of dictionaries and Internet sources. Since my material consists mostly of expressions that can not be found in dictionaries, apart from a few words that would not present a challenge anyway, I mostly had to rely on my the results of the questionnaire and the surroundings where I found the expressions in other texts. This of course does not present a solid base for analysis, which is why I decided to make a questionnaire to speakers who are native speakers of one of the languages and on the C2 level⁷ of language abilities concerning the other language. There were altogether 13 respondents, which I believe gives my analysis some strength, given the similarity of the results from almost all respondents. All native Finnish respondents have spent time in an English-speaking country and likewise all native English respondents have lived in Finland for a considerable time and learned the language well. The results of the questionnaire were confirmed with the help of

⁶ The strength of the expressions was explained according to the definition used in this thesis so there could be no danger of misunderstanding among the respondents.

⁷ The level was measured with the Dialang diagnostic language testing system at Tampere University for all speakers unless they had verifiably taken the test earlier with a result of at least the C2 level. Dialang adheres to the common European standards of language learning levels and thus was seen as the best way of measuring the level of language skills in my respondents.

dictionaries where possible. However, as I have noted earlier, my material consists of complete expressions that cannot be found as such in dictionaries. In cases where none of the words in the expression could be found in a dictionary or in the context differed significantly from the standard meanings given in dictionaries, the questionnaire was my primary tool for analysis. Several dictionaries⁸ were consulted to ensure that the word indeed does not appear in any of them.

The expressions in the data were divided into two groups, and the groups were studied in order to see whether there were any significant differences between them. The two groups are presented as speaking to or about people. This division was made because in the original material there seemed to be a difference in the strength of the expressions depending on whether they were used in instances of speaking to or about a person: the instances of speaking about a person are often much stronger than the ones of speaking directly to somebody. This of course could have an effect on the translation of the groups, which is why I decided to use the groups in the analysis as well.

In the analysis the material was divided into further three groups depending on what had happened to the strength of the expression. The expressions in the first group had lost some of their strength (the Finnish original was stronger), the ones in the second group had gained additional strength (the English translation was stronger), and the ones in the final group had kept the same amount of strength. This division was made according to the results of the questionnaire together with the direction pointed to by the dictionary definitions so that if most dictionaries mentioned that the word or words in the Finnish expression was dialectal or otherwise considered deviating from the standard variety of the language, but there

⁸ See the Bibliography for a complete list of the dictionaries used.

was no mention of such in the definitions of the English expression, it was considered as having lost some strength. In some cases this could of course be contradicted by the results of the questionnaire, but such cases were rare. In those few cases I had to rely on the questionnaire and conversations with native speakers of both languages together with what clues I found about the usage of the words in the expression. With dictionaries backing up the results of the questionnaire, I believe that the study as a whole can be considered reliable.

Concerning my questionnaire, I have to note that the directions given to the respondents gave the possibility to leave an example unanswered, if the words in the expression were either unfamiliar or unclear to the reader, or if they for some other reason found that they could not evaluate the strength of the expressions. This naturally could have led to a situation where all examples did not get the same amount of opinions from the respondents. This did not present a problem, however, since all of the expressions were in the end evaluated by all respondents.

4. ANALYSIS OF THE MATERIAL

My initial assumption was that a significant amount of the expressions studied would have lost some of their strength in the translation process. This assumption was based on the fact that several researchers (e.g. Chesterman 2002) have noted that some weakening often does happen in translation, and have suggested the inclination of any text to weaken in translation as one potential translation universal. In this case it proved to be correct, because the vast majority of the cases did indeed turn out to be weakened.

In the total analysis, there were of course instances where the people answering the questionnaire were not all of one mind. However, these instances were quite rare, and when they occurred, they could quite easily be explained and interpreted. For instance, there were a few instances where seven out of the 13 respondents thought the expressions were equal in strength, two or three thought the Finnish was stronger and the rest said the English was stronger. In such cases, it was clearly visible that the expressions could be said to have equal strength. In other cases, two or three had a differing opinion from the rest (10-11 respondents were still of one mind), and such cases could be accounted for by the amount of dialect in the expression, or otherwise by the fact that different people have different associations from the same expressions. Still, in these cases, the vast majority had the same opinion, and that could be trusted. There were still some instances in the total analysis where some consideration was needed in order to classify the expression as either weakened, strengthened, or equal. These can be seen in the total analysis in Appendix 2 as well.

The results of the analysis can be seen in their entirety in Appendix 2, and in a shortened form in Table 1 below.

	Weakened expressions	Strengthened expressions	Equal strength
Instances	78	4	21
% of the total amount	76%	4%	20%

Table 1. Weakened and strengthened expressions.

The analysis of single examples can be found in Appendix 2, where the examples have been numbered according to Appendix 1 where the complete pairs of expressions can be found. The numbering in this thesis does not correspond to the numbers in the Appendices.

As can be seen in Table 1, there were considerably more weakened expressions in the translation than there were in the Swedish translation of the same expressions. This seems to confirm the original assumption that the Swedish translation was in fact an anomaly compared to the suggested translation universal of language weakening in translation, and to also confirm my assumption that in the English translation the references to people had indeed lost strength considerably more than they had gained strength. The following sections will discuss the weakened, strengthened, and equally strong expressions in detail, as well as analyse the assumption that there would have been a difference between the expressions speaking to and about people.

4.1 Weakened expressions

This section will look at the instances where the translation was weakened, and discuss possible reasons for those instances. Some examples of actual instances of weakened expressions are also presented and discussed in detail, drawing on the results of the questionnaire and material from dictionaries.

4.1.1 Weakened expressions in general

As expected, the majority of expressions fell in this category. There were 78 cases where the respondents felt that the expression had indeed lost some strength in translation. The judgements on many of these cases were quite unanimous, and often all of the respondents had in fact given the same answer. It was actually surprising to see how often this happened: in 32 cases at least 11 respondents felt that the Finnish expression was indeed stronger than the English one, and there were several cases with ten respondents agreeing. The list of the expressions as well as the total analysis can be found in Appendices 1 and 2, respectively.

The result was actually surprisingly unanimous in that such a clear majority of the expressions had been weakened. When I compared these results to my earlier small study of the translation of TPA1 into Swedish, the results were quite different, as can be seen in Table 2 below.

	Weakened expressions	Strengthened expressions	Equal strength	Swearing ⁹
Instances	22	22	54	2

Table 2. Weakened and strengthened expressions in the translation into Swedish.

As shown in Table 2, the Swedish translation had mostly kept the same amount of strength in the expressions, whereas in the English translation the vast majority of the expressions were weakened. The reasons for this difference can only be guessed, but they could partly be found in the fact that the Swedish translation was done right after the books were published, and because of his friendship with Linna, the translator Nils-Börje Stormbom had the opportunity to ask the writer what he really had meant with his text (Varpio 2006, 575.). Dr. Impola, on the other hand, had no such help from the author himself, because at the time of the translation, Linna had already passed away. Also the cultural difference between Finland in the late 1950s or early 1960s on the one hand, and America in the beginning of the 21st century on the other, is far bigger than the one that Stormbom had to deal with, as the Swedish translation was written primarily for the Swedish speaking people in Finland, who share much of the culture with the Finnish readers of the original, rather than for an American readership almost 50 years later.

Even if the Swedish-speaking readership was quite close historically to the readers of the original, they are often in the trilogy displayed as "*Goddamned Swedes*" (UNS1, 59) or "*Swedish-bloodsucker-evictor barons*"¹⁰ (UNS1, 255), and the public opinion about the Swedish-speaking people was quite hostile. This

⁹ There were two expressions that in the Swedish translation had been changed from referring to people into plain swearing. The total amount of expressions in the Swedish study was also a little different because I had to modify the definition for this study.

