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Discourse and ideology in translated children's literature: a comparative study

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ABSTRACT

In this paper, we examine changes children's literature frequently undergo when translated. Specifically, we investigate how the ideological manipulation of originals leads to shifts in these translations. We use a multilingual corpus of English children's books translated into German, Greek, Korean, Spanish and Arabic. German and Greek translations are discussed intensively with some space given to translations into the other languages, where analyses are at an initial stage. In our comparative study we investigate the liberties taken by translators in their covert translations (House, J. (2015). *Translation quality assessment: Past and present*. London: Routledge) into different languages. Preliminary findings reveal shifts that highlight (a) underlying cross-cultural discourse preferences reflected in the translations through massive 'cultural filtering', (b) ideological leanings of translators who tacitly guide reader assumptions, and (c) educational adjustments to stock societal assumptions and 'official' ideas.

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'A language is not complete if there are no translations of the Bible, Shakespeare and Alice in Wonderland.'[1]
Curiouser and Curiouser in Translation

1. Introduction

Although it occupies an important part of literary tradition and practice, translated children's literature (TChL) has been largely sidelined and left outside the scope of research in literary translation studies. Notable exceptions are Reiss (1982), Shavit (1986), Ben-Ari (1992), Stephens (1992) and O'Sullivan (1994), and more recently Oittinen (2000), House (2004), Van Collie and Verschueren (2006), Lathey (2010) and Ruzicka Kenfel (2014). Still, translators of children's books have rarely received the credit they deserve. The unfortunate consequence of the neglect of children's literature is that important sociolinguistic features have not been integrated into translation studies research. Luckily, in recent years, TChL has been gaining the necessary academic recognition.

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We welcome this development for two reasons; the first and most immediate one relates to the possibility of gaining deeper insight into children's literature and its translation as a culturally and ideologically situated activity; the second reason refers to raising awareness of the primary and secondary addressees of translated children's literature. This paper contributes to foregrounding TChL as products involved in socio-linguistically interesting and culturally rich processes, involving cross-cultural similarities and differences as well as ideological nuances.

TChL is an interesting and worthwhile field of study because it is related to children's socialization (Tucker, 1981; Zipes, 1983), with stories that play a formative role in children's first years of life and that help them from an early age to understand the world of adults around them. It is true that, when it comes to literature, children are left to the mercy of adults: they are dependent on parents or translators, who are engaged with the selection of books to be read and translated. Hence, children find themselves in an 'asymmetrical relationship' with those on whom their socialization depends. As House (2004) has pointed out, children 'have relatively little experience with books and media, and are therefore especially open to influences by the suggestive forces of the text' (p. 684).

Since parents, let alone children, are often not in a position to identify discursive shifts and manipulations of original texts in the translation they are exposed to, research in this genre becomes critically important. It is interesting to note that such massive 'cultural filtering' (House, 1997, 2015) is particularly widespread in translations of children's literature, where translators, editors and publishers apparently feel at liberty to change original texts to produce imagined effects.

Following a brief review of TChL, we will examine different levels of manipulations of children's literature using contrastive discourse analysis. We claim that by taking a discourse approach to the manipulations, we can throw light both on certain translation choices and on the effects they produce. We mainly use a trilingual corpus of English–Greek–German, presenting examples that are indicative of discursive shifts.

The focus on cross-textual examples ensures a bottom-up approach that allows us more easily to (a) detect selective appropriations (Baker, 2006) of source material, (b) trace patterns behind seemingly random alterations of source text (ST) material in the translation, (c) follow the discursive routines that relate to communicative behavior (explicitness/implicitness or directness/indirectness, and (d) reveal discursive shifts that tell us how children are being led into the world of adults through various manipulations.

2. Literature review

The number of children's books translated from English into German and Greek amounts for more than 60 percent for German and 70 percent for Greek (source: Börsenverein des Deutschen Buchhandels for German and National Book Center for Greece). Interestingly enough, as House (2004) remarked, the direct addressees of these translations, i.e. children, and most likely parents, often do not perceive them as such; rather, they are under the impression that the translations are original writings. The result is that manipulation of the original text in the translation escapes them.

Researchers have recognized that TChl is underrepresented in scholarly research. For example, Arizpe (2008) stated that research into TChl has only recently begun. Lathey

(2010) discussed the challenging issue of adaptation in children's translated texts. Translators adapt culture-specific concepts under the assumption that children in the target culture lack the required knowledge or experience and that their limited capacity to assimilate 'exotic elements' calls for alternatives that appear to be more familiar to children. Attention has also been paid to translators: Lathey (2010) outlined the history of translated children's literature in English and presented the motivations of translators working for child audiences. Popular translation strategies include adaptation, censorship and abridgements to ensure that the resulting texts suit translators' and editors' moral, religious or political purposes.