¹⁰ The Swedish translations were surprisingly close to the originals: the first was translated as "handä satans svenskeline" (HBSM, 69), the latter as "den blodsugande svenske vräkarbaronen" (HBSM, 300).

together with the global tendency for the weakening of language in translation could account for a part of the weakening apparent in the translation, taking into account the otherwise almost ideal circumstances for the translation.

One factor that almost certainly has played its part in the Swedish translation is that if Stormbom was indeed aware of the weakening tendency in translation in general, he may have strived for even stronger expressions in places where one is available in idiomatic Swedish. This could also be a sign of a more general translation strategy that Stormbom used, namely trying to capture the general style, strength and dialectality, owing to his friendship with and reverence for Linna. If this indeed is true, it would seem to certify Katan's (1999, 14) idea of any translation showing the values and ideologies of the translator, as well as the opinion the translator has about the writer of the original and the original text. In this case it would come through as the translator having great respect for the writer and the original text, and thus striving for greater similarity of style and strength of language. This of course does not mean that Dr. Impola would value Linna or the original text any less, but simply proves that the translation of any text in a completely faithful and accurate way will become if not impossible, at least very difficult if there is no way of communication between the writer and the translator.

4.1.2 Examples of weakened expressions

Examples of weakened expressions can be seen in the following:

11. Kehtas *saatanan vitjamuna* tulla sanoon että mun hevoseni ei pärjää talon hevosille. p. 23
That piss-ass had the nerve to come and tell me my horse couldn't keep up with his... p. 26

12. ”Lyökää perkele, ei se muusta parane.” Mutta *nuoren pojankoltiaisen* sanat saattoi jättää huomioon ottamatta. p. 26
”Hit him, goddamn, nothing else will do any good.” But *the boy’s* spirited words could be ignored. p. 32

In the first example, the Finnish expression contains a strong swearword described in dictionaries “as a coarse swearword” (karkeana kirosanana; NSS sense 2a; Haarala 1994), which in itself already makes the expression much stronger than the translation. Here the translator has indeed strived for a similar effect by using the not-too-polite form *piss-ass*, but as one of the respondents of my questionnaire commented, without the swearword in the Finnish, the expressions would probably carry a similar amount of strength, since *vitjamuna* is not too nice an address either: far from standard language, and the actual reference is made with the word *muna*, which when referring to a person could be seen as a swearword due to its reference to the male genitals. This is a good example of the fact that in TPA, expressions are often made stronger by a swearword attached to the expression, but in the translation the swearword has been left out. This was one of the reasons why I initially expected the translation to be weaker than the original: if there is a strong swearword in the original, as in this case there often is, it is quite easy for the translator to simply leave it out if he wants to. This could happen either unconsciously, due to the general and widely studied tendency of translators to choose words and expressions that are closer to the accepted standards of the target language, or consciously, as a result of a deliberate selection process.

The latter example is one where no swearing is involved, but the weakening is still obvious. Here the strength of the original expression lies in its deviation from standard language and descriptive power: it is a whole different thing to describe someone as *nuori pojankoltiaisen* than to call them *the boy*. Whereas *koltiaisen* is not part of the standard language, and carries the association of a young boy full of

tricks, and implies disobedience, *boy* is merely the standard word for “male child” (CCLD 1996). The strength of the Finnish expression is furthered by the addition of *nuori* before the compound, because the standard meaning of the expression would become quite clear even without it. When the whole sentence is considered, the weakening can be seen even before the actual expression. In Finnish, the word *perkele* is in most dictionaries defined as “a coarse swearword and expletive (karkeana kiro- ja voimasanana)” (NSS, sense 2.a.) or just as “as a swearword (kirosanana)” (Itkonen 2000), whereas the definition of *goddamn* is as follows: “exclamation, mainly US very informal: used to add emphasis to what is being said - -- NOTE: some people consider this offensive” (CALD). Even though the main focus of my study is to see how the expressions that refer to people have been translated, it is also interesting to see that other parts of the book follow the same tendency. Probably the most interesting thing about the comparison of these words is that where the Finnish is marked with only the fact that it is a swearword, the word that the translator has used in its stead only has a note in the end saying: “*some people consider this offensive*” (my italics). This, along with the opinions of the respondents, seems to prove that the translated expression indeed is weaker than the original.

Another example of a weakened expression that did not contain swearing can be seen below:

13. *Kaunis... pröökänä...he, he... p. 62*
Pretty lady... heh, heh... p. 96

Here the word *pröökänä* is a very distinctly dialectal word that was often used in a deploring way of a woman of a higher social status, often Swedish speaking or slightly arrogant towards the people lower than her in the social hierarchy. The word was originally borrowed into Finnish in the 17th century from the standard Swedish word *fröken* which, at the time, meant basically the same as the English *lady* – or to

put it simply, a fine woman (Itkonen 1992, entry for *fröökkinä*). *Lady*, on the other hand, is, if not exactly the standard form, at least quite acceptable in any sort of discourse, especially when referring to older times (such as in the trilogy) and does not carry any significant implications the way that the Finnish *pröökkinä* does. It is not deviating from standard language, and the attitudes behind the phrase are lost on the reader of the translation. In the original, the background insinuation of the actual address is almost sexual and very strongly negative, whereas the reader of the translation is left to understand these nuances from the following laughter alone. It is also interesting to note that in this example, all 13 respondents thought the expression had weakened, so the weakened note is quite clearly visible from the results of the analysis.

As shown by these examples and several more in Appendix 1, we can conclude that there can be no doubt as to the loss of strength in these 75 expressions. They had all lost some of their strength, and I believe it can be safely stated that the weakening is not due to expressions losing their swearwords alone, but also the amount of dialectal and otherwise non-standard language had been reduced. This seems to verify my hypothesis that the proposed translation universal feature of translations losing some of their expressive capabilities is indeed visible in this work as well.

4.2 Strengthened expressions

This section will look at the instances where the translation was strengthened, and discuss possible reasons for those instances. Some examples of actual instances of

strengthened expressions are also presented and discussed in detail, drawing on the results of the questionnaire and material from dictionaries.

4.2.1 Strengthened expressions in general

Only four expressions were found where the translation had gained strength compared to the original text. All of these will be discussed in detail below. The small number of strengthened expressions was to be expected on the basis of my original assumption, but the fact that there were only four was still surprising. It does seem to confirm my assumption, and so also confirm that the translations of the expressions referring to people have in general lost some of their strength in translation.

It is interesting to note that the Swedish translation had 22 strengthened expressions, which is as many as there were of the weakened ones. This is probably due to the matters discussed earlier in this study; that Stormbom had the advantage of close personal communication with Linna, and that he could therefore clarify what the author had intended in the original, and probably knew the reasons behind the non-standard language very well, all of them advantages that Dr. Impola did not have half a century later.

I must note that for all four strengthened expressions, the analysis was somewhat ambiguous, since the respondents of the questionnaire were not unanimous in any of the cases. The majority still thought that the English expression was stronger, and most of the rest opted for equal strength. Most of the expressions classified as strengthened could almost have been marked as equally strong, but a few votes always made the analysis mark them as strengthened. Therefore the

amount of strengthening can not be seen as very significant in the total analysis. This is interesting, since it does seem to suggest that the references to people in Linna's text seem to lose strength in translation, not gain additional strength.

4.2.1 Examples of strengthened expressions

As there were only four strengthened expressions, I will discuss them all in this chapter. The very first expression in my material had gained some additional strength:

14. Voi *hyvä poika*... Mitä sinä sillä suolla teet? p. 10
But *my good boy*... What would you do with the swamp? p. 5

The expression is found on the first pages of the book, where Jussi asks the pastor for permission to build a farm on the swamp. Here the Finnish *hyvä poika* is quite a patronising expression, but so is the English *my good boy*. Both words in the Finnish expression are very standard in the language, and in no way deviate even when used together as an expression. The note is still somewhat patronising, especially as the addressee is a grown man. The English *my good boy* is also standard language and patronising in tone. With this example, the analysis was somewhat ambiguous, since six respondents thought it had strengthened, five said the expressions had equal strength, and two even said that the Finnish was stronger. The pair of expressions could almost be said to be equal in strength, but since the majority thought the English was stronger, and most of the others opted for equal strength rather than weakening, I must conclude that something in the expressions seems to make the English sound stronger, if only slightly. The added strength of the expression may come from the added possessive pronoun *my*, as it stresses the patronising tone even more than the Finnish expression.

The second strengthened expression has a somewhat stronger tendency for strengthening; 8 respondents marked it as strengthened, four as weakened, and only one as equally strong:

15. Mikä *erinomanen iili* sekin on... p. 88
What a *weird leech* he is... p. 137

In this example, the Finnish expression has *erinomanen* as the determining part of the expression, which makes it somewhat ironic; the word is usually only used in positive contexts. The vernacular word for leech, *iili*, is the main word. In the translation, the main word *leech* is the standard word for the animal, but the informality of the determining word *weird* apparently adds to the strength so much as to make it stronger than the Finnish original expression. Here part of the irony of the original has been lost, but then again, irony as such can not be said to add strength to an expression, and therefore the analysis can be trusted. The basic meaning of *iili* in the Finnish expression is somewhat ambiguous; besides being a short form for the animal *leech*, which is the part of the meaning that is carried straight over, it can also mean a *whim* or *gust of wind*, which would indeed make the expression much weaker than the English straightforward *leech*. The dispersed questionnaire results (see appendix 2) could also imply that the Finnish word is understood differently depending on the geographical origins of the respondent, and therefore the translation seems either strengthened or weakened, according to how the respondent understands the original wording.

The last two expressions that were regarded as strengthened appear in the same scene of the book: Elina has found out about her love Akseli fooling around with the gullible but easy-going Aune:

16. sen *lohnakkeen*... Vie... p. 246
that *whore for everyone to ride*... Take it... p. 392

17. Et sinä mitään tapa...kun menet sen *votakan* kanssa saunaan... Ja mene vaan... p. 246

You won't kill anything... you'll just go to the sauna with that *slut*... So go... just go... p. 392

In example 16, the Finnish *lohnake* is clearly dialectal. The strength of the expression lies partly in that fact, and partly on the basic meaning of the word. The basic associations of the Finnish word include a fat, lazy, slovenly person, possibly uncoordinated in their movements (based on personal communication with the respondents of the questionnaire; the word is not found in any dictionaries). A possibly related word, *lohna*, is quoted in Sadeniemi (1966) as the dialectal word for a certain type of sleigh, but this probably has no relevance for the meaning of *lohnake*, since no connection between the meanings of the words can be found. The translation is a longer expression than the Finnish, which already strengthens the expression. It also has a very rude main word, *whore*, which the LDCE marks as *taboo*, and the whole expression *whore for everyone to ride* implies a much more hostile attitude towards the person spoken about. This is the clearest case of strengthening found in my material with 9 respondents marking it as strengthened, and no one as equally strong. Considering the lengthening of the expression and the extremely rude head word, this is hardly a surprising result for the pair of expressions.

Example 17 is another instance of a dialectal word replaced in translation with an offensive word. *Votakka* is not found in any dictionaries, as is the case with many expressions studied here, but the most common associations of the word are twofold: slightly dialectal, the word could be used as a positive expression or even endearment; on the other hand as a negative expression, the meaning would be similar to that of *votko* (see ch. 4.3.1). *Slut*, on the other hand, is a rude and offensive word (LDCE), and can usually not be understood as an endearment. In this case, then,

the strength of the translated expression comes mostly from the basic meaning of the word, whereas the original expression's strength was mainly due to its dialectality, which means that the translation is not only stronger than the original, but also strong in a different way.

As there were only four strengthened expressions, any wider generalisations can not reliably be drawn. What can be said, however, is that the expressions that did strengthen in the translation of TPA were only marginally strengthened, and three out of the four incidents included the replacement of a slightly dialectal word or phrase with a less dialectal but more offensive word. This is an interesting phenomenon as it seems to suggest a certain amount of uncertainty in the translation: what to do with such strange words when translating a text full of culture-bound vocabulary? In their own way, these four strengthened expressions seem to confirm my hypothesis about the general weakening of the expressions referring to people in translation: the occurrence of three instances where a dialectal expression was replaced with a more offensive one, and one instance where the patronising tone of the expression was strengthened, together with the lack of any simply more dialectal translations in the pairs of expressions, shows a clear tendency for the expressions referring to people to be weakened.

It could be claimed that since there were so few strengthened expressions, and since the ones that were found had only strengthened marginally, they are mere exceptions in the otherwise mainly weakened translation, but this explanation would not take us any further on the road towards understanding why these expressions, rather than some other ones, had strengthened. Another possible explanation for these expressions would be that since three out of the four expressions were so strange to the translator, he had to revert to more offensive expressions such as seen

in the examples above. However, this is not an entirely feasible explanation, since there were several dialectal and at first sight strange expressions in the weakened and equally strong expressions as well, not only in the strengthened ones. Therefore the fact that these four expressions had strengthened would seem more like a conscious effort towards a stronger form in the translation, even though a small one. However, the strangeness of the Finnish expressions in these four instances could be part of the reason behind the strengthening of the expressions: if the words are totally unknown to the translator but the context clearly implies an offensive meaning, it is quite easy to choose a slightly more offensive word than and hope that the point is not missed.

4.3 Equally strong expressions

This section will look at the instances where the translation had remained equally strong, and discuss possible reasons for those instances. Some examples of actual instances of equally strong expressions are also presented and discussed in detail, drawing on the results of the questionnaire and material from dictionaries.

4.3.1 Equally strong expressions in general

The ideal for a translation would of course be that it would maintain all or most of the strength of the original expressions, as it would also imply that most if not all of the connotations of the expressions have remained similar. However, this can rarely be achieved, due to the already noted general tendency of weakening or loss of lexical variety, dialectality, and other kinds of strength of language.

There were 21 cases of equally strong expressions in my material, that is, expressions where the translation had not lost or gained any strength. Some typical examples will be discussed in detail below. The amount of equally strong expressions was surprisingly high compared to my initial assumption, but remarkably less than in the Swedish translation, in which 54 expressions had remained equally strong in translation. This difference between the two translations can partly be explained through the earlier noted close friendship and correspondence between Stormbom and Linna, but still the difference remains exceptional.

Out of the 21 equally strong expressions, only a few included swearing in either language, so it would seem that several colloquial or slightly dialectal expressions have maintained their strength in translation. However, it can not be claimed that colloquial expressions tended to remain equally strong, since there were quite a few of those within the 75 weakened expressions as well. Rather it could be claimed that even though in 21 of the total 103 expressions the translator has succeeded in finding an equally strong translation for the original expressions, the rest still support my hypothesis about the general weakening tendency of language in the translation of TPA1. This claim is supported by the fact that only four expressions of referring to people had been strengthened, and that most of the expressions studied had indeed been weakened in the translation. In order for the general tendency to seem strengthened, or even equally strong, there would have to have been considerably more strengthened and equally strong expressions and considerably less weakened ones.