The amount of liberty that translators take with children's books has been a persistent topic particularly because research has shown that children's books tend to be translated 'covertly' (House, 2004, p. 684) which means an increased tendency for translators to employ cultural filtering (House, 1997, 2016). In the process of cultural filtering, the ST undergoes systematic rearrangements and major adaptations to target culture norms. One of the reasons for such interventions is translators' (and editors'!) wish to increase the translated text's assumed readability and acceptability by children and parents. This means that the translated text becomes part and parcel of the target cultural norms and expectations and is stripped of any 'foreignness'. Children, therefore, remain blind to cultural phenomena that might enlarge their horizons by showing them a different, albeit alien, cultural context. Interestingly, while the case of cultural filtering and the distinction between overt and covert translation has been investigated in the translation of literature (cf. Venuti's, 1995 distinction between domestication and foreignization), in the case of TChL there is not much awareness and generally 'too much is altered and unnecessarily adapted to local conditions' (Stolt, 1978, p. 137).

In this article, we try to unravel the various discursive filtering strategies used by translators of ChL. We do this from two related perspectives: a descriptive one where we focus on the type of strategies translators use to translate children's literature, and an interpretative one where we try to reveal the effect these strategies produce on the level of the clause (micro-level) and then relate these micro-level changes to how they influence the interpretation by readers. Our analysis looks at discovering text-internal features and discourse-internal structures that impact on text-external or sociocultural specificities.

3. Discourse analysis of selected translations

To analyze manipulations that occur in translations of English children's literature into Greek and German, we have compiled a corpus of books translated into these two languages. For Greek, examples come from the Greek translation of Michael Bond's *A Bear Called Paddington*, Alan Alexander Milne's *Winnie-the Pooh* and Frances Hodgson's *Little Lord Fauntleroy*. For German, we also draw on translations of Michael Bond's *A Bear Called Paddington* and on translations of Jill Murphy's *All in One Piece* and *Peace at Last*. The selection of books was based on both availability of translations in both languages and accessibility to them. Our corpus offers evidence of covert translation, shifts and manipulations along textual and socio-cultural dimensions. These categories were the most frequently encountered throughout the corpus and the strongest ones following the cross-textual comparison. The analysis below contributes to empirical cross-cultural and cross-textual research across three languages

(English, Greek and German) and finds support from examples of other languages, such as Spanish and Korean. The main dimensions that have been identified from the analysis are:

1) *sentimentalization and/or infantilization*
2) *politeness* patterns varying along a cline of directness/indirectness.
3) *content explication*
4) *genre specificity* by using different contextual cues
5) variations in rendering *humor*
6) manipulation of *social identities*
7) *cultural-filtering* longitudinally.

Although the above dimensions are presented separately, they often overlap and are porous in nature. For example, content explication may have an impact on the dramatizing or infantilizing function of an utterance.

3.1. Sentimentalization and infantilization

Here, we find shifts that are consistent with a tendency to take increased liberties in TChL in order to overdramatize and increase the sentimental effect on addressees. The examples below are from the Greek corpus and show an embedded dramatized discourse changing the original's much less dramatized phrase. We can see a discursive shift that reveals a certain ideological imposition on the child addressees, 'indexing them' as subjects in need of guidance.

In the example below, we see an addition in the translation of the phrase *αγοράκι μου* (**GLOSS**: *my little boy*). The use of the diminutive amplifies the emotional impact enacted in the translated text and creates a different socio-pragmatic balance than that of the original.

ORG: *Little Lord Fauntleroy, 1886*	***TRS:*** *Ο Μικρός Λόρδος, 1994*	***GLOSS:***
Yes, he is well' she sobbed; 'he is quite, quite well but we –we have no one left but each other. No one at all.	*Ο μπαμπάς σου, αγοράκι μου, είναι τώρα καλά, είπε τέλος μ'αναφυλλητά. Είναι πολύ καλά εκεί που βρίσκεται … Εμείς όμως δεν έχουμε πια άλλον στον κόσμο, παρά εγώ εσένα και συ εμένα*	*Your dad, Oh my little boy, is well now she said sobbing. He is very well where he is … But we now have no one else in the world, there is only you for me and I for you.*

Similar cases of sentimentalization and infantilization can be found in several German translations of ChL. Here is one example, taken from the picture book *All in One Piece* and its German translation *Schönen Abend, Mama Elefant.* Already, the title of the German translation shows what type of sentimentalized and infantilized text awaits the reader. While the original refers to the main characters (elephants) as *Mrs. Large* and her child as *Lester***,** the German translation refers to them as *Mutter Elefant* (**GLOSS**: *Mother Elefant*) and *Elefantinchen* (a diminutive of *Elefant*).

In another example from *Peace at Last*, we again witness the discourse strategy of sentimentalization in the German translation. Compare:

ORG: *Peace at Last, 1980*	***TRS:*** *Keine Ruh für Vater Bär, 1981*	***GLOSS:***
It was cold in the car and uncomfortable, but Mr Bear was so	*Es war kalt und unbequem im Auto, aber Vater Bär war so müde, dass er es*	*It was cold and uncomfortable in the car. But Father Bear was so tired that*

tired that he didn't notice. He was just falling asleep, when all the birds started to sing.	*gar nicht merkte. Die Augen fielen ihm zu. Er war schon fast eingeschlafen, da fingen die Vögel zu singen an.*	*he didn't notice at all. His eyes closed on him. He was nearly asleep when the birds started to sing.*

The phrase '*Die Augen fielen ihm zu*' is indexical of a fairy tale, and it effectively infantilizes the English original's neutral account. Infantilization is a consistent discursive move realized by the Greek translator in Bond's *A Bear Called Paddington*. In the Greek text there are several instances where the lexical item *daughter* is turned into *our little girl* (**GLOSS**: *κορούλα μας*).

ORG:	***TRS:***	***GLOSS:***
A Bear Called Paddington, 1958	*Ένα Αρκουδάκι που το λένε Πάντινγκτον, 2009*	
Mrs. Brown stood up. 'Good. Now, Paddington, I have to meet our girl, Judy, off the train.'	*Ωραία, είπε η κυρία Μπράουν και αναστηκώθηκε. Και τώρα, Πάντινγτον, πρέπει να παραλάβω την Τζούντι, την κορούλα μας, από το τρένο.*	*Good, Mrs. Brown said and stood up. And now, Paddington, I have to meet our little daughter, Judy, at the train.*

Similarly, the bear Paddington, translated as *αρκουδάκι*, is often sentimentalized by the addition of 'little' or 'poor' (**GLOSS**: *μικρό μου αρκουδάκι or καημένο αρκουδάκι*).The use of diminutives or of terms of affection and endearment (*dear, poor, my little*) add an infantilizing effect and clearly changes the interpersonal relationship that the child establishes with the characters of the book.

3.2. Negotiating politeness

It has been shown (see Blum-Kulka, 1997) that the nature and degree of politeness and its discursive realization(s) vary cross-culturally. Scholars have also pointed to the 'chameleon-like' character of politeness (Watts, 2003), shedding light on how politeness is negotiated in discourse in particular communities of practice (Mills, 2003). Below, we illustrate with examples varying ways of tailoring politeness to the cultural norms of target cultures.

In Bond's *A Bear Called Paddington*, the Greek translation tends to lose subtle markers of indirectness that are salient in the original. The Greek translation is generally more explicit and direct, a pattern tolerated and favored by members of the Greek culture (Sifianou, 1992). The translation is also full of discursive manipulations of politeness and (in)directness in the way the bear is treated by others and how he treats others. This is evident in the example below, where Mr. Brown wants to find a taxi to take Paddington home.

ORG:	***TRS:***	***GLOSS:***
A Bear Called Paddington, 1958	*Ένα Αρκουδάκι που το λένε Πάντινγκτον, 2009*	
Mr. Brown coughed. He had just caught the stern eye of a waitress on the other side of the counter. 'Perhaps,' he said, 'we'd better go. I'll see if I can find us a taxi'. He picked up Judy's belongings and hurried outside.	*Ο κύριος Μπράουν ξερόβηξε. Είχε μόλις προσέξει το βλοσυρό βλέμμα μιας σερβιτόρας πίσω από το ταμείο. -Ας φύγουμε. Είπε. Θα ψάξω να βρω ταξί.*	*Mr. Brown coughed. He had just noticed the stern eye of a waitress on the other side of the counter. -We'd better go. He said. I'll look for a taxi.*

The translation clearly misses out on the indirectness expressed in the ST by the use of *perhaps* and *we'd better*. In addition, the source sentence *I'll see if I can find us a taxi* is completely stripped of its constituent elements and is rendered in Greek by a simple *I'll look for a taxi*. Whereas the original expresses a kind of solidarity politeness (Blum-Kulka, 1997) when the father addresses the whole family, taking on the role of manager of practical details, the Greek version selectively appropriates the sentence by omitting key elements.