4.3.2 Examples of equally strong expressions

The following example is interesting in its similarity to *votakka*, the strengthened expression in 4.2.1:

18. Vie sille...vie sen *votkon* sormeen... p. 246
Take it to her... Put it on that *slut's* finger... p. 392

While *votko* is also a dialectal expression and is not found in dictionaries, it is still somewhat more familiar to the readers than *votakka*. The most common association of the word (based on personal communication with some of the respondents) is that it is quite rude, and in its short form lies an anger not found in the longer, somewhat more relaxed and possibly even positive associations of *votakka*. *Votko* was characterised as not quite bad as the more common *lutka*, which is characterised in Sadeniemi (1966) as “derogatory (halv.)”, but carrying the same basic meaning of a whore or tramp. Another association is that an extremely jealous person could call someone *votko* and mean simply that they seem to be favoured by men. The English *slut*, as discussed in chapter 4.2.1, is derogatory and even carries most of the same basic meaning with the original expression. While *votko* admittedly is dialectal and perhaps not known to the general public as well as its translation *slut*, the translation is slightly more insulting precisely because it is known so well, which perhaps evens out the dialectality of the Finnish word, and therefore assists in maintaining the strength of the expression.

The following example includes change in the meaning of the word but the expression has still maintained its strength:

19. Se *koukku* präkötti...ja sitä riitti. Se piti minua oikein semmosena silmätikkuna. s. 201
that *hook-nose* kept quacking away... it was too much. p. 322

In Finnish prison slang, *koukku* has long been a slightly insulting name for a police officer or a prison guard (Lipsonen 1990), and that is also what it is taken to mean in this context: Anttoo Laurila has just returned from jail, and is telling the others about his experiences there. A certain amount of showing off can be seen in what he tells the others; he, at least, has done something to earn time in prison, while the others got away with fines. Also, Anttoo has served his time and can in his own way be proud of the experience that none of the others share, even if it is somewhat embarrassing if considered in a general social context. The basic meaning of the word *koukku* in standard language is *hook*, which is repeated in the translation, but the meaning of the expression seems to have changed completely: *hook-nose* in its current context still implies a prison guard, but that meaning can not be read in the expression itself but rather in the total context. The English expression refers rather to the facial features of the given guard, and specifically to his large nose, of which there is no mention in the original Finnish text. Be that as it may, the expression was still seen as equally strong by the respondents of the questionnaire, perhaps partially because the Finnish *koukku* is not any stronger as an expression than its real-life English counterpart, *cop*. It is true that the word is not exactly standard Finnish, but it is not extremely rude either. And that is the case for the English *hook-nose* as well: the expression could not be expected to show up in serious or even polite conversation, but it can not be said to be very strong either.

The following example has also remained equally strong, and neither the original nor the translated expression includes much dialectality:

20. Ei *semmoselta huijarilta* hevosta uskalla ostaa. p. 30
I don't dare buy a horse from *such a swindler* p. 39

This expression is not particularly strong in the Finnish, and both words are counted as standard language, which would make the weakening of this expression almost impossible. While *semmo[i]nen* may not be your first choice when writing a scientific text, it is still used in everyday language with no special associations, and its equivalent in dictionaries is *such*, with no further notes about the style of the word. *Huijari* is the basic word for a swindler, cheat, or con-man (Hurme et al., 1984), and it seems that this example, as well as a few others like it, is one where the translation is almost word-for-word, and successful as it is. The reason for taking this example up for discussion was to illustrate that not all of the expressions had dialectal, offensive, or otherwise non-standard language, but that expressions made of quite everyday words appear in the text as well.

However, not only standard language expressions had remained equally strong in translation:

21. Tappas edes ukkonen senkin *helvetin kenopään*. p. 23
I wish lightning would strike *that snooty bitch*. p. 26-27

The Finnish *helvetin* is described as “a swearword (kirosanana)” (Sadeniemi 1966, entry for *helvetti*), and the word has the basic meaning of Hell, both literally in religious contexts, or figuratively in more mundane contexts. *Kenopää* can be found in Sadeniemi (1966), but has no further explanation except that the expression is usually used of a woman. Hurme et al. (1984) define the related word *kenokaulainen* as “with one's neck (head) bent backwards” or if used figuratively, “haughtily, arrogantly”. Here the strength of the Finnish expression lies mostly on the swearword and the basic meaning of the main word, whereas in the English expression, the main word is the more offensive one, and the basic meaning of the modifying *snooty* adds to the strength. This is understandable, since the traditions of swearing are somewhat different in the two languages, and it would be difficult to replicate the expression in

an exactly similar form. This pair of expressions serves as a reminder that even expressions with offensive words can be found to have equal strength in the translation of TPA.

It seems that most of the expressions that had stayed equally strong were not particularly strong even in the original. This would seem to imply that the more strength there was in the original expression, the more liable it was to lose some of it, which is in line with my original assumptions. However, as seen in example 21, this is not the whole truth, as even some of the originally stronger expressions had remained equally strong in the translation. The type of translations represented here by example 21 was in a minority in the general view of the translations of expressions referring to people: only five of the 21 equally strong expressions had any remarkable strength in the original text. In the other 16 pairs of expressions, the Finnish expressions were quite weak. It could be suggested that the majority of expressions with considerable strength in the original have weakened significantly in translation, even though there are a few exceptions to prove the rule.

4.4 Speaking to or about someone

In this chapter I will take a look at the instances of speaking to or about a person, my aim having been to find any significant differences between their translations.

My initial assumption was that there could be some kind of difference in the translations of expressions speaking to or about people, and my aim was to study what kind of difference, if any, could be found. My assumption was based on the fact that in the original text of the TPA trilogy, the expressions of speaking about

someone were often stronger than the ones speaking directly to someone, and therefore they could be assumed to have lost more strength than the ones speaking to someone, as the expressions speaking about someone or “behind their back” could be said to have more strength to be lost. The reasons why the expressions speaking about someone are stronger than the ones speaking directly to someone are discussed in more detail in chapter 2.3.

As shown in the analysis in chapter 4.3, there were only five equally strong expressions with any significant strength in the original; the rest of the originally stronger expressions had for the most part weakened in translation. My assumption of the differences between the expressions of speaking to and about someone was not corroborated, since there was no significant difference in their strength in the translation, as will be shown in this chapter.

There were 34 instances of speaking to a person directly, and their distribution into the previous classes of weakened, strengthened, or equally strong can be seen in Table 3 below.

	Weakened expressions	Strengthened expressions	Equal strength
Instances	27	1	6
% of the expressions speaking to a person	79%	3%	18%

Table 3. Weakening, strengthening, and equal strength in the expressions speaking to a person.

Altogether 69 expressions were found in the category of speaking about a person. Their division into weakened, strengthened, and equally strong expressions are noted in Table 4 below.

	Weakened expressions	Strengthened expressions	Equal strength
Instances	51	3	15
% of the expressions speaking about a person	74%	4%	22%

Table 4. Weakening, strengthening, and equal strength in the expressions speaking about a person.

The analysis shows that the amounts of strengthened, weakened, and equally strong expressions were essentially quite similar to the percentages of the total analysis shown in Table 1, and to the percentages of the expressions speaking directly to someone as well. There seem to be no significant differences in the percentages of the expressions speaking to or about a person; both seem to be roughly in line with the percentages of the total analysis. This is somewhat surprising, since the expressions speaking about someone tended to be stronger in the original material than the ones speaking directly to someone, which could have implied a larger amount of weakening in those expressions. On the other hand, even though the difference may not be significant, the percentage of the weakened expressions speaking about someone is slightly smaller than the percentage of the weakened expressions speaking directly to someone. This is a surprising result, since if a difference exists, it could have been expected to be in the contrary direction. It may not be a statistically significant difference, considering the small amount of expressions speaking to a person, but it is worth noting.

There was one previously noted instance where an expression speaking directly to someone had changed in the translation into speaking about someone:

22. Kylläs perkeleen vitjamuna sen vielä edestäs löydät. Mutta maantielle et mua muuton saa kun raatona. s. 143
That goddamn brass-balls is going to find out yet. The only way they'll put me on the road is as a corpse. p. 230

Looking only at the example here, this could have been counted as speaking to the person in the translation as well, but when one takes into account the total context given in the book, it becomes clear that the mode has changed from direct to indirect. No clear reason for this change can be found. One possible explanation can be reached through the clear weakening of the expression: if the same words were directed at the person spoken about, it could seem stronger, and as the global strategy of the translator seems to have been weakening, it could be that Dr. Impola simply found it difficult to direct the words at the person being spoken about. However, this remains speculative, since no other such instances were found in the translation. Perhaps if the complete trilogy was studied, other examples of this kind could be found.

As my material only consisted of 103 expressions of referring to people, the lack of a difference in the translations of expressions speaking to and about people does not mean that such a difference could not exist in a larger amount of data. The addition of other works by Väinö Linna and their translations together with the translation of the complete TPA trilogy, for example, could yield quite different results, but that remains to be proven in another study. Another possibility would be to compare these results to other translations by the same translator: the reasons may lie in Dr. Impola's global strategies of translation, which only become clear when studying a larger amount of data.

5. CONCLUSION

The aim of my thesis was to study two things: whether the expressions referring to people in Väinö Linna's TPA1 had lost strength in their translations in UNS1, and if so, was there any significant difference between the translations of the expressions of speaking to someone and speaking about someone. I studied the phenomenon through a questionnaire and dictionaries. The main emphasis was on the questionnaire, and referring to dictionaries whenever possible. This was not always possible, mainly for two reasons: firstly, Linna used several words and expressions that can not be found in any dictionaries, and secondly, even words of standard Finnish were often used in extremely imaginative contexts and meanings, which sometimes made dictionary references insufficient.

The questionnaire was replied to by 13 people, all of whom were native speakers of either Finnish or English (or, in two cases, of both). All of the respondents were also tested with the Dialang diagnostic language testing system at Tampere University¹¹, and they were all rated at least on the C2 level. This was done in order to ensure their language skills, so as to ensure the reliability of the questionnaire as a research method.

It can be concluded that my first assumption about the weakening of language in the translation of TPA is correct. A total of 76% of the 103 expressions had weakened in translation, and less than 4% had strengthened, while 20% had remained equally strong. This is quite a difference to the Swedish translation, where a considerable majority, 54%, had remained equally strong, and the weakened and

¹¹ The respondents were either tested for the purposes of this thesis, or had previously been tested for other purposes. For more information on the Dialang testing system, please refer to <http://www.dialang.org/english/index.htm>.

strengthened amounts were the same, 22% for both. Therefore I can conclude that the suggested universal feature of translation that in this thesis is called the weakening of language in translation is indeed present in the English translation of TPA. By contrast, as proven by my earlier study, the Swedish translation did not express that tendency. This difference is most probably due to the time frame of the translations: the Swedish translation was produced simultaneously to the original being written: Stormbom received text for translation as soon as Linna had finalised it, and the Finnish original parts were published, the Swedish translations followed only weeks afterwards (Varpio 2006, 575). Stormbom could also rely on Linna's explanations of any unclear passages or expressions, and as they were contemporaries, shared the same cultural background.

My second assumption was that there would be a difference between the translations of expressions speaking to a person and speaking about a person, but no such difference could be found in this analysis. This result was somewhat surprising, as the difference in strength between the expressions of speaking to and about someone were so notable in the original text. However, this result serves to emphasise my other hypothesis about the general weakening of the text, as the percentages of weakened, strengthened, and equally strong expressions were so similar in both groups.

Clearly, there is a strong need for further studies in the area of the suggested translation universal of weakening on texts in translation, but what this thesis seems to have clarified is that in this one instance of translated text, the English translation of Linna's TPA1, the feature is clearly visible. Targets for further research could include the comparison between the translations of TPA into several other languages, as the trilogy has been translated into several languages, the comparison of the

translations of Linna's other works into English, and the comparison of translations produced by the same translator, Dr. Impola, to mention but a few of the most obvious ones. Of course, the phenomenon needs to be studied in a wider context as well, meaning the translations of works by several other authors should also be studied, as well as translations in several language pairs and directions.

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Appendix 1: The pairs of expressions studied

Chapter 1

1a. Voi *hyvä poika*... Mitä sinä sillä suolla teet? p. 10

1b. But *my good boy*... What would you do with the swamp? p. 5

2a. eivät [myöntyneet] siihen, että hänestä tulisi *tuon jumalattoman koirjarin* vaimo p. 18

2b. Not only that, hers was a strict household; her parents could have agreed to her becoming the mistress of a cottage, but not the wife of “*a godless cheat*,” as Anna’s father dubbed his future son-in-law. p. 18

3a. Mutta kyllä *vanha äijä* oli sitä parempi. Teki ton Kustaankin vielä vanhoilla päivillänsä. p. 21

3b. But *the old man*’s tool is better than that hammer. He made Kustaa there in his old age. p. 23

4a. Poika oli *omalaatuinen koltainen*, omapäinen ja odottamaton luonteeltaan. p. 21

4b. He was *a headstrong boy*, with a freaky sense of humor—p. 24

5a. Hikisenä ja kömpelössä kiireessään sekä hosumisessaan melkeinpä säälistävänä *hengenmies* kärsi tappion hänelle vieraalla ja sopimattomalla alueella. p. 21

5b. Sweating, almost pitiable in his clumsy scrambling, *the man of intellect* suffered his defeat on this hostile foreign ground. p.24

6a. Kehtas *saatanan vitjamuna* tulla sanoon että mun hevoseni ei pärjää talon hevosille. p.