There are several interesting examples of politeness manipulation in Bond's book where changes in politeness may also imply changes in the construction of characters and their social identities. The following example shows how the construction of Mrs. Bird's character is manipulated. Here, the formulaic politeness expression *I suppose you'll be wanting tea*, which implies an almost certain positive reply, is lost in the translation, where it is rendered by a direct question *Do you want tea?* – which by no means implies a positive reply.

ORG: *A Bear Called Paddington, 1958*	**TRS:** *Ένα Αρκουδάκι που το λένε Πάντινγκτον, 2009*	**GLOSS:**
When she saw Judy she raised her hands above her head. 'Goodness gracious, you've arrived already,' she said, in horror. 'And me hardly finished the washing up. I suppose you'll be wanting tea?'.	*Χριστέ μου, γυρίσατε κιόλας, είπε τρομοκρατημένη η κυρία Μπρεντ, σηκώνοντας ψηλά τα δυο της χέρια, όταν αντίκρυσε την Τζούντι. Μόλις τώρα τελείωσα το πλύσιμο των πιάτων. Θέλετε τσάι; Συνέχισε.*	*'Goodness gracious, you've arrived already,' said Mrs. Bird and raised her hands as soon as she saw Judy. 'I just finished doing the dishes'. Do you want tea? She carried on.*

Using discourse strategies to manipulate indirectness and politeness is also highly frequent in German translations of English children's books. In *All in One Piece*, we find a passage describing how the grandmother, who acts as babysitter for her grandchildren, gives the children something to do. Unlike the original, the German translation features a direct order and justifies it more extensively. Clearly, the character of this Granny is constructed in a more negative way in German.

ORG: *All in one Piece, 1987*	**TRS:** *Schönen Abend, Mama Elefant, 1988*	**GLOSS:**
Granny gave them some painting to do while she tidied up.	*Malt mir ein schönes Bild,' sagte Oma zu den Kindern, um Ruhe zum Zusammenräumen zu haben.*	*'Paint me a nice picture,' said Granny in order to have some peace and quiet for tidying up.*

In Michael Bond's *A Bear Called Paddington*, we also find many examples where the German translation differs from the original in terms of (in)directness and politeness. Here is one of many examples (where Mr. Brown is offering Paddington something to eat):

ORG: *A Bear Called Paddington, 1958*	**TRS:** *Paddington. Unser kleiner Bär, 1968*	**GLOSS:**
'I'm sorry they haven't anything with marmalade, but they were the best I could get'.	*Hier gibt es eben nichts mit Marmelade.*	*There was nothing with marmalade.*

In the German translation, Mr. Brown's utterance is clearly less polite, as he gives the impression that he does not really care about Paddington's preferences. The original also reveals an apologetic stance taken by Mr. Brown. One could argue that the ST is overpolite, while the target text silences both the apology and any signs of politeness that go with it.

All these manipulations of politeness and (in)directness in the process of cultural filtering in covert translations into German may reflect the translator's attempt to adjust the translation to assumed German communicative norms and expectations (House, 2006). However, it is quite unclear whether such adjustment is needed or indeed justified.

Although there is, of course, no direct English correspondence to the German *du–Sie* distinction, levels of formality can be achieved in English with other pragma-linguistic markers. In the case of *A Bear called Paddington*, where Paddington has many dealings

with people in official contexts, one would expect the use of the German *Sie* form – the polite form indexing nonfamiliarity. This is, however, not done in the German translation, where the familiar *Du* form is used consistently throughout the translation. The result is a change in tenor (more direct, blunter). Consider the following example, where Paddington is addressed by a bank manager:

ORG:	***TRS:***	***GLOSS:***
A Bear Called Paddington, 1958	*Paddington. Unser kleiner Bär, 1968*	
'I do hope you won't close your account, Mr Brown'.	*'Ich hoffe, Du wirst weiterhin Kunde unserer Bank bleiben'.*	*I hope you continue to be a customer of our bank.*

The translation omits the 'Mr Brown' address, presumably in order to justify the '*Du*' form which would jar with 'Mr Brown'. In this example, and many others in the German translation, the *Sie* form, which signals social distance and politeness, would certainly be more appropriate. In a sense, the use of *Du* in interactions with Paddington is also a sign of infantilization.

3.3. Content explicitation

Although there are signs of the so-called explication hypothesis universally occurring in translation, (cf. Blum-Kulka, 1986, who also linked explicitation with cohesion), in this article we refer to content explicitation as translators' preference for disambiguating and explaining the content of the original in order to make the translation more accessible, in reality 'spoon-feeding' it to readers. Clearly, explicitation of content changes the way the story progresses. Addressees are more closely guided through the story, and much less is left to their own imagination to construct and negotiate the content and engage in their own meaning-making. This tendency to 'spell it all out' seems to be present in both the Greek and German corpus. The German tendency to be maximally explicit has also been empirically shown in numerous contrastive English–German discourse analyses with different genres and methodologies (for a summary, see House, 2006, 2016).

When we are introduced to the story in Hodgson's *Little Lord Fauntleroy,* we are given a description of Cedric. Here, the Greek translation engages in meticulous *ad hoc* additions of explanatory phrases. In the example below, the translation adds the sentence *She was proud of his beauty and of his good manners* to explain why Maria is proud of Cedric and to introduce readers to his character.

ORG:	***TRS:***	***GLOSS:***
Little Lord Fauntleroy, 1886	*Little Lord Fauntleroy, 1994*	
Mary was very fond of him, and very proud of him too.	*Η κυρά Μαρία αγαπούσε πολύ τον Σέντρικ. Ήταν περήφανη για την ομορφιά του, για τους καθώς πρέπει τρόπους του.*	*Mrs. Maria loved Cedric very much. She was proud of his beauty and of his good manners.*

An interesting case of content explicitation occurs in *Winnie the Pooh,* where Greek readers are given an explanation for the name *Winnie*. This loss of implicitness embedded in the original may also reflect an ideologically saturated 'emancipatory bias' exerted by parents in dictating to children certain rules of social behavior and conduct:

ORG:	***TRS:***	***GLOSS:***
Winnie- the-Pooh, 1992	*Η Γουίννυ-ο-Πουφ, 1996*	

'Then you can't call him Winnie?'	*«Τότε γιατί τον λες 'Γουίννυ';Είναι κοριτσίστικο όνομα δεν μπορείς να τον λες έτσι».*	*'Winnie'? This is because it is a girl's name and you cannot call him that.*

As far as the German translations of English children's books are concerned, making expressions more explicit and enriching them with much detail is a pervasive trend indeed. This means that addressees' responses to the German translations are more predetermined and calculable, i.e. much less is left for addressees to negotiate meanings on their own. In general, the German translations seem to follow an aesthetic of 'spelling things out' to make sure that the message gets across, whereas the English originals tend to follow an aesthetic of implicitness, innuendo and suggestion. When we attempt to link this tendency towards making expressions more explicit to politeness, we can say that this relationship is ambiguous: on the one hand, expressions may become infused with positive politeness as addressees are assisted in understanding the meaning of the text; on the other, explicitation robs them of their own imaginative interpretation, which itself might be interpreted as a decrease in politeness.

Consider the following example from the German translation of *A Bear Called Paddington*, where Mrs. Brown makes a suggestion to which Mr. Brown does not react positively:

ORG: *A Bear Called Paddington, 1958*	***TRS:*** *Paddington. Unser kleiner Bär, 1968*	***GLOSS:***
'Can't he come and stay with us for a few days?' Mr. Brown hesitated. 'But Mary dear, we can't take him … not just like that. After all … '	*'Wollen wir ihn nicht nach Hause nehmen, nur für ein paar Tage?' ‚Einen Bären!' Herr Braun schüttelte den Kopf. ‚Nein, Mary, das geht wirklich nicht. Ein Bär bei uns zu Hause, mitten in London! Und was soll er essen und trinken, und wo soll ein Bär schlafen, spielen und in die Schule gehen.?'.*	*'Don't we want to take him home, only for a few days?' Herr Braun shook his head. 'No, Mary that is really not on. A bear in our home, in the middle of London! And what is he supposed to eat and drink, and where is a bear supposed to sleep, play and go to school?'.*

In Korean, similarly, in the 2014 translation of the book the target text tends to be more explicit, giving more information to the reader and thus demanding less reader participation in the negotiation of meaning.