23

6b. *That piss-ass* had the nerve to come and tell me my horse couldn't keep up with his...

p. 26

7a. Ja *ämmä* ruikuttaa että villat on huonoja. p. 23

7b. And *his old lady* whining that the wool is no good. p. 26

8a. Se on semmonen *nutipää* kanssa. p. 23

8b. She's a *knucklehead* too. p. 26

9a. Tappas edes ukkonen senkin *helvetin kenopään*. p. 23

9b. I wish lightning would strike *that snooty bitch*. p. 26-27

10a. Ei helvetti naitettu ainakan *tota Hollon kenopäätä* meille. p. 24

10b. *That stuck-up Hollo* sure as hell didn't marry anyone of our kind... p. 29

11a. Kun kerran pääsis näyttään taivaan merkkiä *niille perkeleille*. p. 24

11b. Aiee, by God... if I could only read the stars for *those bastards* just one time. p. 29

12a. *saatanan vaivanen* siinä p. 26

12b. Don't you... *goddamned lamebrain*... p. 32

13a. ”Lyökää perkele, ei se muusta parane.” Mutta *nuoren pojankolttiaisen* sanat saattoi jättää huomioon ottamatta. p. 26

13b. ”Hit him, goddamn, nothing else will do any good.” But *the boy’s* spirited words could be ignored. p. 32

Chapter 2

14a. Ei *semmoselta huijarilta* hevosta uskalla ostaa. p. 30

14b. I don’t dare buy a horse from *such a swindler*. p. 39

15a. Vihtori oli vielä nuori mies, *retevä ja reimapuheinen häslääjä*. Touhukkaan puheensa välillä hän aina imaisi viiksiään, ja sanojen välillä kuului joskus aivan asiaton kiroustulva. p. 30

15b. Victor Kivioja was still a young man, *a boastful, fast-talking busybody*, who punctuated his words with pointless floods of profanity p. 39

16a. Katto ny *saatanan nulkki* mitä sinä teet! p. 38

16b. Look what you’re doing, *you goddamned bull-calf!* p. 51

17a. Ekkö *sinä perkele* osaa vielä hevosta ajaa? p. 38

17b. Can’t you drive a horse yet, *you bastard?* p. 51

18a. Ja ton suonki olet tommoseksi raiskannu... Sinä ny *erinomanen mäyrä* olet. p. 38

18b. And you’ve rooted up the whole swamp like that. You’re *quite a badger*. p. 52

19a. On *toi mörkö* näämmä jotakin aikaan saanu. p. 38

19b. *Grumpy there* seems to have got things done, all right. p. 52

20a. En minä siitä *helvetin takkutukasta* uskonu että se kykenee mukuloitakin tekeen, mutta on vaan näämmä. p. 38

20b. I didn't think *the devil of a burr-head* could make a baby, but it sure looks that way. p. 52

21a. Ja *aika möllikkä*. Kunnei sulla ole edes puntaria. Kyllä ylitte kymmenen naulan on kumminkin. p. 39

21b. *And a real bull-calf*. He must weigh at least ten pounds. p. 53

22a. Kyllä sinä [A:] *helvetin kitupiikki* saisit tolle [B:] *plikkaparaalle* joskus kahveenaulan ostaa. p. 39

22b. [A:] *You damned skinflint*, you could buy [B:] *that poor woman* a pound of coffee now and then. p. 54

23a. Hän oli jo puoliksi mies, *iso kolpuri*, mutta töitä hän ei tehnyt. p. 42

23b. He was halfway to manhood already, *a big lout* who did no work at all. p. 59

24a. Ja *toi saatanan hurri* ratsastelee ja kyttää perseen takana. p. 42

24b. And *that goddamned Swede* ridesaround spying on you behind your back. p. 59

Chapter 3

25a. Mutta toi korkeehattunen *oikein pösö* on. Mahakin kun talitynnyri. p. 49

25b. *What a fatty*, the one in the top hat. Belly like a lard barrel. p.73

26a. Katto *tota perkelettä*... Meneekö? Ottaa kädestä niin... On sitte jumalauta poika... p.

51

26b. Look at *that son-of-a-gun*... Is he going... He's taking her hand... Well, I'll be damned... That's all I can say. p. 75

27a. *Hyvät herrat*, älkää luulko että minä pitäisin sitä niin tärkeänä omasta puolestani-- p.

54

27b. *My good fellows*, do not think that I, for my part, consider the matter very important-- p. 80

28a. Täähän on parempi kun moni talo. *Sillä pakanalla* on viis lypsävääkin. p. 55

28b. This is better than many a landowner's farm. *The son-of-a-gun* even has five milking cows. p.81

29a. *Kaunis... pröökinä*...he, he... p. 62

29b. *Pretty lady*... heh, heh... p. 96

30a. Vihaavatko he *ryssiä*? p.63

30b. Do they hate the *Russians*? p.98

Chapter 4

31a. Silloin alkoi *kylänäijän* katse harittaa jonnekin kaukaiseen ja epämääräiseen päin... p.

66

31b. At that point, the eyes of *old parishioners* would wander to some vague, distant point, and they would give an answer so round and slippery that it offered nothing to seize on. p.

101

32a. No jo ny on maailmankirjat sekasin, kunnei *tommosta kloppia* totteleen saa... p. 70

32b. Well now, the world is in a fine state when you can't get *a pup like that* to obey. p.

109

33a. Voimme pelastaa siten edes yhden *ihmistaimen* kuolemasta nälkään ja täihin. p. 74

33b. We'll be able to save at least *one human being* from dying of hunger and lice. p. 117

34a. Hiljaa siellä! *Te siivottomat metsäläiset!* p. 77

34b. Quiet back there! *You uncivilized bushmen!* p. 121

35a. Minä opetan teidät ihmistavoille, *te kinnasniemen jälkeläiset.* p. 77

35b. I'll teach you to act like human beings, *you sons of mitten-noses.* p. 121

36a. Sinä Kivivuoren *iilis...kot...ti.* p. 77

36b. Kivivuori, you *hedgehog...* p. 122

37a. Sinä... sinä... *irvileuka* p. 77

37b. You... you *ape* p. 122

38a. sinä... *hampuusi* p. 77

38b. you... *ass*... p. 122

39a. Mihin tämä maa joutuu teidän takianne... *Te maankiertäjänalut* p. 79

39b. What will this country come to with the likes of you... *You vagabond louts*.p. 122

40a. Teistäkö minun pitäisi tehdä ihmisiä, *te tiikerinpennut?* p. 79

40b. Am I supposed to make human beings out of you, *you tiger cubs?* p. 124

41a. Mikä *erinomanen iili* sekini on... p. 88

41b. What a *weird leech* he is... p. 137

Chapter 5

42a. Vikki tuli markkinoilta reessään *reppuryssä* Timofei... p. 94

42b. Victor was returning from the market with a *Russian pack-peddler*, Timofei, whom he had picked up along the way. p. 148

43a. Kankaanpään Elias-poika, *oikea pirultariivattu suurkelmin alku*, niin kuin sanottiin, teki myös parhaansa. p. 95

43b. The Kankaanpää's son Elias, *a real imp of the devil's brood*, as they called him, did his worst to harass Timofei. p. 151

- 44a. Se on *Bobbanin* temppu, jolla hän sekoittaa kansan ajatuksia... p. 98
- 44b. They are *Bobrikoff's* tricks to confuse the people, but he won't succeed. p. 153
- 45a. No, se on semmonen *jurko*. "Mitä se merkitsee?" p. 102
- 45b. Well, he's a kind of a *crank*. "What does that mean?" p. 160
- 46a. Vähän samaa kuin *möyry*. "-- Ovatko ne kansankielen sanoja? "-- p. 102
- 46b. Sort of a *grouch* "--Are those words part of the language of the people? --" p. 160
- 47a. -- Se on kyllä muutakin. *Juro* oikeastaan. p. 102
- 47b. -- He's other things as well. *Tight-lipped*, really. p. 160
- 48a. Ei siellä tarvita vaatteita ja jalkineita kuluttamassa, ja opettelemassa niitten *hampparinalkujen* konsteja. p. 106
- 48b. You'll only wear out shoe leather and clothing there, and learn all kinds of tricks from those *budding hobo*s. p. 167
- 49a. Ja nyt *möllit*. Kotio joka sorkka. p. 108
- 49b. And now home, *you louts*, every one of you. p. 171

Chapter 6

- 50a. Ei Jumala lähetä maitoo meijeriin... *Toi papin saatana* se on joka ne vie. p. 118
- 50b. God doesn't ship milk to the cooperative... *That goddamn preacher* is the one who does. p. 189