ORG: *A Bear Called Paddington, 1958*	***TRS:*** 패딩턴, *2014*	***GLOSS:***
Paddington wasn't quite sure what to expect when Mrs. Bird opened the door. He was pleasantly surprised when they were greeted by a stout, motherly lady with gray hair and a kindly twinkle in her eyes.	버드 부인이 문을 열었을 때 무슨 일이 생길지 패딩턴은 확실히 알 수 없었다.하지만 은발에다 눈가에 친절해 보이는 주름이 잡혀 있고 뚱뚱하고 엄마같은 아주머니가 문 밖으로 나오자 패딩턴은 깜짝 놀랐고 기분이 좋아졌다.	*Paddington wasn't quite sure what to expect when Mrs. Bird opened the door. However, when a stout, motherly lady with gray hair and a kindly twinkle in her eye came out of the door, he was surprised and felt good.*

3.4. Genre specificity

Genre specificity (Bhatia, 2002) relates to ways of framing a story from the very onset to make sure it is in accordance with the specificities of a particular discourse genre. This is, for instance, reflected in the way utterances make use of 'contextualization cues' (Gumperz, 1992) – i.e. discursive manifestation of genre specificity. Zipes (2006) discussed the genre specificity of fairy tales, pointing to cues such as *once upon a time* or *once there*

was, which 'assign the story an archetypical form and endow it with the specificity of that particular genre' (p. 112). In analyzing cue phrase usage in fairy tales, Theune, Hielkema, and Hendriks (2007) developed a taxonomy of cue phrases most frequently used in the genre. They found that a frequent pattern is the use of *suddenly* as a discourse marker that adds unpredictability and is usually accompanied by marvelous and unexpected appearances of characters.

In the Greek corpus, we observe *ad hoc* additions and selective appropriations in the translation of the adverb *suddenly* to make the text more genre-compatible and thus frame it as a fairytale. The addition of *suddenly*, although obviously not exclusively linked to TChL as it also appears in a range of translated genres, such as news and drama translation (Sidiropoulou, 2004), clearly contributes to increasing the unpredictability effect that is pertinent to the genre 'fairy tale' or 'children's book'. For example, in the translation of *A Bear Called Paddington*, we encounter one scene where Paddington is about to meet Mrs. Bird.

ORG:	***TRS:***	***GLOSS:***
A Bear Called Paddington, 1958	*Ένα Αρκουδάκι που το λένε Πάντινγκτον, 2009*	
Behind the door he could hear footsteps approaching.	*Ξαφνικά άκουσε βήματα να πλησιάζουν πίσω από την πόρτα*	*Suddenly, he heard footsteps approaching behind the door.*

Here, the addition of the lexical item *suddenly* at the beginning of the sentence signals the occurrence of a new and unexpected event.

In the German translation, we also find a number of instances where the texts are specifically framed as belonging to the genre 'Children's Literature'. For example, in the very first paragraph of *A Bear Called Paddington*, we read:

ORG:	***TRS:***	***GLOSS:***
A Bear Called Paddington, 1958	*Paddington. Unser kleiner Bär, 1968*	
Mr. and Mrs. Brown first met Paddington on a railway platform. In fact, that was how he came to have such an unusual name for a bear … .	*Paddington heisst ein grosser Bahnhof in London. Eines Tages haben dort Herr und Frau Braun einen kleinen Bären gefunden … .*	*Paddington is the name of a big railway station in London. One day Mr. and Mrs. Braun found a small bear there …*

The German translation provides addressees with a clear indication that they are to read a kind of fairy tale: the phrase *Eines Tages … (One day …)* frames the text as a fairy tale, as this phrase is the standard opening of such a genre. This marks, therefore, a genre-specific pragmatic shift. Further, the explanatory phrase in the German translation about Paddington station is an example of the application of a 'cultural filter' in a covert translation (House, 2015), where the text is adapted to readers' expectations and knowledge frames.

3.5. Humor variation

Humor has been described as a key element in children's literature (Alberghene, 1988; Kappas, 1967), and Mallan (1993) refers to the important role humorous characters play in children's books, listing such memorable characters as Amelia Bedelia, Pippi Longstocking, Ramona and many more. In our corpus, we found that instances of subtle irony and humorous expressions in the original texts are often changed in the

translation. For example, when Judy in *A Bear Called Paddington* asks whether the family can keep the bear, Mrs. Brown expresses – with a touch of irony – her doubts about her husband's ability to take care of the bear. This is ironed out in the Greek translation:

ORG: *A Bear Called Paddington, 1958*	**TRS:** *Ένα Αρκουδάκι που το λένε Πάντινγκτον, 2009*	**GLOSS:**
'Oh, Daddy, is he really going to stay with us?' 'If he does,' said Mrs. Brown, 'I can see someone other than your father will have to look after him'.	*Αχ, μπαμπάκα μου, θα μείνει μαζί μας στ' αλήθεια; Αν μείνει, είπε η κυρία Μπράουν ο πατέρας σου δεν θα τον φροντίζει*	*'Oh, Daddy, is he really going to stay with us?' 'If he does,' said Mrs. Brown, 'your father is not going to be taking care of him.'*

In the same passage, the German translation similarly diverges from the original, thus also effectively losing out on the humor and the ironic implication of the phrase *I can see someone other than your father will have to look after him.* In fact, the German translation completely ignores this passage and simply and soberly states: *Wir müssen jemanden finden, der auf ihn aufpasst. Vater kann das nicht* (**GLOSS***: we must find somebody who looks after him. Father can't do this).* One wonders whether this humorous passage was omitted because children were assumed to not be able to understand the subtle humor?

3.6. Children's literature in translation: some selected cross-language examples

Our comparative discourse analysis has also revealed significant manipulations of social identities and signs of ideological forces foisted on translated texts in languages other than Greek and German. We have to admit that this part of our comparative analysis is in its initial stages due to difficulties of the logistics of cooperation across continents. However, in what follows we present some examples as evidence of the operation of the same types of manipulations discovered in the German and Greek translations. In Korean, *A Bear called Paddington* was translated in 1999 and then again in 2014 by the same translator. In the following examples, coming from the 2014 version, the translator consistently assumes an equal power relationship between Mr. Brown and Mrs. Brown using honorific verb endings for Mrs. Brown's utterances and using mostly semi-honorific or nonhonorific verb endings for Mr. Brown's utterances.

ORG: *'Why, Henry,' she [Mrs. Brown] exclaimed. 'I believe you were right after all. It is a bear!'.*	**TRS:** *'어머, 핸리, 어쨌든 당신 말이 맞군요. 저건 곰이에요'(honorific verb-ending)*	**GLOSS:** *'Oh, Henry, after all what you said was correct. That's a bear.' [It is not possible to provide a gloss for the honorific part.]*

The Korean translation of 2014 also tends to stereotype some main characters, in particular Mrs. Brown as a strongly opinionated middle-aged woman, using shifts in interpersonal meaning, as evidenced in the example below.

ORG: *'After all, Henry,' argued Mrs. Brown, 'you can't turn him out now. It wouldn't be right.'*	**TRS:** *브라운 부인이 주장했다. '어쨌든 헨리,이제 와서 쫓아낼 수는 없어요. 그런 옳지 못한 일이에요.'*	**GLOSS:** *Mrs. Brown argued. 'Anyway, Henry, (we) can't kick him out now. It is not right.'*

The Korean translation also portrays Paddington as a poor orphan much more strongly than the original to evoke sympathy for him through shifts in ideational meaning:

ORG: *'… And I lived in a lifeboat.'* **TRS:** *그리고 구명정에 숨어 있었어요.* **GLOSS:** *'… and I was hiding in a lifeboat.'*

3.7. Cultural filtering longitudinally: a move towards overt translation

In the more recent (1995) German Paddington translation, we find many instances where the translator deviates from the older (1968) translation, omitting many manipulations discussed above and thus creating an overt translation.[2] In particular, the newer translation lacks cultural filtering with respect to address forms: there is now consistent use of formal address forms in German, and thus the style of the original is retained. Further, there are no more traces of infantilization and sentimentalization: Paddington remains Paddington and no longer becomes *Unser kleiner Bär* (Our little bear). In addition, both the politeness and the humor characterizing many exchanges in the English original are now retained. For instance, the loss of politeness we described above with reference to Mr. Brown offering Paddington something to eat, '*Hier gibt es eben nichts mit Marmelade*' (There is nothing with marmalade), is now rendered as '*There you are Paddington. I am sorry they haven't any marmalade ones*', thus closely following the original.

The longitudinal study of the Paddington translation into Spanish also shows that recent translations of this classic English children's book are closer to the original. Consider the example below, where the 1977 Spanish translation (TRS1) deviates much more from the original than the more recent one produced in 2000 (TRS2):

ORG *'It's a bush hat,' said Paddington, proudly. 'And it saved my life.'*

TRS 1*: Es un sombrero de monte- explicó Paddington con orgullo-. Y una vez me salvó la vida.*

TRS 2*: Es un sombrero de ir a la selva – dijo Paddington con orgullo-. Y me salvó la vida.*

GLOSS 1*: 'It's a mountain hat,' explained Paddington proudly. 'It saved my life once.'*

GLOSS 2*: 'It is a hat to go to the jungle,' explained Paddington proudly. 'It saved my life.'*

Mrs. Brown does not really want Paddington to wear his rare hat, as they are going shopping. Paddington insists because he always wears it. TRS1 focuses on the country of the main character as he comes from Darkest 'Perú'; he was supposed to have lived in the countryside. The hat highlights his poor origin. However, TRS 2 also refers to wildlife and adventures. For him, life is a continuous adventure. Indeed, Paddington recalls the previous episode in which he had used his hat to bail out the water of the bathroom to avoid being drowned. As Judy suggests, he prefers not to tell the story.