51a. Mutta sen minä sanon että tän pojaan niska ei taivu *maan ryöstäjien* edessä. p. 118

51b. But I tell you this neck will not bow to *those thieves*. p. 189

52a. On se hyvä että mä ehdin käydä rippikoulun enne, ettei mun tarvitse sen *helvetin lampaan* mäkimistä enää kuunnella. p. 118

52b. It's a good thing I'm through with confirmation. At least I won't have to listen to the bleating of *that lamb of hell*. p.189

53a. Äläs ny sentään... Olkoon kuinka hyvänsä, niin se on sentään *Jumalan palvelija*. p. 118

53b. Now don't... really. No matter what, he is still the *servant of God*. p.189

54a. Mhy... *Perkeleen palvelija* se on... Ja oikein pääpirun palvelija onkin. p. 118

54b. Hah... He's *the servant of the devil*, and the very top devil to boot. p. 189

55a. *Saatanan paskavarvas*... Vartoo jahka tullaan isommaks... Voit saada keklun keuhkois... p. 122

55b. *Goddamn shithead*... wait till I grow up... You might get a knife in your lungs. p. 196

56a. Mutta joku tyttö saattoi olla jo erikoismielenkiinnon kohteena. Se ilmaistiin sanomalla: ”On siinä *nätti natu*”. p. 123

56b. A particular girl might already be the object of special attention, which they showed by saying, “That's a *pretty chick*.” p. 197

57a. Se Koskelan poika on vähän erilainen kun *noi toiset hunsvotit*. Se ajaa koneitakin pappilassa... p. 123

57b. That Koskela boy is different from *those other good-for-nothings*. He's even driving a machine at the parsonage... p. 197

58a. [Otto] oli kerrankin vakava sanoessaan: ”Mutta sinä poika olet *aika saatana*”. Se oli mieleistä puhetta. p. 123

58b. Otto paid him handsomely, more than was profitable, and for once he was serious and said, “You’re *a real demon*...” p. 198

Chapter 7

59a. Mutta pojan itsensä oli lähdeittävä, ja sen hän teki mielellään – annettuaan sitä ennen kuitenkin enoiaan selkään tämän nimitettyä hänen äitiään [A:] *huoraksi* ja häntä itseään [B:] *sälliksi*. p. 135

59b. The boy himself had to leave, which he did willingly, first having beaten his uncle for calling his mother a [A:] *whore* and himself a [B:] *tramp*. p. 216

60a. Sanos onko *se Lyytin mukula* sinun tekojas. p. 138

60b. Tell me, is that *Lydia's brat* your work? p. 218

61a. Lakkaakkos sinä *poika perkele* kiusaamasta sitä hullua. p. 140

61b. *You goddamned boy*, stop teasing the idiot! p. 224

62a. Kauppa tähän tontille perustetaan sille sen veljelle, yhdelle *helvetin mätämunalle*. p. 141

62b. They're going to put up a store here for his brother, *that pus-balls*. p. 224

63a. Määräpäivänä lähdet, ja jolles sovinnolla lähde, niin tulee *kiiltävänappiset* paneen torpan tyhjäksi. p. 142

63b. You'll leave on the appointed day, and if you won't go peacefully, *the brass buttons* will come to clear out the place. p. 228

64a. Kylläs *perkeleen vitjamuna* sen vielä edestäs löydät. Mutta maantielle et mua muuton saa kun raatona. p. 143

64b. *That goddamn brass-balls* is going to find out yet. The only way they'll put me on the road is as a corpse. p. 230

65a. Ahne on kun perkele mutta tommosena *saatanan lonttoposkena* pysyy... minkä helvettiin se oikein ahmii... p. 144

65b. He's as gluttonous as the devil but stays the same *goddamned sunken-cheeked*... Where the hell does he stuff it all...? p. 230

66a. Mutta minä sanon sillekin *helvetin huithapelille* että tässä ei kiemurrella. p. 147

66b. But I told *that goddamn pantywaist* there would be no wriggling and squirming here. p. 234

67a. Juu. *Oikein emänoske* perkele. Kaikkia sitä kanssa työväen äänillä eduskuntaan valitaan. p. 148

67b. Ya-ah, a *real goddamned mother-pol*. The things they pick for the legislature with workers' votes. p. 236

68a. Kailottakaa ny kurkku suorana, *perkeleet*. p. 151

68b. Screech with your necks stretched out, *you bastards!* p. 240

69a. Repisin silmät päästäks mutta kus olet tommonen onneton... [A:] *kapakala*... [B:] *Kenopää*. p. 155

69b. I'd scratch your eyes out, but you're such a miserable... [A:] *dried fish*... [B:] *nose-in-the-air* p. 245

70a. *Saatanan sapelirosvo*... Eikö sullakan muuta tehtävää ole kun ajaa lapsia lumeen? p. 156

70b. *Goddamned saber-bandit*... Haven't you got anything else to do than drive children out into the snow? p. 246

71a. Häpee *helvetin nappiniekka* p. 156

71b. Shame on you, *you brass-buttoned dummy from hell*. p. 246

72a. [pieni poika huutaa] ittu... ittu... *saatanan perkeleet*. p. 156

72b. ...F—, f—, f—... *goddamn devils* p. 246

Chapter 8

73a. [A:] *Suomettarelaisella nylkyri-isännällä* ja [B:] *ruotsinkielisellä häätäjäparooni-
verenimijällä* on kuin onkin jotain eroa. Nimittäin kieli. p. 162

73b. Well, there is a kind of difference between [A:] *the Suometar-skinflint-landlords* and
the [B:] *Swedish-bloodsucker-evictor barons*. They speak a different language. p. 255

74a. Paroni katseli muutaman hetken Halmetta pyöreällä, seisovalla katseellaan, ikään kuin
mitaten mahtinsa voimaa tuohon *miehenkuikeloon*. p. 164

74b. The baron looked at Halme for a few moments from his round, prominent eyes, as if
measuring his strength against *this scarecrow of a man*. p. 258

75a. Mutta sen minä sanon että nuo *papinpenikat* kukkoilevat liiaksi. p. 174

75b. But I will say one thing. Those *puppy preachers* strut too much. p. 275

76a. Meinaakos se oikein vakituisesti? Ei varmasti... Sehän on vähän *höhläkin*. p. 178

76b. Does he really mean to? It can't be... He's too much of a *clown*. p. 284

77a. Eivät he sinne saakaan kuin nuo muutamat *kellokkaansa*. Ei kansa luota heihin. p. 181

77b. They will elect no one, except for a few of their *bellwethers*. The people don't trust
them. p. 290

78a. Kaikkihan se oli vallan erinomaista, mutta saavatko sellaiset *prilliniekat* mitään
aikaan p. 186

78b. That was all fine and dandy, but would such *pinch-noses* ever get anything done. p. 299

Chapter 9

79a. Vain *laiskat lurjukset* puutteessa oman syyn kautta. p. 200

79b. Only *lazy hobo*s have need by own fault. p. 321

80a. Se *koukku* präkötti... ja sitä riitti. Se piti minua oikein semmosena silmätikkuna. p. 201

80b. that *hook-nose* kept quacking away... it was too much. p. 322

81a. Sua mun oli ikäväni... joskus... Sua *pikku plikka* minä aattelin välillä. p. 201

81b. I missed you... sometimes... I thought of you, *little girl*, sometimes. p. 322