ORG: *Trains were humming, loudspeakers blaring, porters rushing about shouting at one another …*

TRS 1: *los trenes silbaban, los taxis hacían sonar sus bocinas, los maleteros corrían de acá para allá gritándose unos a otros …*

TRS 2: *El traqueteo de los trenes, el aullido de la megafonía, los gritos que se daban los ajetreados maleteros entre sí …*

GLOSS 1: Trains were whistling, taxis were honking their horns, porters were rushing and screaming at each other.

GLOSS 2: Trains were clattering, the howling of loudspeakers, busy porters were screaming at each other.

The expansion in TRS1 is not justified at all. In fact, it also involves the omission of the segment 'loudspeakers blaring'. It seems logical to focus on noises made by trains as action takes place in Paddington railway station. TRS2 is closer to the ST. It is worth mentioning that '*aullido*' is a personification that alludes to yelling and howling. Thus, the animal world is also evoked.

The situation is different in the Arabic Paddington translations, where cultural adaptation to the receiving culture was, and still is, deemed necessary whenever any cultural equivalent is felt to be absent in the target culture. Thus, we find here a tendency to translate overtly across the time axis, i.e. both synchronically and diachronically. The main technique used by translators to compensate for the lack of cultural equivalents is to paraphrase, as shown in the examples below:

ORG: *LEFT LUGGAGE office*	***TRS:*** *maktabi l-Haqaa?ibi D-Daa?i9ati*	***GLOSS:*** *the office of the lost suitcases*
ORG*: 'I'll take you to the snack bar'*	***TRS:*** *sayfa aaxidhuka ?ila maT9ami l-waajibaati l-xafiifati*	***GLOSS:*** *the restaurant for light meals*

In general, the Paddington translation into Arabic is clearly an overt one in terms of word order: it is often word for word, covering all elements of the original, even with occasional structure adaptations to the source language English.

4. Interpreting and summarizing the findings of our comparative discourse analysis

Our comparative discourse analysis of translations of English children's books into Greek and German, and, to a currently limited extent, into Korean, Spanish and Arabic, has revealed variations along the range of sentimentalization and infantilization, expressions of politeness, content explicitation and genre specificity. As behooves a qualitative discourse analytic study, these dimensions were distilled from the actual data analysis. At this stage of our work, we have not yet undertaken a quantitative analysis.

In our comparative discourse analyses, we found that translators (as well as editors and publishers as producers and first readers of translated texts) openly manipulate original texts, thus changing the relationship that addressees can establish with STs and source cultures. Children are born into a specific cultural niche, and translated texts can open new niches to their understanding. However, children cannot guard against shifts imposed on translated texts they read or listen to. They are only permitted to experience another culture through translated products. Translations of children's literature are complex and many-sided activities involving linguistic, sociocultural, but also, to a considerable degree, financial and marketing factors. The latter are arguably responsible for many manipulations of original texts: making a product seamlessly fit the norms of the target culture may well sell better than 'exotic' products from a foreign language and culture deemed less accessible by, and thus less attractive for, a putative readership. However, we also noticed a newer trend towards refraining from manipulating original texts in recent German, Spanish and Korean translations and allowing overt translations of children's books on the market. We welcome this trend because in an overt translation readers are exposed to texts that are minimally manipulated, given the constraints of the medium of a new language.

Considering the variety of discourse features revealed in the translations of children's books, we believe that using a larger multilingual longitudinal corpus and a variety of methods, including triangulation with reader responses, is an important task for the future. We have only just begun our collaboration with colleagues interested in English children's books translated into Korean, Spanish and Arabic, and we hope to intensify

this work in the future, possibly also including other languages to widen the spectrum further.

Notes

1. Attributed to an unknown translator in the article *Curiouser and Curiouser in Translation*, Rothstein, *The Wall Street Journal*, 29 October 2015.
2. One of the authors, Juliane House, interacted with the translator responsible for the 1995 German translation, passing on to her critical comments of the older translation from a discourse perspective.

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