82a. Nyt *vitjamuna* ollaan yhteisellä maantiellä. p. 201

82b. Now, *you brassballs*, we're on the common road. p. 323

83a. Ny *saatanan lonttoposki* koitetaan... Tältä tontilta ei häädetä kerjäläistäkään ettäs tiet. p. 201

83b. Now let's try it... *You skull-face*... Even beggars aren't evicted from this lot, you know. p. 323

84a. Pidä suus kiini *saatanan viuru*. Painu pitkin kruunun sarkaa vaan. p. 206

84b. Keep your mouth shut, *you goddamned crooked face*. Just keep walking. p. 331

85a. *Erinomanen vempula* on... Vaikka mitäs... Semmonen on isäkin...pontikkaa vaan imetään. p. 206

85b. He's *such a good-for-nothing*... But what do you expect... Like his father... All he does is lap up booze... p. 331

86a. Kuinka arkiselta Koskela nyt tuntuikaan. Mistä he ovat? *Selviä metsäläisiä*. Koko Kivivuori muutti sävyään hänen mielessään. p. 207

86b. And how common the Koskela place seemed now. Who were they anyway? *Out-and-out bumpkins*. p. 333

87a. Mutta kun hän Elinan mentyä jäi yksikseen istumaan, ilmestyi hänen silmiinsä jotakin mietteliästä. *Vanhan suupaltin isän* sydämässä tuntui ilkeältä. p. 208

87b. But when Elina left him sitting alone, a brooding look came into his eyes. *The old chatterbox* felt pain in his heart. p. 334

Chapter 10

88a. Äiti sai häihin puvun. Mutta isän suhteen poika teki turhaa työtä. Puhui hän mitä hyvänsä, *kärisevä, ärtyinen äijä* piti sisukkaasti puolensa. p. 223

88b. His mother got a new dress for the wedding, but the boy's efforts were wasted on his father. Say what he would, *the crotchety, fuming old man* stubbornly held his own. p. 357

89a. Mutta otetaas voileipää nyt ettei *muijaväki* hermostu kun he kerran laittaneet on. p.

89b. Let's have a snack now so that *the women* won't start to worry, since they've gone to the trouble of making them. p. 363

90a. *Saatanan kuikka*... Olis ollu toinen paikka, niin olisin kourannu vähän pilliä ja koittanu minkälainen ääni siinä on. p. 241

90b. *Damned crane*... if we had been somewhere else, I would have grabbed his pipes to find out what kind of sound comes out. p. 383

91a. Sen hän sanoi kadulla Elinalle ettei tämä vain luulisi häntä kykenemättömäksi vastaamaan omalla tavallaan näiden *kekkeruusien* härnäilyyn. p. 241

91b. He said it to Elina in the street to keep her from thinking that he could not respond in his own way to the harassments of these *pantywaists*. p. 383

92a. Muutenkaan hän ei enää ollut se levoton ja villi ”*papinpenikka*”, jonkalaisena hän pikkupoikana oli tullut tunnetuksi. p. 245

92b. In some respects, he was no longer the wild and restless ”*parsonage puppy*,” his familiar childhood nickname. p. 390

93a. Minä tiedän jo... Vuoroon Oskarin kanssa... Kamalaa...molemmat...puhutte yhdessä varmasti... *Siat*... p. 246

93b. I already know... Taking turns with Oskar... Horrible...both of you... you probably told each other about it... *Pigs*... p. 391

94a. *eläimet*... p. 246

94b. *animals*... p. 391

95a. *pukit*... p. 246

95b. *bucks*... p. 391

96a. *inhottavat*... *inhottavat elukat*. p. 246

96b. *disgusting*... *disgusting animals*. p. 391

97a. *Vie sille*...*vie sen votkon sormeen*... p. 246

97b. *Take it to her*... *Put it on that slut's finger*... p. 392

98a. *sen lohnakkeen*... *Vie*... p. 246

98b. *that whore for everyone to ride*... *Take it*... p. 392

99a. *Et sinä mitään tapa*...*kun menet sen votakan kanssa saunaan*... *Ja mene vaan*... p. 246

99b. *You won't kill anything*... *you'll just go to the sauna with that slut*... *So go*... *just go*... p. 392

Appendix 2: Results of the questionnaire

No. of example	Weakened	Strengthened	Equal strength	To	About	Votes total
1	2	6	5	x		13
2	6	5	2		x	13
3	11	1	1		x	13
4	10	3	0		x	13
5	9	3	1		x	13
6	13	0	0		x	13
7	13	0	0		x	13
8	6	4	3		x	13
9	5	5	3		x	13
10	10	2	1		x	13
11	12	0	1		x	13
12	9	1	3	x		13
13	13	0	0		x	13
14	4	0	9		x	13
15	13	0	0		x	13
16	10	1	2	x		13
17	12	1	0	x		13
18	7	1	5	x		13
19	11	0	2		x	13
20	10	3	0		x	13
21	10	0	3		x	13
22A	12	1	0	x		13
22B	13	0	0	x		13
23	8	2	3		x	13
24	13	0	0		x	13
25	6	4	3		x	13
26	13	0	0		x	13
27	1	4	8	x		13
28	9	3	1		x	13
29	13	0	0		x	13
30	13	0	0		x	13
31	13	0	0		x	13
32	10	0	3		x	13
33	13	0	0		x	13
34	6	2	5	x		13
35	11	2	0	x		13
36	13	0	0	x		13
37	8	4	1	x		13
38	8	4	1	x		13
39	2	5	6	x		13
40	3	0	10	x		13
41	4	8	1		x	13
42	13	0	0		x	13
43	9	4	0		x	13
44	11	0	2		x	13
45	9	1	3		x	13
46	10	1	2		x	13

No. of example	Weakened	Strengthened	Equal strength	To	About	Votes total
47	11	0	2		x	13
48	7	1	5		x	13
49	10	2	1	x		13
50	13	0	0		x	13
51	12	0	1		x	13
52	3	5	5		x	13
53	3	0	10		x	13
54	8	1	4		x	13
55	11	0	2	x		13
56	13	0	0		x	13
57	8	3	2		x	13
58	12	1	0	x		13
59A	4	4	5		x	13
59B	4	5	4		x	13
60	5	8	0		x	13
61	12	0	1	x		13
62	6	5	2		x	13
63	6	0	7		x	13
64	12	1	0	x		13
65	13	0	0		x	13
66	8	1	4		x	13
67	13	0	0		x	13
68	11	1	1	x		13
69A	13	0	0	x		13
69B	13	0	0	x		13
70	13	0	0	x		13
71	7	5	1	x		13
72	13	0	0	x		13
73A	10	0	3		x	13
73B	10	0	3		x	13
74	5	6	2		x	13
75	10	0	3		x	13
76	8	4	1		x	13
77	9	0	4		x	13
78	9	0	4		x	13
79	9	3	1		x	13
80	5	4	4		x	13
81	13	0	0	x		13
82	13	0	0	x		13
83	11	2	0	x		13
84	13	0	0	x		13
85	8	5	0		x	13
86	7	6	0		x	13
87	9	2	2		x	13
88	11	2	0		x	13
89	13	0	0		x	13
90	13	0	0		x	13
91	13	0	0		x	13
92	10	0	3		x	13

No. of example	Weakened	Strengthened	Equal strength	To	About	Votes total
93	3	2	8	x		13
94	1	1	11	x		13
95	9	0	4	x		13
96	9	3	1	x		13
97	6	7	0		x	13
98	4	9	0		x	13
99	3	6	4		x	13

Total	78	4	21	34	69	103
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